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CANADA

AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE COUNTRY

HIS MAJESTY GEORGE THE FOURTH,
KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Second Sovereign of British North America.

CANADA

AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF THE COUNTRY

THE CANADIAN DOMINION CONSIDERED IN ITS HISTORIC RELATIONS, ITS NATURAL RESOURCES, ITS MATERIAL PROGRESS, AND ITS NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

BY A CORPS OF
EMINENT WRITERS AND SPECIALISTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

EDITED BY

J. CASTELL HOPKINS

Author of Life and Work of Sir John Thompson, Life and Reign of Queen Victoria, Life and Work of Mr. Gladstone, The Sword of Islam: or Annals of Turkish Power.

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THE HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B.

Sixth Prime Minister of Canada.

PREFACE

BY

THE HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B., LL.D., D.C.L., M.D., M.P., LATE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA.

AMBITIOUS as the idea of a Canadian Encyclopædia may have been thought, no one who has perused the two volumes already given to the public under the able editorial management of Mr. J. Castell Hopkins will doubt the propriety of such an undertaking or its value to all interested in the development of a Dominion admitted to be the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown. As one of the few remaining Fathers of the Confederation of Canada, I may, perhaps, be permitted to glance at the progress of the Dominion during the thirty-one years of its existence; marked as it has been by an advance that will compare favourably with that of any other country. A brief contrast between Canada before and since Confederation will not be un-instructive. Then, British North America consisted of six Provinces, without the means of inter-communication by rail, isolated from each other, and separated by hostile tariffs. The old Province of Canada, then composed of Ontario and Quebec, had no means of reaching the Atlantic during the winter except through a foreign country. Its trade was paralyzed, and its six per cent. bonds could only be sold at a ruinous discount. The antagonism between political parties was such as to render a stable Government impossible.

The Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island on the Atlantic, and British Columbia on the Pacific were mainly dependent for their trade upon the United States. The great territory of Rupert's Land, then in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company, was almost wholly occupied by Indians and wild animals. It had practically no communication with Eastern Canada, and was separated from British Columbia by the impassable Rocky Mountains. This great northern half of the continent of North America was simply unknown and regarded in England as a burthen. All this has been changed by Confederation; all these isolated provinces, with the exception of Newfoundland, have been united under one central Government. The credit of the Dominion has been raised until it ranks only second to that of Great Britain. The great North-West has been acquired and opened up for settlement by the construction of an inter-oceanic line of railway which spans the continent from Halifax on the Atlantic to Vancouver on the Pacific. Manitoba and the North-West Territories are now recognized as a great granary, capable of furnishing all the wheat or bread which Great Britain is obliged to import. The deepening of the canals on the St. Lawrence, which has been steadily prosecuted, will at an early day give a fourteen-foot navigation, and provide an unbroken waterway from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the head waters of Lake Superior. Over 16,000 miles of railway have already been completed. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway has brought Yokohama within twenty days of London, less than one-half the time required *via* the Suez Canal. A steamship line has been established between Canada and Australia.

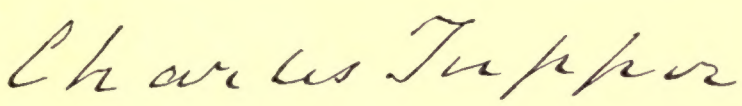
The prosperity of the first five years of Confederation was greatly promoted by the protection to our industries arising from the Civil War in the United States. The termination of that struggle, and the adoption in the Republic of a high protective tariff, and the making of Canada a slaughter market for its surplus products, paralyzed Canadian industries and led to great financial and commercial depression from 1873 to 1878. This was removed by the adoption of a policy of fostering Canadian industries, which enabled us to carry out the great public works to which I have referred, and at the same time to enhance our credit. Canada was thus enabled to meet the wave of commercial depression which so severely affected the United States and other countries in a manner that induced Mr. Wells, one of the leading statisticians of the Republic, to place on record a contrast most flattering to Canada. That policy, in its leading features, has been largely continued, and the returning wave of commercial prosperity which commenced in 1895, together with the good crops, large advance in the price of wheat, and the great mineral discoveries throughout Canada, and especially in British Columbia and the Canadian Yukon, afford the most gratifying evidence that the country has entered upon a career of prosperity to be marked by "leaps and bounds." When it is remembered that the thirty-one years to which my review has been confined is but a day in

the life of a nation, who, in view of what has already taken place, can doubt that Canada will continue in the march of progress and prosperity, and will maintain her status as one of the most important portions of that great Empire to which we are all so proud to belong?

Again, contrast our political status now and then. As I have said, before Confederation what is now Canada was practically unknown even to the people of the United Kingdom. Canada to-day is not only recognized by the Imperial Government as entitled to be represented by a Plenipotentiary appointed by the Queen, in all negotiations with foreign countries in which her interests are involved, but she is invited to take her place at International Conferences with an independent representative of the Dominion, having practically the same voice and power as those of any foreign country.

All interested in Canada must have watched the *rapprochement* between Great Britain and the United States with much satisfaction. Situated as Canada is upon the northern border of that great Republic, the most friendly social and commercial relations between them are alike conducive to the best interests of both countries. When I visited Washington in 1878 at the invitation of the Hon. Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, to discuss our mutual relations, he greeted me with the remark that the Confederation of British North America and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway had brought the United States face to face with a nation. No man in the United States has done more than that distinguished orator and statesman to promote the most cordial relations between Great Britain and his own country, the importance of which was never lost sight of during the period in which he filled with such distinction the position of Ambassador at the Court of St. James. The unhappy war between the United States and Spain has enabled Great Britain, without any violation of the strictest neutrality, to show her friendship to the great branch of the English-speaking family on the other side of the Atlantic. A marvellous change has thus been wrought in the feelings of the Government and people of the United States, which has already resulted in the arrangement of a Conference to adjust all matters of controversy between the United States and Canada. This will, I sincerely hope, result in a satisfactory settlement of all questions now causing any irritation between the two countries. An alliance between the different members of the English-speaking family will not only greatly increase the power of all, but must result in contributing largely to the peace of the world.

In view of the important position now attained by Canada, no one can, I think, be found to question the great value of the work undertaken by Mr. Castell Hopkins, or that the time has arrived when Canada is entitled to such a compendium of information relating to its history and resources. I believe that this volume, dealing as it does with questions of great social, material and historical importance to Canada, will not be found the least interesting of the series.



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GEORGIAN BAY
LAKE HURON
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MUSKOKA District
Nottawasaga Bay
Lake Simcoe
LAKE ERIE
578 feet above the Sea
565 feet above the Sea
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SECTION I.

THE REBELLION OF 1837 AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

THE REBELLION OF 1837 IN UPPER CANADA

BY

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UPPER Canada as an organized Province was not half a century old when the Rebellion of 1837 took place, and it was little more than fifty years from the time of the first settlement of the Colony. The growth and development of a community from the first occupation of the country by settlers, as individuals, depends upon the inherent vitality and characteristics of the inhabitants and the outward influences which act upon a nascent settlement. In considering the history of a community, or nation, these two elements are to be kept in view. The same holds true in studying an epoch in the life of a community. Therefore, in discussing that notable event in the history of Upper Canada, the Rebellion of 1837, or as it is sometimes termed, the Mackenzie Rebellion, it is requisite to glance at the character of the people who composed the inhabitants from its first settlement up to that period.

The actual settlement of the Province commenced in 1784, and, without dwelling on the causes which led to this result it may be called to mind that rebellion had raised its cruel arm in the British American Colonies and had terminated in a revolution, and that those who had endeavoured to maintain the unity of the British Empire had fled from happy firesides and fertile fields to seek homes elsewhere. Some had escaped in fear and some had been compelled to leave their native land by the successful rebels, who in their day of victory failed to be generous or even tolerant to their opponents. Not only the populace but the authorities adopted every means possible to drive away the "King's men" so as to possess themselves of the property of the attainted. Yet another class of Loyalists were those who might have remained in the now independent States, but whom ardent attachment to the King and love of British institutions would not permit to remain citizens of a nation which had violently and with blood-stained hands severed the tie which united them to the Mother-land. Many of these United Empire Loyalists became the pioneer settlers of Upper Canada.

This loyal band of noble men who invaded the primeval forest were of miscellaneous origin. Besides the English, Irish and Scotch elements, were many of Dutch extraction from the Province of New York, which had been originally a Colony of Holland. An important section was composed of French and Irish Huguenots. The descendants of such a class of people, with those of Scotch, English and Irish origin, and a sprinkling of German, Norwegian and Swede constituted the U. E. Loyalist pioneer settlers of the Province of Ontario, numbering some 10,000 souls. It is not possible to relate here the difficulties, the hardships, the deprivations which attended these settlers during the first years of Upper Canada. But all obstacles gave way before these resolute pioneers, and after a few years, homes more or less comfortable were hewn out of the trackless woods which thickly covered the land. For nearly a decade Upper Canada was a portion of the Province of Quebec. For four years the settlers were ruled by military authority; but in 1788 Upper Canada was formed into four districts, each of which was provided with a Judge, a Sheriff and the necessary subordinate officials. The Judge was clothed with all but absolute power, and dispensed justice according to his own understanding and interpretation of the law. The four Courts constituted the whole machinery of law in the Colony. Matters thus continued until 1791, when the Imperial Parliament passed the Act dividing the Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower

Canada, each Province to enjoy distinct autonomy. Colonel John Graves Simcoe, a veteran soldier who had distinguished himself during the American Rebellion, and was then a member of the Imperial Parliament, was selected to be the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. He arrived in Canada in the following year and was warmly received, especially by those who had been his companions-in-arms.

At Kingston, on July 8th, 1792, Colonel Simcoe took the oath of office as Lieutenant-Governor. According to instructions, five individuals were selected by the Lieutenant-Governor to form an Executive Council. On July 17th, the Council met and steps were taken to organize a Legislative Council. On the same day a proclamation was issued dividing the Province into counties (19) and specifying the number of representatives to be elected by the people to constitute the Legislative Assembly.

The elections took place shortly after and Parliament met on September 9th following at Newark, which place Governor Simcoe had selected to be the capital for the time being. The proceedings of this first Session of the Parliament of Upper Canada need not be related, but the speech delivered by Governor Simcoe (Oct. 15, 1792) at the close of the Session is to the purpose. He said:

"It is with very great satisfaction that I have considered the Acts which you have found it expedient to frame, and to which, in consequence of the power delegated to me, I have this day given my assent that they shall become laws of the Province of Upper Canada. As the division which His Majesty in his wisdom thought proper to make of the late Province of Quebec obviated all inconveniences, and laid the foundation for an establishment of the English laws in the Province, it is natural to presume that you would seize the first opportunity to impart that benefit to your fellow-subjects, and by an Act to establish trials by jury, and by that which makes the English law the rule of decision in all matters of controversy relative to property and civil rights, you have fully justified the public expectations. Your other Acts seem calculated to promote the general welfare and commerce of the Province, etc. I cannot dismiss you without earnestly desiring you to promote by precept and example, among your respective counties, the regular habits of piety and morality, the rarest foundations of all private and public felicity; and, at this juncture, I particularly recommend to you to explain that this Province is singularly blest, not with a mutilated constitution, but with a constitution which has stood the test of experience, and is the very image and transcript of that of Great Britain, by which she has long established and secured to her subjects as much freedom and happiness as is possible to be enjoyed under the subordination necessary to civilized society."

In a succeeding despatch to the Colonial Secretary, Governor Simcoe wrote: "At this first meeting they were active and zealous for particular measures according to the promises they had made, or the instructions they had received. Upon the whole I have no reason to be dissatisfied with the disposition and conduct of the Assembly, considering that it was composed of persons of not any restrictive method, and unacquainted with power. I hope that by treating them with temper and moderation they may become a beneficial establishment to the Province." It is noticeable that there is in this a tone of patriarchal regard towards the Assembly and a manifestation of intention to govern with personal authority. And it clearly appears that although the new constitution was a reflex of that of Great Britain, there was no provision for other control of the King's representative than that of the King and his Government. So far as the people of Upper Canada were concerned the power of the Lieut.-Governor was absolute. He selected his advisers, might consult them if he thought it desirable, and might take their advice or not according to his inclination. In a word, Irresponsible Government was established. Who will say it was not the best form of government to suit the time and circumstances of the infant Colony? Yet we learn that the representatives elected by the people were not destitute of the qualities necessary for legislative duties, and they doubtless, to a great extent, reflected the character and intelligence of the people at large. It is seen that there is no want of harmony between the Governor and the Legislative Assembly. No one then could have imagined that the time would come at no distant period when there would be discord and strife between the Executive authority and the Assembly and that in less than fifty years rebellion would convulse the Province.

But there was not always to be a Simcoe at the helm of State, and other blood than that of the U.E. Loyalists was to be infused into the body politic.

Among the schemes inaugurated by Governor Simcoe to advance the interests of the Province was one to draw to it a certain number of Loyalists who still remained in the United States, and he therefore issued a Proclamation promising grants of land to such persons who wished to become Canadians. This invitation was responded to by a considerable number of persons residing in the States. Among them were a fair sprinkling of men who were induced to come, not so much on account of their attachment to the King, as by the prospect of receiving grants of land. But all alike were disappointed in their expectations. Before their advent to the Province, Simcoe had ceased to be Governor and the existing rulers refused to carry out the promise made by Simcoe. Men of enterprise, bringing with them stock and various implements to commence the settlement of lots and townships, were treated with scant courtesy by the authorities and left to their own devices. Some returned to their former homes while others stayed and shifted for themselves as best they could, and became discontented settlers.

In fact, it was this element which some years later became a leavening influence among the people in forming the political party which opposed the Government. Having lived for nearly a decade under a republican administration, many of them were imbued with its principles, and, having come to Canada to acquire land rather than for loyalty, were ready to declaim against a Government which had not fulfilled the promises made. Thus were sown the first seeds of antagonism to constituted authority, the first-fruit of which was disloyalty and the ultimate result insurrection. But why, it is natural to ask, did the Executive refuse to fulfil the promise made by Simcoe? The reply unfortunately must be that it was due to the selfishness of those in executive power. Still, to be just, it must not be forgotten that it may have been believed by the Executive that some, at least, of the American immigrants were of doubtful loyalty.

The settlements of Upper Canada commenced at several points, and in each settlement were a number of leading men, generally half-pay officers, or persons who had held important positions during the Revolutionary War. As public officials were required for the organization of townships and villages, this class naturally supplied the individuals to fill the various places of trust. Each of these officials had his personal relatives and friends. At the capital, among this class, were a quota of persons who had come out from the Old Country to fill certain official positions, or as attachés. These officials throughout the Province in many instances were related or became united by marriage, and this official class naturally combined together to advance each other's interest. Around the Gubernatorial throne this class naturally became a controlling power. It was in this way that the "Family Compact" originated.

At the removal of Governor Simcoe, Peter Russell, as the senior member of the Executive Council, became its President and exercised the functions of Lieutenant-Governor until a successor to Simcoe should arrive. Up to this time there had been a conscientious and disinterested administration of affairs by the supreme authority. Simcoe had had a single eye to the welfare of the people over whom he had been appointed to rule. He was responsible only to the Home Government. His Executive Council appointed by himself, he might, or he might not confer with as he pleased. He was under no obligation to do so. But his honesty of purpose and lofty aims to build up the new Province according to British principles of equity and justice rendered absolute authority innocuous. The case was different as soon as President Russell assumed the functions of Governor. It is unnecessary to dwell on the manner in which he and his confréres conducted the affairs of the Province and how they looked to their personal aggrandizement. It was during this *inter-vice-regnum* that the evils were inaugurated which ultimately resulted in rebellion. It lasted three years and gave ample time to elaborate schemes for consolidating the power of those in authority. It is recorded that Peter Russell within three months after he became President was conferring lands on Peter Russell, a generous proceeding not limited to himself, but extended to members of the Executive Council and their friends

At this time the Executive Council was practically independent; there was not even a Governor to hold it in check. The Legislative Council, consisting in part of the Executive Council, acted in concert with the Executive and its influence in a great measure controlled the Assembly elected by the people. The people generally being engaged in land-clearing and providing the means of existence for their growing families were indifferent to what was being done at headquarters. So it was a favourable time for those in authority in the several central localities, as well as at York, to entrench themselves in power. Contrary to the instructions of the Home Government, each member of the Executive Council received 5,000 acres of land, and 1,200 were granted to each of their children. It might be supposed that the people's representatives in the Legislative Assembly could correct any evils and abuses which existed in the various departments of the Government, but if the Assembly, refusing to be influenced by the Executive, adopted measures in the way of remedying matters, the Executive Council could and did render them inoperative by rejecting them. During the three years of President Russell's administration the "Family Compact" became thus fully organized.

Peter Hunter became Lieutenant-Governor in August, 1799. He was a worthy man and desirous of doing his duty, but he knew nothing about the country he was called to govern, nor its requirements. He had to look to his Councillors for information and advice. He was not informed of a rising discontent among the settlers. He was not advised to take the Legislative Assembly into his confidence, but was made to believe the members were not to be trusted, that they were without education, and that some of them were none too loyal. Governor Hunter retained his office for six years, and it is safe to say that while he was nominally Governor he was mainly governed by the Executive Council. When he was recalled in 1805, Alexander Grant became President until the arrival of Mr. Francis Gore in the following year.

While the Executive authority had been thus strengthening its power in irresponsible Government, the people of the Province were not altogether inattentive to the Executive's doings. It was at this time that a new actor appeared upon the stage of Upper Canadian politics. Robert Thorpe, an English barrister of high standing, came to Upper Canada to fill the position of Judge of the Court of King's Bench. He recognized a defective system of law administration, and those dissatisfied with the Government began to look to him for redress of their grievances. Judge Thorpe readily listened to their complaints and laid them before the Government. Space will not allow an extended review of the conflict between the Government and the Judge which ensued.* Suffice it to say that Governor Gore so represented matters to the Home Government that he was instructed to suspend Judge Thorpe, which was at once done. The latter then returned to England.

The Hon. Francis Gore was Lieutenant-Governor from 1806 to 1811. Like President Hunter he was a man of ability and desirous of rightly discharging the duties of his office. During this period there was an accession to the population of the Province of two classes of immigrants. One class consisted of half-pay officers and persons of education and culture from the United Kingdom, which gravitated largely to the capital and the towns. They brought with them the manners and customs belonging to the gentry class of the old world, and found ready entrance to the Government body. There were amongst them some who took up and occupied land, and were not ashamed to take off their coats and don a farmer's garb and labour hand in hand with the less refined and uncultured settlers. This portion of the new comers (whatever might be said of the others) formed a beneficent element in the Province. As they became familiar with the country they took an intelligent interest in matters o government and some were elected to Parliament where they made their influence felt in an independent direction. Here was the germ of the moderate Reform party. The other class of immigrants was from the States and became a disturbing element which insidiously sowed the seeds of republicanism in the community. They formed the class which misled the United States

*Editor's Note. Perhaps the best justification that could be offered for the course of the Imperial and Colonial Governments in this case was the aversion which has since deepened into a national conviction against the interference of the Judiciary in politics.

Government into declaring war against Great Britain in 1812 under the belief that Canadians would join the invading force; and they were the fore-runners of the Radicals who advocated rebellion in the thirties.

The War of 1812-15 had the effect of strengthening the hands of the "Family Compact" or Tory party. There is no difficulty with the observant student of American history in perceiving that the real reason for declaring war by the United States Government was the expectation that Canada would be easily conquered. This expectation was based on the belief that not a few Canadians were favourable to republicanism. That the United States at this time had paid emissaries in Canada there can be little doubt, and that there were traitors in the Province is unquestionable. The loyalty of the old United Empire Loyalist stock was in the main still ardent and true, but the element of republicanism referred to was ever at work, and while the Loyalists were engrossed in matters at home the inhabitant with Yankee notions was endeavouring to indoctrinate the simple-minded with the belief that republican government was the only kind fit for mankind. He was aided in his efforts by making a contrast between the oligarchical Government at York and that of the United States. How many traitors at heart existed at first will never be known. That not a few were undecided is most probable. Had it not been for the prompt and energetic action of General Brock, the Administrator of the Government, the result of the invasion of Upper Canada might have been very different from what it was. The surrender of General Hull at Detroit, the march of the prisoners from one end of the Province to the other, and the fervid loyalty and enthusiasm manifested on the way by the people generally, had a deterring effect upon the disaffected; while the undecided and indifferent were converted into loyal subjects, who under other circumstances would have become open traitors. But they now espoused the loyal cause and took up arms, and, it may be supposed, afterwards became true patriots.

Lieutenant-Governor, The Hon. Francis Gore.

From an oil painting.

At the close of the war the power of the "Family Compact" was still further established, as the people generally, and perhaps naturally, were disposed to regard the Tory party as the bulwark of British institutions and the saviours of the country. After the struggle, steps were taken to induce emigration from the British Isles to Upper Canada and a number of desirable settlers were thus procured. At the same time the Government denied the privilege of settling on lands to citizens of the United States and refused to allow them to take the oath of allegiance, a course of action prompted by the conduct of certain American settlers prior to the war. The close of the war found the inhabitants almost a unit in support of the Government party, which now looked forward with trust to continued and increasing influence and authority without being embarrassed by fault-finders. In this, however, it was doomed to disappointment. Several causes of dissatisfaction began to manifest themselves. The three years of hostility had sadly unhinged the gates in the various walks of life. Many of those who had been engaged in military life found it difficult to resume their former peaceful pursuits. Then there was no longer that

abundance of money in circulation which had obtained during the war, and, instead of recognizing the legitimate cause, the Government received the blame. To give colour to this the Government failed to meet the just expectations of the militia and volunteers in the granting of lands. So the Legislative Assembly, which reflected the views of the majority, became less friendly to the Executive.

Governor Gore had departed on leave of absence in 1811 and returned in September, 1815. With his return there was a resumption of conditions which had prevailed during his previous tenure of office. The rule of irresponsible Government was continued in a plenitude of power. In 1817 he was recalled, and for a year the Honourable Samuel Smith was Administrator of the Government, when Major-General Sir Peregrine Maitland became Lieutenant-Governor. After the struggle of Great Britain with Bonaparte had terminated at Waterloo, and in consequence peace had also been obtained with the United States, there was a considerable reduction made in the Imperial forces, and a larger number of men and officers settled in Upper Canada. The rank and file of these disbanded soldiers, though not on the whole well adapted to settle in a new country, were all naturally loyal. Many of the officers, although of the educated class, were from habits of camp life of an easy and indolent disposition as civilians, and not well-fitted for the life of a pioneer in the backwoods. Most of them became dwellers in the towns and more thickly settled parts of the Province and drifted naturally into strong support of the dominant party.

Meantime the Assembly disapproved of the exclusion of United States citizens and declared it to be impolitic.* They expressed a strong dissatisfaction at the large quantity of public land held as Clergy Reserves, and which was said to greatly impede the development of the Province. They complained also at the withholding of land grants to the militia. Parliament assembled and went into Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the various matters relating to the well-being of the Province. This procedure was so evidently calculated to embarrass the Government that prompt action was deemed necessary to arrest it, and before the Assembly had time to complete the investigation the Lieutenant-Governor prorogued Parliament. In a speech of marked brevity he told the Assembly that it had been long enough in session, that there was no further important business to engage its attention, that he had come to end the proceedings and that he accepted certain sums which had been voted. This action was naturally provocative of discussion on the subject of the rights of the Governor and how far the constitution would support him. It was the crowning event in the career of Governor Gore. Two weeks later he departed from Canada.

In 1815 an important accession to the active members of the governing party at York was found in the person of the Rev. John Strachan, afterwards known as Bishop Strachan. He appeared in Upper Canada at the very beginning of the century. The circumstances of his coming are interesting historically but cannot be here recorded.* He was engaged at Kingston for three years in teaching a limited number of the sons of well-to-do persons in the higher branches of learning. Removing to Cornwall he continued his school, having successively a large number of Canadian youths of high standing from various parts of the Province as pupils—some 300 altogether. This school continued for nine years, when he was urged to take up his abode at York, the capital. Of the 300 young men who had passed under his tuition, a considerable number were now residents of York and belonged to the dominant party, as did the rest in different parts of the Province.

In taking up his residence at York Dr. Strachan at once identified himself with the Government. He became a confidential adviser of the Governors and the originator of much of their policy. From the first he set himself to maintain those

*EDITOR'S NOTE. There was at this time a complete cleavage between the two parties upon the subject of British and American ideals and institutions. Matters of mere office-holding have been given too great a place in most Canadian Histories in this connection, and the impartial student of tendencies rather than party politics can hardly fail to see that the lines of our development into a British country were really laid in this long drawn out struggle over what seemed to be leading issues but were really inferior and subsidiary matters.

*EDITOR'S NOTE. See page 422, Volume II., "Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country."

provisions in the Constitution of 1791 giving the Clergy Reserves for the benefit of his adopted Church, and the establishment upon a sure basis of the union between Church and State in the Province. Another person to be mentioned in this connection is Sir John Beverley Robinson, who was considered to be the chief of the "Family Compact," although Bishop Strachan has been so called. Sir John was born in Canada in 1791 and was the son of a U. E. Loyalist who had served as an officer under Colonel Simcoe. He was one of Bishop Strachan's former pupils, and a life-long friendship subsisted between them. These two individuals were doubtless for many years the most influential of those who controlled the destiny of the Province. They were practically the irresponsible Prime Ministers of the Lieut.-Governor, giving him advice and dictating the course to be pursued in the government of the country. Sir John was yet a student-at-law when the War of 1812 commenced. He left his studies to take a distinguished part in the defence of his country, aad afterwards served for years as Attorney-General and Speaker of the House of Assembly. In these several positions he possessed and exerted great power and influence. Who therefore so likely to be consulted by the Lieut.-Governor of the day, or from whom was he more likely to take advice, if at the same time it was concurred in by the chief ecclesiastic of the Province? It is a notable fact that Sir John Beverley Robinson always possessed the respect of his opponents, and afterwards when acting as Chief Justice of Upper Canada for thirty-three years exhibited the most conspicuous talent and integrity, and won the good-will of all Canadians.

During the early part of Governor Maitland's *régime*, one Robert Gourlay, a Scotchman, was making no small stir in the Province. He had come to Canada in 1817 with the object of bringing out a company of emigrants, should he find the country suitable to his intentions. Robert Gourlay before coming here had shown himself to be by nature an agitator. Possessed of considerable ability he nevertheless was lacking in that mental balance necessary to effect a sound reform of public evils of government. He was withal quick to discern such evils and abuses, and equally quick in his endeavours to correct them without duly considering the circumstances and consequences. He went directly to the root or supposed root of such evils and spared neither person nor system in his onslaught. He was sufficiently astute to seek all possible information to support his contention, and therefore took steps to collect statistics on the subjects which soon engaged his attention in the Province. He sent circulars to the several municipalities submitting a number of questions to be answered officially by each municipal council and relating to the condition and requirements of the country.

Sir John Colborne, 1st Lord Seaton.

His 31st and last question was: "What in your opinion retards the improvement of your township in particular, or of the Province in general, and what would most contribute to the same?" To answer this question fully, and as he desired it answered, would have been to point the finger at the Clergy Reserves, the Crown Lands administration, the wild lands held by speculators and all the other causes of party difference. The friends of the Government quickly discovered the danger, and took effectual steps to prevent many

replies from being received. Mr. Gourlay, however, made himself heard through the press and succeeded in creating considerable excitement amongst the people. He made arrangements to hold a Convention at York to adopt a petition which he had prepared for presentation to the British Parliament, asking for an investigation of public affairs in Upper Canada. The vituperative language used in the petition laid him open to the charge of criminal libel, and no time was lost in bringing him to trial, but for the time being he escaped punishment. Governor Maitland in his ensuing Speech to Parliament alluded to Gourlay as one attempting to excite discontent and organize sedition, and intimated that such a convention of delegates as he had proposed could not exist without danger to the constitution. The term "Convention" was an importation from the States and new to Canadians, and the fact was not unnoticed; the people, although dissatisfied in many cases with the Government, disliking anything savouring of republicanism. The Legislative Assembly was, therefore, induced to pass an Act for preventing certain meetings within the Province, and Gourlay was accused of being a seditious person and served with an order to leave the Province. He refused to do so and was placed in confinement. Ultimately, after being imprisoned until his mind became affected, he was released on condition that he should leave the Province forthwith. He crossed to the States and then went to England.

The Administration of Governor Maitland from 1818 to 1828 had in many respects a trying time, but the Tory party was like a huge tree whose roots extended into every portion of the Government system, Provincial and local, and it was able to resist all the gales of opposition, and to in no respect show indications of decay or upheaval. During this decade a number of individuals appear on the stage of political action in the Province whose personality was made manifest during the succeeding ten years which included the year of the Rebellion. The lines of political parties became more distinct. The "Family Compact" and their adherents were known as Tories. There was a small party who generally supported the Government, but was in favour of a more responsible Executive. This party gradually came to be called Conservatives, as they desired at the same time to conserve British institutions. In the ranks of the Opposition were two classes. One was the Reform element which wished to curtail the Executive power and effect reform by considerate and conciliatory constitutional means. The difference between the Reformer and the Conservative was little more than in name. The more bitter opponents of the governing party were called Radicals and most of them were willing to step without the bounds of the constitution to obtain relief for their grievances and even to rebel against constituted authority. This class was largely republican in theory and sentiment.

The person destined to act the most conspicuous part from this time until the closing events of the Rebellion now makes his appearance. William Lyon Mackenzie was a remarkable man. By many Canadians his name is highly venerated as that of a patriot above all names in the annals of his Province. To him they think is due the credit of originating the doctrine of Responsible Government and of indirectly securing that blessing to Upper Canada. By many others he is regarded as an unspeakable firebrand who was only contented when endeavouring to light the torch of dissension and anarchy. It may be too soon to impartially weigh his conduct in the balance of human judgment. His acts, however, may be presented for consideration. He was born at Dundee, Scotland, March 12, 1795. His father dying when the son was only a week old, he was brought up by a devoted mother and with his common education he received from her the teachings of strict religion and morality. After leaving school he increased his store of knowledge by extensive promiscuous reading. Not succeeding in his efforts to make his way in life he embarked for Canada in April, 1820. He engaged in successful business until 1824, when he abandoned trade to engage in journalism and to pursue a political life. In adopting this course he seems to have been influenced by one Robert Randal, an American settler in Canada. Mackenzie issued the first number of the *Colonial Advocate* at Queenston, Upper Canada, May 18, 1824. In the first issue a general survey of matters governmental and political was made. Exceptions were

taken to many alleged evils, and suggestions for improvements and reform announced. Although the utterances were far short of those subsequently employed in opprobrium and denunciation, they were sufficiently strong and stinging to create intense feelings of resentment amongst the Government party. One of its newspaper organs proposed that Mackenzie should be banished from the Province and the whole edition of his paper seized and destroyed. Among other charges made against him was that of disloyalty, but which as yet could hardly be substantiated, and which he repudiated in glowing terms. In November following he returned to York and as time passed the paper became more and more personal and abusive.

Governor Maitland at first had been supported by a majority in the Legislative Assembly, but this was not to continue. Portentous events were approaching and a determined attack was to be made upon the citadel of Executive power. The principles of reform were being diligently inculcated among the people. Not a few of the Old Country settlers who had at first sided with the Government began to look askance at the political machinery of which the motive power was stated to originate with an oligarchy and to be subservient to its interests only. The leaven of republicanism was ever at work. The result of a general election (1820) was a marked increase of strength in the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly—the number of which had recently been increased by Legislative enactment. This body passed Act after Act which reflected more or less upon the Executive power. Committees of Investigation were appointed whose duties were to find proof of the alleged abuses of power by the official classes. The debates were often characterized by acrimonious and vehement assault on the various public Departments and the persons in office.

The Clergy Reserves question was a frequent subject for animadversion. There was still a determination to retain these lands for the Church of England, and Church and State was yet a watchword with the Tories. The Presbyterians held that as a Protestant Church they were entitled to a portion of the reserved lands. But a feeling was growing that the Clergy Reserves should be devoted to educational purposes. The irresponsible power of the Governor and Executive was more and more discussed as measure after measure passed by the Assembly was rendered inoperative by the Legislative Council—among them being an Act to empower Methodist ministers to perform the marriage ceremony. Meanwhile Mackenzie renounced all moderation through his paper and was aiming epithets strong, offensive and frequently foul, at the Government and individuals in authority. At last, smarting under his scorpion whip, a ruthless attack was

William Lyon Mackenzie.

made by a number of too ardent young men on his printing office while he was absent and much injury was done—June 8th, 1826.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, in making a tour through the Province, took occasion to speak in disrespectful terms of the action of the majority in the Legislative Assembly, and that body in return passed an emphatic censure on His Excellency for his apparently contemptuous words. The general election of 1828 gave evidence of some popular discontent. The strength of the

Opposition was increased and amongst the new members was William Lyon Mackenzie. To the great gratification of the Reform party, Sir Peregrine was now recalled, and this for the time being arrested the fury of the Opposition. Sir John Colborne, the succeeding Lieutenant-Governor, arrived toward the close of 1828. It was believed that he had come with Imperial instructions to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of the Legislative Assembly, and to endeavour to remove existing discontent. The new Parliament met on January 29, 1829, and Marshall Spring Bidwell was elected Speaker of the House.* He was the son of Barnabas Bidwell, and, both being natives of New England, they were avowed Republicans, who omitted no opportunity to indoctrinate the minds of Canadians with the principles of that form of government. Honest, educated, clever and fluent of pen and speech, they in many ways exerted a baneful influence on those with whom they came in contact. The son was a member of the Upper Canada Bar, and much respected, but there is abundant evidence that in an unostentatious way he had much to do in bringing about the Rebellion, and was cognizant of every movement, to which he also readily gave his legal advice.

The Address of the Assembly in reply to the Speech from the Throne was not calculated to abate the conflict between the Assembly and the Executive. It contained a claim that the Assembly should be the constituted advisers of His Excellency; it had a personal reflection on the previous Administration; it expressed the hope that His Excellency's Administration would rise above suspicion; that the wishes and interest of the people would be properly respected; that the revenues would be devoted to public improvements, and so on. It was intended to place the new Lieutenant-Governor in such a position as to compromise him, so that he would be obliged to resist the influence of the Executive Council. In this they were disappointed. It was soon to be known that Governor Colborne was a firm adherent of the policy of irresponsible Government. Yet, no doubt he pursued what he deemed to be a righteous course. At this time the Executive enjoyed a permanent grant of money which, with the territorial revenue, was adequate to carry on the government of the Province, and rendered it independent of the Assembly. The latter body passed resolutions to the effect that Parliament should control the revenue, but they were rejected by the Council. Petitions were also presented to the Imperial Parliament asking for redress and responsible administration.

About this time there appeared in the political arena the man who was to act the most conspicuous part in securing the blessing sought for, and to whom history has given the distinction of being the Father of Responsible Government, although not the originator of the doctrine. This was Robert Baldwin, son of Dr. W. W. Baldwin, a distinguished Reformer who himself went to the verge of rebellion. At the death of George IV. in June, 1830, the Legislature was dissolved, and a general election ensued. The battle between the two parties was very keen and resulted in the return of a majority of Government supporters. But Mackenzie ceased not in his warfare against the Government in the Legislature. He moved for Committees to enquire into this and into that; he assailed the Government in its weakest parts. The increasing cry for a responsible Executive gave him the best of weapons. The Government party watched for a chance to reach and chain this political sleuth-hound, and an opportunity at last presented itself. He was charged with a breach of the privileges of the House. A motion to expel him failed at first; but a second charge proved successful and he was expelled—only to be again re-elected. This performance was repeated five times. It was naturally attended with intense excitement throughout the Province and considerable increasing sympathy was felt for Mackenzie. Meanwhile he held meetings in many places and succeeded in having petitions prepared, and largely signed, to the Crown, praying for relief of the grievances from which the Province was said to suffer. At this time the Judiciary was made independent of the Government. Meanwhile the sympathy begotten for Mackenzie and the increased feeling against the dominant party, had a decided effect on the

EDITOR'S NOTE. The election of such a man naturally accentuated the lines between the British and American elements, and strengthened the position of the dominant party by helping to prove the accuracy of their charges of disloyalty.

electorate and the general elections in 1834 gave the Opposition a majority once more in the Assembly. Bidwell was again appointed Speaker.

This majority, however, did not consist solely of Radicals. An important contingent consisted of men with moderate views, warmly attached to British institutions, but not in harmony with the Government. They desired reform, but on conservative and constitutional lines. The most important fruit of this Parliament was the production of the celebrated "Grievance Report" which aroused the Imperial Government to a greater attention to Upper Canadian affairs. A policy of conciliation was promised, with a removal of grievances. But Sir John Colborne would not recede from the position he had held and by his own request was recalled. Mackenzie, who had made a lengthy visit to England, had become acquainted with Joseph Hume, the Radical M.P. and other ultra Liberals in high positions, and with them he maintained a correspondence. In 1834 he was elected the first Mayor of the City of Toronto and during his tenure of office received from Hume a letter, extracts from which he published in his paper. Amongst other violent expressions, Hume wrote that the treatment which Mackenzie had received from the Canadian Parliament would hasten a crisis which would "terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the Mother Country." The obvious meaning of these words, although subsequently modified by the writer, produced a startling effect in Upper Canada. To the Radicals it seemed a full endorsement of the policy they were pursuing; to the Government it was ample proof of the rebellious designs of the Opposition.

At this juncture the Imperial Government was anxious to do what was best for the welfare of Upper Canada. Indeed it may be said that the desire had always existed, but now the desire was an anxious one. The strong petitions and addresses, with the personal representations from the Province, had produced a quickening effect. It was now a matter of the first importance to select the most suitable person to fill the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. It was found, however, that such an individual was not easy of attainment. The task to be undertaken by such an official was most difficult, and the reason for the final selection of Sir Francis Bond Head remains a mystery. He received the appointment very much to his own surprise. His qualifications for the post were the fact of his being clever, honest, and rather shrewd. His advent to the capital of Upper Canada was regarded with no ordinary interest. On the part of the Tories considerable apprehension was felt, especially as the moderate Conservatives could not be depended upon to support an entirely irresponsible Executive. On the part of the Radicals and Reformers there was great expectation. They believed that the Colonial Minister had given instructions to the new Governor favourable to their cause. They took care that he should be provided, not only with the "Grievance Report" and all other literature representing their views, but by early interviews after his arrival intended to present to his mind the state of affairs from their point of view.

But they over-reached themselves. Sir Francis was sufficiently discerning to discover latent motives in much that was brought to his attention. He discovered in Bidwell a republican, in Rolph a schemer, in Mackenzie a demagogue. At the same time the governing party was not idle. It is often in the social circle that most can be effected in political issues. And herein it was that the Tories ever had the advantage of their adversaries, most of whom were quite without the aristocratic circle of which the Lieutenant-Governor daily and nightly formed the central star. To what extent Sir Francis was thus influenced may be a matter of doubt. But doubtless he intended to act independently of these and all other influences which might be brought to bear upon him. Perhaps he succeeded. He was a man of the world and had a good opinion of his own discernment and judgment, but in some matters he had to look for advice. He had discovered amongst the Reformers who came to enlighten him, not only a lukewarmness to British connection, but an inclination to republicanism. To what extent this feeling prevailed in the public mind he could only form an opinion from what he heard, and he had the frequent opportunity of hearing what members of the "Family Compact" believed.

The new Lieuteuant-Governor had instructions to conciliate the Assembly, in which the Reformers had a majority, and, vacancies having occurred in the Executive Council, he was asked to select persons to fill them from the Reform party. In pursuance of his instructions he complied with this request, and offered the positions to conspicuous Reformers—John Henry Dunn, John Rolph, and Robert Baldwin. They at first declined unless all the old members of the Council were dismissed to be replaced by Reformers, but Sir Francis declined to do this, and after some hesitation the appointments were accepted. But they soon found or believed that the Governor chose to consult them only in such minor matters as he thought fit. As hitherto, he proceeded to make his own appointments to vacant offices. Of these favoured persons he could have had no personal knowledge. It was claimed that some power at work behind the throne was guiding his footsteps. The Executive Council remonstrated in vain, and after some correspondence all of the Council, old and new members alike, resigned (March, 1836). Indeed both parties in Parliament were aroused to remonstrance and a resolution was adopted, all but unanimously, condemning the Lieutenant-Governor.

This was a new and extraordinary feature in the political complexion of affairs. The Tory party as well as the Radicals were at variance with the Lieutenant-Governor. But Sir Francis Bond Head was not dismayed at the combined action against his course. He appealed by proclamation to the loyalty of the people at large; he made it appear that the integrity of the Province as a British Colony was imperilled; that republicanism threatened the community; and that the Legislative Assembly in censuring him had aimed a blow at British connection. How much of this he himself believed is uncertain. He certainly had reason to believe that republicanism was abroad; yet what had that to do with his arbitrary appointments to office? He was, however, successful in his appeal. The majority of the people believed there was truth in the cry of alarm and sympathized with his intrepid effort to save the country. He became popular, and although Parliament appealed to the Imperial Government it was in vain. Sir Francis was able to point to the expressed views of the people whose servant the Assembly was. It was a singular state of affairs. The Tories were now jubilant. The moderate Conservatives did not know what to make of it. The moderate Reformers were silent. The ultra-Radicals began to conspire for open rebellion; but they were indiscreet.

At this time Lower Canada was in a state of semi-revolt led by Papineau, and there was mutual sympathy between the malcontents of the two Provinces. A letter received by Speaker Bidwell from Papineau, containing a threat that the United States would assist the Republicans in Canada, was injudiciously made public and gave the Lieut.-Governor fresh fuel with which to feed the flame of loyalty—of which his position made him the embodiment and centre. All these matters were, of course, brought to the attention of the Home Government, and tended to cast suspicion upon the opponents of Sir Francis. In his despatches to the Colonial Minister the latter declared that the course he was pursuing would ultimately result in reconciliation between the contending parties and in a firm establishment of peaceful government satisfactory to all. But this scanning of the political field was not sufficiently penetrating to discern the latent forces at work within the Province. The Governor seemed profoundly ignorant of the deeply-rooted love of self-government which resided in the breasts of the Canadian people and was, for the time-being, submerged by the equally strong attachment to the Crown and British institutions. To fortify himself, however, he resolved to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the people, now glowing with loyalty, and thus secure a Legislative Assembly after his own mind and heart. The House was accordingly dissolved on May 28, 1836.

The way was made easy for him by the public addresses presented from different parts of the Province, and the result was all he could desire. The principal and most dangerous of his opponents, including Bidwell and Mackenzie, were rejected at the polls. His triumph, however, was shortly after over-clouded by admonitions from the Home authorities. The Radical party, though discomfitted, would not be overcome. Grave charges were elaborated against the Lieutenant-

THE HON. ROBERT BALDWIN, C.B.

Governor and the Executive Council recently chosen, to the effect that they had resorted to illegal means in the recent elections, and a representative in the person of Dr. Duncombe was sent to England by the Radicals to place them before the Colonial Minister. The widely divergent representations of the Governor, supported by popular approval on the one hand, and of the Opposition on the other, could not be comprehended by the Colonial Minister, Lord Glenelg. Sir Francis Bond Head offered to resign but there was so much doubt in the mind of the Minister that he decided to retain him in office.

A noteworthy event occurred about this time which demanded attention. The chief contention of the Reformers was for a Responsible Government and that the Legislative Assembly should control the revenue. There was the same demand in the Province of New Brunswick, and this was actually conceded by the Crown—instructions to that effect being sent to the Lieut.-Governor of that Province. As a principle of justice the same concession must be made to Upper Canada, and the Lieut.-Governor was duly informed that the instructions given to the Governor of New Brunswick would apply to his Province also. But Sir Alexander Campbell, the Governor of New Brunswick, replied to the Colonial Minister that he would resign rather than comply with his instructions. This caused the Imperial authorities to hesitate, and the matter remained in abeyance, so that Sir Francis was not obliged to concede that to which he was decidedly opposed. The important fact to notice is that the Crown was willing to allow a responsible Executive in Upper Canada before armed rebellion had occurred. It follows that the claim that the Mackenzie Rebellion was justifiable inasmuch as it brought about Responsible Government has no ground to stand upon.

The defeat of the Radical leaders did not render them inactive—especially the impulsive Mackenzie. Some of them engaged in secret and less ostentatious efforts to circumvent the Governor, and to bring about a revolution and separation from Great Britain. In fact, secret traitors were at work. Mackenzie was a less dangerous man because he openly did what he could to stir up strife. His first paper had for a time been discontinued; but soon after the election he issued another, *The Constitution*, which became a vehicle of the most passionate diatribes and abuse. He also held meetings in various places endeavouring to arouse and intensify discontent. Even words of treason were fearlessly uttered and written. The Radical party had become a Republican party. The rebellion developing in Lower Canada contributed to fan the rising flame of revolt, constant intercourse was maintained between the factions of the two Provinces, and eventually a simultaneous rising was decided upon. While rebellion was thus ripening Sir Francis did not rest upon a bed of roses. He was not in accord with the Executive Council and he received repeated reproofs from the Colonial Minister, so that he a second time offered his resignation. It is a singular fact that the Lieutenant-Governor refused to believe at this time that the Province was threatened with armed rebellion.

The work of preparation for overt action was proceeded with during the latter months of 1837. On August 2nd a "Declaration of the Reformers of Toronto to their fellow-Reformers in Upper Canada" had been published in *The Constitution*. It was signed by nineteen prominent Radicals and was in reality a Declaration of Independence. A Vigilance Committee was appointed at the same time, and Mackenzie was made agent and corresponding secretary. A plan for visiting and organizing the Reformers of the Province as a political Union was adopted at a secret meeting. Without particularizing the items of the plan, it may be stated that it was designed to be serviceable for military purposes, and the officers and members of the several societies could be readily changed into military officers and soldiers. There were to be four separate centres of action apart from Toronto. The only show of secrecy was that members should be known to one another. At the beginning of September a series of meetings in the country parts were commenced which were addressed by Mackenzie. These meetings continued up to the time of the outbreak—some 200 altogether being held. At nearly all of the meetings the Toronto Declaration was adopted and in some places drilling and rifle shooting were practised. In November one thousand five hundred

names of persons were given as ready to place themselves under arms.

It was about the middle of November that, at a secret meeting in Toronto, Mackenzie first boldly announced that hostile action should at once commence. Sir Francis Bond Head had meanwhile sent all available troops to help in Lower Canada, leaving the Province largely destitute of trained defenders. At the same time some 4,000 muskets were placed in the keeping of the Toronto authorities, being deposited in the City Hall and guarded by a small body of volunteers. These circumstances were eminently favourable to the conspirators, and the opportunity was not neglected. Armed rebellion was about to become a reality. But what were the chances of success? Mackenzie, Rolph and their coadjutors in conspiracy were as much mistaken as was Sir Francis, who would not believe that insurrection was imminent. Of the Reform party a considerable number were attached to British connection. The Imperial Government had shown a disposition to concede such reforms as it was made clear were adapted for the benefit of the Province. While the disloyal were assertive in their conduct, the loyal element was like a deep stream flowing onward with noiseless power.

Finally the day was appointed for the rising to take place. The plan arranged was simple, feasible, and, in view of the apparent apathy of the authorities, promised a successful beginning. The rebels were to convene at a spot a few miles north of Toronto on Yonge Street, on a certain day (7th December, 1837), armed with pikes and such arms as might be gathered at their homes. They were to march into the city at night, take possession of the arms in the City Hall, and then seize the person of the Lieutenant-Governor, and any others who resisted their proceedings. They expected many of the citizens to at once join their force, and others to remain quiet. A new Government was to be organized (a Republican Government), and Dr Rolph was already selected to occupy the office of President. Thereafter, it was believed, the people of the Province would bow in submission to the newly constituted administration. It was thought by many that all this could be done without bloodshed; but did the leaders believe so? It can hardly be supposed that they were wanting in common sense. As to Mackenzie, although the apparent leader, he was not the chief criminal.

He was scarcely responsible for his conduct. He was an example of the saying that whom the Gods intend to destroy they first make mad. But the others, the instigators, were not mad. Their ambitious hopes rested not by any means alone on the rebellious element in the Province, but on expectations of assistance from the States. They no doubt would prefer to accomplish their ends without the sacrifice of life, but they could not have believed this to be possible. It is a terrible thing to take up arms against constituted authority and the reason must indeed be potent to justify such action. Every mode of redress of intolerable evils must be exhausted; at the same time there should be a reasonable prospect of success. These rebels of 1837 blindly supposed that as previous rebellions in America had proved successful so likewise would this one. It was declared to be a parallel case with the revolt of the British American Colonies, and the result was expected to be the same. But the circumstances of this rebellion were so immeasurably puerile compared with the other that one is immersed in wonder at their credulity. The whole episode was like a burlesque with a touch of tragedy. The *emeute* did not even rise to the dignity of a rebellion. There was not one among the leaders endowed with the ability or courage requisite to lead successfully even a mob, and the rebel gathering was little more than a rabble, while the result was a mere fiasco.

The rebels did not even enter Toronto; so they did not seize the arms necessary to murder their fellow-countrymen, nor did they make the Lieutenant-Governor a prisoner. But they did convince Sir Francis that active rebellion was intended, and more unfortunately, they caused bloodshed and brought some of their number to the gallows afterwards. This overt act of the rebels was like a spark applied to tinder in arousing the patriotism of the people, which blazed forth with splendid energy. Like a torrent also it swept over the Province submerging disloyalty and republicanism, and giving fertility to the living force of British principles and British connection. The puerile disturbances which sub-

sequently took place in other parts of the Province, and the troubles which continued for some time to disturb the frontier, need not be dwelt upon. Mackenzie, with Rolph and some others who had escaped, inaugurated the hostile manifestation, but it was merely an exhibition of the filibustering propensity of Canada's persistent enemy. It has ever been a set purpose shown by the Government and people of the United States to possess themselves of Canada, and everything has been done which so-called "statecraft" could desire to accomplish this end.

At no time was there the slightest chance of success for the invading bandits in the attempt to obtain a foothold in the Province. And only an insane man would have persisted as did Mackenzie in such futile efforts. Ultimately the shame of their conduct was such that the United States Government took steps to suppress the gang of ruffians which gathered along the borders of Canada, and the so-called rebellion was at an end. The result, however, of this unrighteous uprising to certain rebels who had been captured red-handed had also to be met. The blood of Colonel Moodie and other victims cried from the ground, and stern justice had to be meted out. Of some who suffered the extreme penalty of the law, it may be thought, indeed is often declared, that justice should have been tempered with mercy, and the life of husband and father have been spared. But it must be conceded that the trials were conducted with strict regard to the rights of the accused. If the ears of supreme authority were closed to the appeals for mercy from friends and relatives of the condemned, it must be remembered that it was necessary to consider the future safety and welfare of the country; to impress upon the public mind with no tender touch that rebellion in the Province was a crime. It was requisite to exhibit a deterrent force to prevent any recurrence of rebellion or bloodshed. It was necessary, once for all, to show that Republicanism could have no place of abode in Canada, and that traitors to British connection must understand that any attempt to sever the connection would be at the peril of their life.

A review, necessarily brief, has been given of the events connected with the Government of Upper Canada from its foundation to the time of the Rebellion. The origin of the various elements of discontent and discord among the people has been indicated; reference to certain individuals who acted a more conspicuous part in the drama of political life during that period has been made, and the insurrection itself delineated. Not a little has been said in the text, more or less derogatory to the conduct of the several occupants of the Gubernatorial chair and their successive advisers. The "Family Compact" has not been spared, and indeed it is almost impossible to find a writer who does it reverence. Yet is there nothing to be said for it? Is it not possible to say a good deal in its favour? Were not the several Governors and their advisers creatures of circumstances they were powerless to remove or set aside? Did they not generally act within the bounds of the Constitution of 1791? Was it not the fault of the provisions in the Imperial Act that despotism more or less prevailed up to the time of the union of Upper and Lower Canada and the establishment of Responsible Government?

It is unjust to blame the Governors because they sought and followed the advice of those they would naturally presume to be the best qualified to be councillors. As to the selfishness of the dominant party is it necessary to traverse a half century back to find the Government of the day self-seeking or meting out to its supporters the spoils of office, and thus strengthening its governmental stronghold? Take any Administration of modern times, and can it be truthfully said that it, under similar circumstances, with the same constitutional system, would have behaved with greater magnanimity? Was the "Family Compact" in its steps to consolidate powers and increase influence doing worse than has been done by political parties in subsequent times? And can it be substantiated that those who so vigourously assailed the Government would not have done the same had they held the reins of power? It may be urged that the Government would not heed the public voice asking for removal of grievances; but was the tone of that voice ever moderate and respectful to the authorities? On the contrary was it not the voice of the agitator and demagogue, or of a disappointed seeker for official favours to which he was not entitled? Is it in

human nature to yield to the demand of one who speaks in terms of opprobrium, sometimes in the language of Billingsgate? When one of recent importation prefers charges against those who were the founders of the country, could such an assailant be regarded with equanimity? So that, after all, taking an impartial view of the early years of the Province, much is to be found to mitigate the judgment likely to be given in this last decade of the nineteenth century.

At the beginning and for many years the people generally did not possess the necessary qualifications to intelligently discharge the duties pertaining to Government. The administration was necessarily centralized and the appointments to office had to be made from a class competent to perform the duties pertaining thereto. The more one reflects upon the course of events in the history of Upper Canada up to 1837, and the attitude maintained by the Home Government towards the Colony, the more clear and indubitable does it appear that the insurrection with any view of separation from Great Britain was altogether unjustifiable. Did not England make concession after concession? The constitution allowed the establishment of Church and State, but the principle did not prevail. The exclusive privilege claimed by the Church of England was not upheld. The administration of justice had been severed from the Executive. Many just causes of complaint had been effaced and obnoxious laws repealed. It was no longer illegal to hold a convention. A tax had been placed on wild lands so that speculators could no longer with advantage hold uncultivated land in the settlements and even Responsible Government had been conceded though not applied. And British institutions had finally triumphed over American principles.

Joseph Hume, M.P.

THE TROUBLES OF 1837 IN LOWER CANADA

BY

N. E. DIONNE, F.R.S.C., Legislative Librarian, Quebec.

The causes of the troubles which happened in Lower Canada during the years 1837 and 1838 are manifold. I will enumerate the principal ones:

1. The vicious composition of the Executive Council, of which the Judges of the Court of Appeal were members.

2. The participation by the appointed Legislative Councillors in popular elections.

3. The hostility of the Legislative Council towards the Legislative Assembly and *vice versa*.

4. The accumulation of public offices in the hands of certain favourites of the Administration.

5. The inadequate distribution of public offices.

6. The distribution of public lands amongst friends of the Government to the detriment of colonization.

7. The too frequent checking of the passage of Bills adopted by the Assembly.

8. The need for the people of a greater liberty and a responsible Ministry.

The Ninety-two Resolutions, prepared in 1834 and sent to England, contained all the grievances of which the French-Canadians could complain. I am not going so far as to admit that all of these Resolutions were of the same value, but it is certain to an impartial mind that a number of them were well-grounded. Thus, the Constitutional Act of 1791 which then ruled Lower Canada accorded to our people the right to govern themselves, to make laws and to apply them. Unhappily, there was not a responsible Ministry, and the Legislative Council which could refuse its consent to any law was appointed by the Crown. Here were two serious faults, enough in themselves to render the administrative machinery almost useless. "Without a Ministry," writes Macaulay, in his History of the Reign of William III., "a Parliamentary Government such as exists in our country can never work properly. It is indispensable for our liberties that the House of Commons should have the means of exercising over the Executive power a real control, a sovereign influence." Lord Brougham agrees with this. This passage from Macaulay leads us to comprehend the chief fault of the Constitution of 1791—no Ministry and an irresponsible Legislative Council entirely at the disposition of the Governors who appointed it.

Another undeniable fact was that a group of Englishmen did not conceal their ill-will towards the French-Canadians, whose language and religion they would have liked to see disappear. This was too much to expect of them, for the Treaty of Paris did not permit it, and this Treaty merited the respect of victor and vanquished alike. The fact is, that people still entertained at this epoch an imperfect idea of the British Constitution. Had it been well understood it would have permitted them to make more concessions to a people who were easily subject to all authority, civil and religious. The Catholic clergy did not cease to preach to them tolerance and submission to the yoke, even if it wounded them. But the administrative abuses became so crying, the instances of injustice so flagrant, that the same people, well-disposed as they were but urged by orators to fiery outbursts, and breathing the fire of an exaggerated patriotism, entered without perceiving it on the road of rebellion. The greater number of those who refrained from taking an active part in the struggle did not fail to sympathize with the rebels, so that the discontent was very general.

I shall not pause to exonerate or to blame the actors in this ill-timed if not regrettable affair. It stands out clearly from the pages of this tem-

pestuous period of our history, that the Rebellion of 1837 had the good effect of drawing the attention of England seriously to the lot of the French-Canadians, and to the desirability of giving them a share in that British liberty of which, till then, they had been deprived. Responsible Government made every one breathe more easily and Canada entered on an era of calm and tranquillity which continued to expand under the beneficent influence of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The rule of the oligarchy, which sometimes even paid salaries to individuals who did not live in the country, came to an end, and finally the House of Assembly obtained control over the public funds, and adjusted the expenses to meet the popular requirements. Some writers have, perhaps, thrown too much blame for the troubles of 1837 on the spirit of insubordination amongst the French-Canadians. That awards them too large a share of the responsibility, for they were not the only ones to raise the standard of rebellion. In the neighbouring Province, inhabited by a people speaking English, many were found to second the movement with their arms and their money, and when the troubles were appeased, Upper Canada furnished to the Australian penal colonies more convicts than Lower Canada. I can, therefore, claim that the responsibility ought to be shared, and this share, whatever it may be, proves that the English themselves, whether they came from Great Britain or the United States, had no intention of letting themselves be led by a handful of men who seemed more disposed to enrich themselves at the expense of the public treasury than to make of Canada a free, rich, and perfectly organized community.

The troubles began on the 7th of May, 1837, at the time of the first great meeting held at Saint-Ours, a parish in the District of Richelieu, at which were present twelve hundred people from the surrounding neighbourhood. The orators of the day were Dr. Wolfred Nelson, Dr. Coté, M. Marchesseau, and many others, who brought to a white heat the enthusiasm of a people already considerably excited. They adopted many resolutions, but all were not marked with the stamp of wisdom and prudence. Many even were far from bearing the character of dignity which one has a right to expect from an oppressed people. On the 14th of May a similar demonstration was repeated at Saint-Laurent, on the Island of Montreal, indicating the same sort of popular effervescence. "It is to be feared," said *Le Canadien* at the time, "that the resolutions adopted at Saint-Laurent may be regarded as the work of a childish mind, rather than that of a manly determination; of blind passion rather than a noble indignation; of men who despair of their cause, and who, in surrendering their arms, make a face at their conquerors, rather than of men who have still faith in their fortune."

And, continuing this sensible language, the Editor of *Le Canadien* said: "Certainly, the patriotic party has not yet surrendered and it can still take a good position in the face of the Imperial authorities. A feeble people whom one wished to oppress could find even in its feebleness a moral force capable of arresting the arm of oppression raised against it. But this cannot be done by clinging to expedients which must either draw on them ridicule and pity, or else serve as a pretext for measures more coercive still on the part of a sovereign power which confessedly they are not able to resist. If they do not succeed with these measures, and what chance is there, they expose us all to the laughter of our enemies. What if they should really succeed though it seems so impossible! England will say: 'Here is a people which wishes to break with me and revolts against my supremacy. I must while it is feeble make sure that it will never injure me. I will crush it.' And we shall be overwhelmed accordingly."

Le Canadien spoke with moderation and prudence. If the voice had been listened to, there would have been no sorrow afterwards over the results of a violence as ill-inspired as it was badly managed. Instead of urging on the people to agitation, to excesses of all kinds, to the taking up of arms, as a certain part of the press did urge them, it would have asked for pacific manifestations from which every injurious and menacing expression and every extreme proposal would have been banished. Other papers served by unbalanced writers wanted blood, and the masses, always easy to influence, let themselves be carried away in a current which could only lead them into a ridiculous position as well as to a disastrous

end. The struggle of the earthen vessel against the iron pot.

Notwithstanding the representations of wiser papers, notwithstanding the counsels of men of influence whose character should have won more attention, the instigators of the rebellion continued to arouse the country from its peaceable position. There were numerous meetings at Longueuil, at Berthier, at Saint Rose, at Terrebonne, at Chambly, and at Sainte Scholastique. At these, M. Papineau, the chief leader of the insurrection, Dr. O'Callaghan and Girouard spoke to the people so as to irritate them still more against the ruling powers. Resolutions copied from those of the preceding meetings were thrown as food to the popular flame. Up to this time, the agitation had seemed inclined limit itself to the District of Montreal. The fact is, that at Quebec there was very little excitement, and the little that there was did not travel beyond the city.

On the 4th of June a meeting was held on the Marche Saint Paul. Orators like Mons. A. N. Morin, a peaceful man and upright if there ever was one, contented themselves with supporting with all the voice of authority the Ninety-two Resolutions, and thereby adhered to the popular sentiment which so loudly demanded the redress of the common grievances. Papineau, Lafontaine, Girouard, and Dr. Taché convoked meetings at Saint Thomas and elsewhere, but had the good sense not to overstep the constitutional mark, and they even went so far as to disavow certain of the resolutions adopted at Saint Ours. During this period the English party, which called itself the Constitutional party and was supported by some French Canadians, made counter demonstrations. It denounced the conduct of the friends of Papineau, saying that it was folly to undertake against England a struggle which was not founded on constitutional grounds. Hence it was that there took place at Quebec on the 31st of July a brilliant demonstration of 8,000 people which unanimously adopted resolutions based on those of a meeting of a like nature previously held at Montreal. One of them declared that: "This meeting cannot express in terms energetic enough its horror of the immoral and disorganizing effect of the measures recommended and the resolutions adopted at the public meetings recently held in different parts of this Province, and this meeting condemns them as directly opposed to the sentiment for Her Majesty and devotion to her government entertained by the loyal subjects of the whole Province."

The hearts of the "patriots" still continued, however, to burn with resentment, and when the news arrived from London that the Imperial Government had refused to put in force the Resolutions adopted by the Canadian Legislature the crisis could not fail to become imminent. Add to this fresh blow from the side whence safety

The Hon. Augustin Norbert Morin.

might have come, the excesses of the press, the menaces of party spirit, the fiery manifestoes sent almost everywhere, the acts of violence in which enthusiasts indulged in certain quarters, the dismissals from office made by the Government often without justifiable reasons, and we shall still have but an imperfect idea of the exasperation of the "patriots" throughout the whole Province. It was more and more evident to the eyes of those who could read a little into the future that the end was drawing near. On the 23rd of October

there was a large meeting at Saint-Charles de Richelieu. There were present Papineau, Nelson, Viger, Lacoste and Girouard. Papineau tried to be moderate, but whatever he might say the mass of the audience seemed determined to pass beyond the bounds of legality and to take up arms.

Dr. O'Callaghan, who was also present, declared later that neither he nor Papineau wished to have bloodshed, and that both of them were victims and not conspirators. "As for us," cried he, according to the Historian Garneau, "were I on my death-bed I should declare before God that I had no more idea of action or of resistance when I left Montreal to proceed to the banks of the Richelieu with Papineau, than I have now that of becoming Bishop of Quebec." Dr. O'Callaghan could speak for himself, but as for his friend Papineau, God and himself alone knew what there really was at the bottom of his heart. In any case he had been very imprudent and a man cannot play with fire without burning himself. The meeting at Saint-Charles adopted the resolutions which had before served as a basis for a rebellious manifesto since printed and distributed by thousands of copies. At the same time there appeared at Montreal a *Mandement* from Mgr. Lartigue, Auxiliary Bishop of Mgr. Signay, Archbishop of Quebec, exhorting his flock to obey established authority.*

The first blow in the drama was struck at Montreal between the members of the "Doric Club," composed of partizans of the Government, and the "Sons of Liberty," as the young men of the Reform or "Patriot" party called themselves. On the morning of the 7th of November, some of the latter coming out from their meeting place beset a little group of loyal men, throwing stones after them along the Rue Saint-Jacques, the Rue Saint-Francois Xavier, and the Rue Notre-Dame. The news of this affray spread like a train of powder through the city, so that the day passed in repeated struggles between the two factions. The offices of the *Vindicator*, a "patriot" journal, were pillaged, the type scattered about, and the printing-presses broken up. The troops commanded by Colonel Maitland were obliged to parade the streets in order to put an end to hostilities which promised to take a bloody turn. It was then that, hearing of these regrettable facts, the Government sent out warrants for the arrest of Papineau, Nelson, O'Callaghan and Morin, who had promptly concealed themselves in order to escape being put in prison. Warrants were also issued against Desmarais and Dr. Davignon, two citizens of Saint Jean d' Iberville. Captain Moulton succeeded in capturing them, and proceeded to take them to Montreal by the road which goes along the River Chambly. It was an unfortunate move, for the population, more and more exasperated, succeeded in taking possession of the two prisoners, putting to rout Captain Moulton and his military escort.

The next day Captains Wetherall, Glasgow, and David, of the Montreal Cavalry, were ordered to go as far as Saint-Charles for the purpose of intimidating the farmers, and thus deal with the very heart of the insurrection. For his part General Sir John Colborne, Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian forces—afterwards Governor-General and Lord Seaton — was determined to thoroughly stamp out the revolt. To that end he also sent to Saint-Charles, Lieutenant-Colonel Gore, with a good detachment of troops. Following this came the capture of Lieutenant Weir, who was conducted before Dr. Nelson and afterwards put to death by another rebel. At the famous fight of Saint-Denis, seven or eight hundred rebels, badly armed with scythes, sabres, and some old guns, sustained the attack of troops, perfectly disciplined and armed to the teeth. Notwithstanding this disproportion in the forces, Colonel Gore was forced to beat a retreat, leaving behind him his field battery and four soldiers as prisoners. There were only seven deaths, of which the most noteworthy was Ovide Perreault, a member of the Legislature.

Colonel Wetherall directed his forces on Saint-Charles, where the insurgents, to the number of four or five hundred, were entrenched under the leadership of T. S. Brown. The attack was sharp, the reply equally so. But the rebels, seeing their entrenchments yield under the onslaught, soon took to flight—twenty-five amongst them being killed and forty wounded or made prisoners. Some days later, Colonel Gore, having received new re-enforcements, left Sorel to

*EDITOR'S NOTE. See Page 524, Volume II., "Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country."

go to Saint-Denis. There he found the village deserted. The soldiers pillaged the private residences, and then burnt them. On the 5th of December martial law was proclaimed in the District of Montreal, and Lieutenant-General Sir John Colborne put it at once in force. Lord Gosford, then Governor-General of Canada, placed a price on Papineau's head, and those of ten other leading rebels, viz.: Dr. Nelson, T. S. Brown, Dr. O'Callaghan, Dr. Côté, J. T. Drolet, J. G. Girouard, W. H. Scott, Edward E. Rodier, Amury Girod, and Dr. Chénier. Events were indeed hastening on, and they soon assumed an even more serious aspect.

From the news of the defeat of the insurgents at Saint-Denis and Saint-Charles, the people perceived that it was useless, not to say dangerous, to attempt to rise against the civil authority, and that it was better for them to listen to the voice of their Bishops and priests than to the inconsiderate calls to revolt of imprudent and too enthusiastic persons. Meetings were convoked on all sides. Everywhere devotion to the British Crown was protested. The rebel party was strongly denounced, but at the same time the redress of the grievances which still continued was steadily demanded. Although quenched on the south bank of the St. Lawrence River, the rebellion still continued to the north of Montreal, and more particularly in the Parish of St. Eustache, in the County of Two Mountains. At the head of the rebels here were Dr. Chénier and a Swiss of the name of Amury Girod. Both had succeeded in convincing the peasants of Sainte-Scholastique, Saint-Bénoit and Saint-Eustache, that the English troops had been defeated at Saint-Denis and Saint-Charles, and that with a little determination they would succeed in doing the same.

These poor unfortunates, more to be pitied than blamed, let themselves be easily convinced, and joined their fortunes to those of Dr. Chénier and Girod. The Curé of Saint-Eustache, Abbe Paquin, knowing better, made vain efforts with the agitators to bring them to reason, but it was useless. They continued to excite the masses and to plunge them deeper and deeper into the abyss. Meanwhile, Sir John Colborne had left Montreal with an armed force of eight thousand men and eight cannon. On the 14th of December he reached Saint-Eustache. Of the rebels there were counted at the last moment only 200 or 250 men, the others having taken to flight. Chénier's followers were barricaded in the Convent and parsonage of Saint-Eustache. During the attack, the church having taken fire, the insurgents who had sought refuge there tried to escape, but many found death at the hands of soldiers and amongst others Dr. Chénier, who received a fatal shot at the moment when he was crossing the cemetery. One hundred and ten rebels perished in this fight

The Hon. Denis Benjamin Viger.

and one hundred and five were wounded. On the side of the troops there were only seven killed and ten wounded. Girod, having tried to save himself, was soon overtaken by Colborne's soldiers, but rather than let himself be taken alive blew his brains out with a pistol-shot. For a supposed hero this was a miserable end. The next day the victorious troops directed their steps towards the Parish of Saint-Bénoit, where Colonel Globensky, a patriotic Canadian of the War of 1812, commanded. The rebels in this

parish had sent information to Sir John Colborne that they were ready to surrender. In fact, when the General arrived in their village he found the white flag displayed at all their doors. So it was submissive and not rebellious peasants that he had to encounter. Be that as it may, the village was delivered up to pillage and then set on fire.*

At Sainte-Scholastique, the peasants also protested their submission, and here the village was spared. The revolt was terminated. All the insurgents had been defeated in their own towns and their leaders were either dead or fugitives. Peace, therefore, was not long in being re-established. Our Bishops once again denounced the folly of the insurrection to the people. "What misery, what desolation," cried the Bishop of Montreal, "is spread broadcast through many of our fields and homes since the scourge of civil war has ravaged a happy country where abundance and joy reigned with order and safety, before brigands and rebels by force of sophistries and lies had led astray a part of the population. What remains to you of their grand promises? Was it the desire of the majority of the people, who according to these principles should control everything in the State, to go into armed conflict? Was there any general concurrence in the operations of the insurgents? Are you free, when in menacing you with all sorts of taxation, with incendiarism, with the loss of all your property, with death itself if you did not submit to their frightful despotism, they forced more than half of the small number who took arms against our august Sovereign, to march against her victorious armies?"

In these few lines is found briefly the whole history of this ill-timed Rebellion, its causes and its results. The French-Canadian people could complain, as they had the right to do, of being ill-governed. They could say, as I myself say, that from 1760 they had been the object of oppression on the part of certain individuals who believed themselves entitled to hamper the liberties of a helpless people without caring for their cries and protestations. They felt that at least one Governor had acted contrary to the rules laid down by the British Constitution; that the money of the people had been squandered without regard to their wants and privations; that a certain portion of the English press in the Province never failed to throw contempt and insult in the face of their compatriots. But to revolt against the Government because some hot-heads wished it so was indeed to fish in troubled waters, and to drive themselves into an entanglement from which it was impossible to emerge without increased suffering. On whom, then, should weigh the responsibility for this revolt? Evidently on those who had anticipated it, prepared it, and valued each step as favourable to their plans. These men were Papineau, Nelson, Brown, Chénier and others less notable, but who, in seconding the leaders, caused nearly as much mischief. All these are the true culprits, and, I dare say, the only culprits. For, do not let us throw the blame on the poor peasants who found themselves mingled in the diverse catastrophies of this struggle without knowing where they were being led.

However, it was they who suffered the most both in person and property. Fifty-four of them were condemned to transportation to the other side of the world. Others were hung as vile malefactors, and some had seen their homes and all that pertained to them burnt before their eyes. The leaders were wise enough to find refuge on the other side of the frontier and died in exile, or returned long after to receive a pardon. As for Papineau, whom some would like to compare to O'Connell, the great Irish patriot, he must bear the greater part of the responsibility. His conduct was very different from that of "the liberator of Ireland," who obtained for his compatriots by force of eloquence, privileges which he could not have obtained by arms. For the rest, O'Connell himself has judged Papineau and his work. "The friends of liberty," cried he in the House of Commons, on the 30th of July, 1838, "had in the beginning everything in their hands and would have succeeded if they had understood how to manage it. Without their folly, their wickedness, and their crimes, they would finally have triumphed. But from the moment when M.

EDITOR'S NOTE. It is fair to say that this is a much disputed point. French-Canadian historians and writers usually accept the version given here by M. Dionne, while English writers deny the charge strenuously.

Papineau and the others shed blood and made rebellion break out against the Executive power they lost the support of every man who wished to obtain the liberty of the people by constitutional and legal means, and they deserved the greatest misfortune that could befall them, that of putting their country under the yoke of despotism."

Understanding that peace must be restored not only on the surface but in the hearts of the people, Lord Gosford wrote on the 2nd September, 1837, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "It is evident that the Papineau faction will not be satisfied until the English Government have put it in a position to carry its projects into execution, viz.: the separation of this country from England and the establishment of a Republic." To suspend the constitution, according to Lord Gosford, seemed the most rational method of arriving later at an understanding with the Mother Country. But for some reason or other he did not desire to await the result of his suggestion and asked to be recalled. He was replaced temporarily, and by Sir John Colborne, who continued the martial law proclaimed on the 5th of November preceding.

Although the insurgents had been conquered they did not continue the less to lay their plans in secret. Dr. Nelson and Dr. Côté, refugees in Vermont, U. S. A., even attempted an invasion of Canadian territory. Dr. Nelson issued a proclamation in which he promised the Canadians independence, and a constitution which would give them complete liberty. At the same time he issued a call to arms. This call was not listened to, and the arrival of Lord Durham as Governor-General was received with universal satisfaction. He immediately appointed an Executive Council, charged with administering affairs. A statute also condemned to transportation many prominent French Canadians, amongst others Papineau, the Abbè Chartier, G. E. (afterwards Sir George) Cartier, and M. Duvernay, proprietor of *La Minerve*. Lord Durham announced a general amnesty, except for those who were accused of having killed Lieutenant Weir and a few similar cases. This amnesty was blamed in England, for, according to Lord Brougham, the Governor-General used a power which the Sovereign herself might not have wished to exercise. So it was condemned by the two Houses. Lord Durham left immediately for England to defend his conduct, and without awaiting permission or a recall.

It was then that the "patriots" who had fled to the United States tried a new movement of insurrection, aided by a group of Yankees, hostile to England. Their first act was to attack the steamer, *Henry Brougham*, on the Beauharnois Canal. They destroyed this vessel and seized the passengers. Then they went to Beauharnois and made prisoners of a man named Ellice and his family. The revolt in this part of the country

The Hon. Louis Joseph Papineau.

threatened to begin once more. Sir John Colborne, however, promptly proclaimed martial law again and appointed a Special Council as he had already done before the arrival of Lord Durham. The law of Habeas Corpus was suspended, and numerous arrests were made. At Laprairie, Nelson had managed to recruit two thousand men, and was already thinking of seizing the forts at Saint-Jean and Chambly. Having decided to thoroughly settle the matter this time, the Government sent against them nearly seven

thousand men with eight field-batteries. The encounter took place at Odelltown, and after a contest Nelson was compelled to cross the frontier with the survivors of his army. This was the end of the rebellion in Lower Canada. In Upper Canada the rebels had been much better organized under the command of Mackenzie. They also had proclaimed a Republican provisional Government and shared in divers contests. Two Americans by name Dodge and Theller took part with the Upper Canadian rebels. Both, infatuated with enthusiasm for "liberty" gave manifest

Dr. Wolfred Nelson.

proofs of their courage, and afterwards were made prisoners on board a schooner named *Ann* in Lake Ontario. Accused of high treason the Court-Martial condemned them to death, though the execution was deferred. Taken to the prison at Toronto, then to Kingston, and then to Montreal, they were brought to Quèbec; here they carried out a plan of escape and succeeded in regaining their native country.

The Government showed itself somewhat severe regarding the rebel prisoners. It removed French-Canadian officers, annulled the lists of Justices of the Peace, and suspended certain Judges (Panet, Bédard and Vallières of Saint-Réal) for having released prisoners contrary to the suspension of the laws of Habeas Corpus. Sir John Colborne instituted Courts-martial to judge the men with whom the prisons were filled. Forty-nine were condemned to transportation and eighty-nine to death, and their property confiscated. Twelve only perished on the scaffold. These were (on the 23rd of December, 1838,) Cardinal and Duquet; on the 18th of January, 1839, Decoigne, Robert, the two brothers Sanguinet, and Hamelin; and finally on the 15th February, Hindeland, Narbonne, Nicolas, Donais, and Chevalier de Lorimier. This latter was a distinguished young man who paid with his life for his culpable imprudence. "One cannot read," says Garneau, "without being moved, the last letters of Chevalier de Lorimier to his family and his friends, in which he protests the sincerity of his convictions. He signed, before going to execution, a declaration of his principles which testify to his good faith and which prove the danger there is in spreading doctrines which can lead to consequences so disastrous."

Those who had fled to the United States still continued their incursions on Canadian soil, giving themselves up to depredation and pillage which caused much alarm in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain. They even attacked Windsor, though without success. A little alarmed at this state of affairs, the American authorities at last put a strong guard on their frontiers and confided its direction to Generals Scott and Worth. In the course of the winter, the Special Council of Quebec had one hundred and fifty-one prisoners transported to the penal Colonies of Australia. They left on the 26th of September, 1839, on a transport vessel of the Royal Navy. As for the refugees to the United States, they obtained later permission to return to the country, thanks to the efficacious intervention of members of the Assembly after the Union with Upper Canada. Papineau, Nelson, O'Callaghan and Brown were, however, declared guilty of high treason. After having lived in France, Papineau returned to Canada in 1844, and all pursuit of the principal instigators of the rebellion was from that time abandoned. Thus concluded an exciting epoch in Canadian history.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE REBELLION—EDITOR'S NOTES.

The French-Canadian Ninety-two Resolutions. The two sides of the question in Quebec are given respectively in the Ninety-two Resolutions of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, passed on February 21st, 1834, and in the Address of the Constitutional Society of Montreal dated November 20th, 1834. The former is a very lengthy document—even in the admirable condensation given in Dr. Kingsford's History of Canada, Volume 9, pages 544-54. The following, however, are the chief grievances which were therein stated to exist three years before the Rebellion:

1. That in 1827 a petition signed by 87,000 persons complained of numerous abuses, the greatest part of which remain uncorrected and unmitigated.

2. That, consequently, a Parliamentary Committee was named, of which Mr. E. G. Stanley, the present Secretary of State for the Colonies, and others, formed part, which came to the following conclusions:

a. That the embarrassments and discontents had arisen from serious and constitutional defects.

b. That they were attributable to the administration of the system.

c. That the Committee were convinced that their suggestions would not be attended with the desired effects, unless an impartial, conciliatory and constitutional system of government was observed.

3. That the Constitution has been administered to multiply discontent, the recommendations of the House of Commons not having been followed by effective measures.

4. That the Legislative Council has less community of interest with the Province than ever before. As at present composed it leaves no ground for hope that it will adopt the sentiments of the people and the House as to its rights to control the revenues, and the necessity of providing for the expenses of civil government by annual appropriation.

5. That the charges, made by the House of Assembly, that the Governor-General exhibited partiality and injustice in his Administration, and that the King's officers, civil and military, constitute a faction which upholds the Governor-General in his mal-administration from motives of self-interest alone, described in the Address of the Council as calumnious, are true and well-founded.

6. That, in addition to its wicked and calumnious Address of 1833, the little community of interest which the Council has with the Colony is proved by the fact that out of 64 Bills sent by the Assembly to the Legislative Council 28 were either wholly rejected, or so amended as to nullify the intention of the Assembly. The unanimity in favour of those Bills in the one House was equalled by the unanimity against them in the other, showing that the Provincial Executive and the Council of its choice cannot or will not give effect to the wishes of the people, and that, if it were desired to introduce the spirit of British institutions into the Colony, the head of the Executive should have appealed to the people by dissolving Parliament.

7. That, notwithstanding the belief of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the contrary, the people of Canada see much to admire in the institutions of the neighbouring States, having the power to prevent abuses so deplorably prevalent in Canada, and offering a guarantee for the progressive development of their institutions by means of conventions called at short intervals to revise and adapt them to existing conditions. The institutions of the States command the affection of the people in a larger measure than those of any other country.

8. That the unanimity with which the elective principle has been adopted and extended in the American States proves that it meets the political condition on this continent, and that the House of Brunswick, with a reformed Parliament, ought not to hesitate to concede what was granted to the most advanced American States by the House of Stuart.

9. That the principle of proportional representation should be recognized, and, with a view of applying it in this country where the population increases rapidly, a frequent and periodical census should be taken and the representation to the House regulated accordingly.

10. That the confidence of the British Parliament in the Executive of the country has been abused by attempts to induce Parliament to pass Acts affecting the internal affairs of the Province, on which the people have not been consulted: A notable instance is the Tenure Act (6th George III., Cap. 59), the repeal of which was demanded by all classes.

11. That the object of the law, as stated in its title, was to extinguish feudal and seigneurial rights and dues on land held *en fief* and *à cens;* but its intention was made nugatory by the provisions which convert the limited holding of the Seigneurs to a holding in absolute right and give to them unconditionally large tracts of the waste lands of the seigneuries.

12. That the provision of the law by the change of tenure brings the lands held *en fief* or *en censive* into free and common soccage, subject to the laws of Great Britain; consequently is most prejudicial in the older settlements; likewise it furnishes ground for fear that all the laws of the Province will be eventually superseded by English laws.

13. That there is just reason to fear that the claims made by the Executive to the property of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice at Montreal is attributable to the desire on the part of the Colonial Government to hasten this deplorable state of things, and the King's Government by re-assuring his subjects on this point would dissipate the alarm felt by the clergy and the people.

13. That the claims of the Executive to appropriate and exercise control over a large portion of the public revenue are without foundation or constitutional principle.

14. That the applications of the House to the Executive for certain documents relating to public expenditure have been met by a steady refusal, this attitude having been also assumed by subordinate functionaries who have been summoned to appear before the Committee of the House with the papers relating to the same matters.

15. That a marked disproportion exists in the distribution of the public offices, 157 officers being of British and foreign birth and forty-seven of native or French origin; that the offices held by the latter class are inferior; that in the case of the higher offices, in the hands of those of British origin, several are frequently found combined in the same person. The population, amounting to 600,000, is made up of 525,000 of French or native origin and 75,000 of British or other origin.

16. That, in the Judiciary, all the Judges but one in each of the three great divisions have been born out of the country, and, being but little versed with its laws, which they regard with antipathy, they have introduced confusion by their failure to govern their decisions on the principles of the laws of the Province; and, by their partial and uncertain administration of the criminal law, they deprive the community of the sense of the protection the law should afford.

17. That some of the Judges have sought to abolish the use of the French language in the Courts.

The evident tendency of some of these clauses towards American principles and policy—still more pronounced in the original document—indicates that the struggle between the American and British lines of development was even more distinct in Lower than in Upper Canada. An illustration of the inaccurate premises upon which such agitations are often based is found in connection with Clause 15 as above. The best authorities place the French population of the Lower Province in 1831 at 370,000, and the British at 183,000, making the majority 187,000 instead of 450,000.

Address of the Montreal Constitutional Society. The following is the text of an Address issued by the Constitutional Society of Montreal on November 20, 1834. It affords the English, Loyalist and Tory view—the terms being largely synonymous at that time in Lower Canada. There was also the very important influence of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy which had to be reckoned with and which stood sincerely by the platform of loyalty to the Crown and Constitution. It was a most important fact that at this period the Church guided and ruled the majority instead of being led by them. The Address was as follows—beginning with a somewhat unfortunate and restrictive phrase:

"*To Men of British or Irish Descent:* Engaged in a contest, the result of which must be felt throughout the Provinces of British Amer-

ica, we, your oppressed brethren of Montreal, solicit your attention to a brief and temperate exposition of our principles and grievances. Connected with you by identity of origin, by community of feeling, by national recollections and by one common interest in this hour of danger, we look to you for support. The population of Lower Canada, heterogeneous in its character, comprehends two distinct classes—a majority of French and a minority of British descent—governed by feelings and attachments widely differing from each other. The causes which have produced that division may not be generally known.

The want of education among the French majority and their consequent inability to form a correct judgment of the acts of their political leaders have engendered most of our grievances. The extent of that ignorance may be collected from the facts that within the last few years in each of two Grand Juries of the Court of King's Bench for the District of Montreal, selected under a Provincial law from among the wealthiest inhabitants of the rural parishes, there was found to be one person competent to write his name, and that Trustees of schools are especially permitted by Statute to affix their crosses to their school reports. The political information of that part of the Canadian population engaged in agricultural pursuits is therefore derived exclusively from the few educated individuals scattered among them who speak the same language and who possess the means of directing public opinion, exempted from those salutary checks which education alone can bestow. The persons who wield this mighty power are, generally speaking, Seigneurs, lawyers and notaries of French extraction, all of whom, as will be shown hereafter, have a direct and selfish interest in maintaining a system of feudal law injurious to the country and bearing with peculiar severity on British interests.

Our endeavours to procure relief have been represented as an overt attack upon the customs and institutions of the Province, national prejudices have been called into action, national feelings excited, and a French majority, ignorant of the nature of the contest, is now arrayed against a British minority. Passing by the petty vexations of the Feudal Tenure, such as the Seigneur's right to call for the title-deeds of every vassal; his exclusive right of grinding the grain of his seigneury; his right to assume any property within the limits of his seigneury on re-imbursing to the purchaser the cost of his acquisition; and other claims of a servile and arbitrary nature incident to feudal law; we proceed to the subject of the more grievous burden by which we are oppressed. Throughout the seigneuries of Lower Canada (within limits of which are comprised the cities of Montreal and Quebec) upon the sale of real property the feudal lord extracts from the purchaser a fine equal to one-twelfth part of the price—a claim which recurs with each successive sale. Thus every person who clears or otherwise improves a farm, erects a building, either in town or country, or invests capital in landed estate, bestows one-twelfth of his outlay on the Seigneur, whenever the property is brought to sale. This odious law, so injurious in its effects, readily explains why this fine Province, although richly endowed by nature, is so far surpassed in the career of improvement by neighbouring Provinces and States.

From want of a Bill for the registration of acquisition of real property, the validity of a title cannot be ascertained except by a course of expensive proceedings through Courts of Law, but secret encumbrances may still exist, unaffected by that procedure, for whose discovery no means are afforded. Hence the difficulty of borrowing money on mortgage and the frequent seizure and forced sale of real estate. The profits which accrue to the Seigneurs from this state of things are obvious, and the interest of the French lawyer and notary in maintaining a system of law that fosters litigation and produces corresponding expense is equally intelligible. Such are the considerations which govern a party exercising a paramount influence in the House of Assembly; and thus it is that British liberality, which conferred upon the French population the elements of free government, has been perverted by designing and interested individuals to the means of retaining laws adverse to national prosperity and to the spirit of free institutions.

The repugnance of Britons to a slavish and antiquated system of feudal jurisprudence has drawn upon them the undisguised hostility of the

French party; an hostility which has been manifested by attempts even of a Legislative character to check emigration from the British Isles and to prevent a permanent settlement in the Provinces of that class of His Majesty's subjects whom they have invidiously described as of 'British or foreign origin.' The most prominent of these enactments, and the most unjust, is the imposition of a tax on British emigrants, and British emigrants only, in violation of the most sacred rights we inherit from our fathers, and contrary to the best interests of the Province. They have denounced, as a mischievous monopoly, a Land Company established for the purpose of settling with a British population lands which, by their distance from a market and want of roads, would otherwise be inaccessible to individual enterprises, wilfully overlooking the fact that the immense tracts of land still held by the Crown, and offered for sale in small parcels at low rates, secure the advantages of competition and will prevent the Company from using its privileges to the detriment of the community.

In the formation of counties for the election of representatives, the Townships, which are held by the tenure of free and common soccage, and are therefore the natural resort of British settlers, have been divided into counties according to the actual population, without making any provision for their future growth, although the territory thus parcelled out is of much larger extent than the French seigneuries, so that, were the respective sections of the Province peopled in proportion to their productive powers, a majority of British constituents would return a minority of representatives. They have excluded co-tenants and co-proprietors from the elective franchise as being generally Britons, whilst to co-heirs, as being chiefly French, the right of voting has been carefully secured. The qualification of magistrates, of militia officers, and of jurors, is made to depend upon real estate, the possession of which, in properties of limited value, is generally confined to (French) Canadians, whilst Britons, whose capital is more commonly embarked in commercial and manufacturing pursuits, are virtually debarred from those offices and public trusts, thus confiding our liberties to the discretion of a body of men the greater number of whom are devoid of education and have been taught to regard Britons as their natural enemies.

Their abuse of power and contempt of enlightened public opinion (confident of the support of an unlettered French majority) are exemplified by their proceedings in the House of Assembly. We have seen Mr. Christie expelled from successive Parliaments, despite the remonstrances of the disfranchised electors of Gaspé and contrary to every principle of a representative government; M. Mondelet expelled by a forced construction of an illegal Resolution, a construction from which the framer of the Resolution declared his dissent and contrary to the precedent in the case of M. Panet, who, under like circumstances, was permitted to retain his seat; the West Ward of Montreal, containing a majority of independent British electors, disfranchised for two years; a pretended enquiry into the melancholy riot of the 21st of May, 1832, where individuals were pronounced guilty before the examination of a single witness, and where, in violation of a solemn pledge and of common justice, the evidence for the prosecution was sent forth to the world without any evidence having been received in defence; public moneys misapplied under Resolutions of the Assembly without the assent of the co-ordinate branches of the Legislature; the contingent expense of the Assembly charged with a salary to M. Viger, originally of 1,000 pounds but gradually increased to 1,700 pounds per annum—a sum so disproportionate to the services rendered as to justify the conclusion that the vote itself was a convenient pretext for the secret misapplication of Provincial funds; and their daring contempt of all public and constitutional principles during the last Session, and on the eve of a dissolution, in attempting to commit a new Parliament to the re-imbursement of the expenses attendant upon the convening of public meetings throughout the Province, avowedly for the purpose of influencing the general election.

The laws governing commercial transactions, introduced from France, remain as they were at the Conquest. Applications to the Assembly for a Bankrupt law and other modifications of the existing jurisprudence suited to the altered circumstances of the country, have been uniformly neglected, and we continue subjected to the uncer-

tain and ill-defined provisions of a body of laws long since repudiated in that France whence it was originally derived. The Provincial Banks, called into existence by Acts of the Provincial Legislature, and by the terms of their charters compelled annually to exhibit statements of their affairs, have been openly denounced by M. Papineau, late Speaker of the Assembly and the organ of the French party, from no other possible motive than a desire to inflict injury upon commerce and consequently on Britons, by whom the commerce of the country is chiefly conducted.

The same individual has publicly recommended to the French party to abstain from all intercourse with Britons—an advice which has been acted upon to a considerable extent. Not satisfied with the powers with which they are constitutionally invested, the French party in the Assembly have been incessantly occupied in attempting to arrogate to themselves supremacy in the concerns of the Province. Their refusal to pass laws, except of temporary duration, has involved in uncertainty important interests which would require to be regulated by permanent enactments. Their claim to pass in review the salaries of all public officers by an Annual Civil List, voted by items, would, if acceded to, lead to a disorganization of Government and ultimately render the Judges and other public functionaries the instruments of their political animosities.

The Legislative Council, a body appointed by the Crown and where alone British interests are fairly represented, they are endeavouring to replace by an elective Council, which, returned by the same constituency, must from necessity be in all respects a counterpart of the Assembly—a measure which would remove the barriers that defend us against French tyranny and give to a majority, hostile to British interests, a power that would be employed to sever the connection between Canada and the Empire. Our opposition to this extension of the elective principle, dictated by a sense of self-preservation, has been falsely represented as an opposition to liberal institutions. Accustomed to see in the neighbouring States the mild tolerance of equal laws and a constitution in its essential features approximating to our own, we are not of those who start with alarm at the name of a republic, or view their institutions with jealousy or distrust. With sentiments of generous pride we recognize the lineaments of kindred blood and national character. Sensible of the benefits derived from our connection with the parent state, and ardently attached to the land of our fathers, we view with grief and indignation proceedings, which, if not successfully resisted, will leave us no choice between a change which we deprecate and a submission to French oppression.

It were an insult to the understanding to dwell upon public opinion as expressed by a population destitute of the advantages of education, as the mass of the French population in this Province has been shown to be, and we regard with blended feelings of indignation and contempt the affectation of the leaders of the French party of the character of Liberals and Reformers, whilst they have sedulously fostered a system of feudal exactions and feudal servitude which invests a privileged class with more arbitrary rights than the nobility of England, without the plea of hereditary claims to Legislative honours. Numbering in our ranks many who, both in Britain and Ireland, were foremost in the cause of reform; independent in our principles; unconnected with office; of all classes and of all creeds; bound together by the endearing recollection of a common origin and the powerful sentiment of a common danger; we are prepared to resist to the uttermost the efforts of a party which, under the specious guise of popular institutions, would sever wisdom from power and respect from intelligence, and consign us to unendurable bondage.

Cherishing sentiments of becoming respect for His Majesty's Government, and correctly appreciating its many efforts to advance our prosperity, the task we have undertaken to perform requires, nevertheless, that we should explicitly declare our opinion that the evils which oppress us have been aggravated by the various and temporizing policy of successive Administrations. The destinies of this important Province have been confided to Colonial Secretaries, ignorant of the state of parties in the Colony; entering upon office without a competent knowledge of our affairs; relying for information upon a House of Assembly constituted as that body has been shown to be; alternately making unwise concessions, or attempting to

enforce unwise principles, and not unfrequently retiring from office at a time when experience would have enabled them to act with becoming judgment and decision; the tendency of their measures has been to compromise the dignity of the Home Government and to confer a sanction upon the pretensions by which our interests are assailed.

We are not insensible to the just grounds of complaint arising from the inefficiency of the Executive Council and the feeble claims which that body possesses to the confidence of the community. We cannot recognize just principles of government in calling to a seat in one of the Councils a clerk or subordinate officer of the other; and, although the Legislative Council, as at present constituted, commands our respect as possessing a majority of independent members, we consider that it yet contains too many persons holding dependent situations under the Crown and liable to be acted upon by undue influence. The accumulation of offices in the family and connection of a leading member of the Legislative Council deserves to be held up to public reprehension. The irresponsible manner in which the Land-granting Department is conducted; the salary disproportioned to the duties performed, which is attached to the office; and other abuses connected with the Woods and Forests, demand revision.

To the redress of these abuses and to all other reforms based upon just principles, we offer the most strenuous support, and we deliberately and with confidence submit this exposition of our principles and grievances, in order that our fellow-countrymen may be enabled to judge of the sincerity of the respective parties in the Province by contrasting professions with facts. The subject of this Address cannot fail to suggest important reflections connected with the social and political relations of the country. Of what the future will disclose we can offer no conjecture. Recent events have roused us to a sense of impending danger, and the British and Irish population of Lower Canada are now united for self-preservation, animated by a determination to resist measures which, if successfel, must end in their destruction. Shall we in this, the country of our adoption, be permitted to find a home, or shall we be driven from it as fugitives? Strong in the sympathies of our fellow-countrymen in the Sister Provinces, injury cannot be inflicted upon us without affecting them; and the French party may yet be taught that the majority upon which they count for success will, in the hour of trial, prove a weak defence against the awakened energies of an insulted and oppressed people."

Such was the document prepared and issued by order of the Committee appointed at a public meeting of the inhabitants of Montreal, held on the 20th of November, 1834. It was signed by a most representative citizen—the Hon. John Molson, Junior.

Lord Durham on the French Question. In the famous Report issued by the Earl of Durham in London on January 31, 1839, the views of the English settlers in Lower Canada and his own opinion upon the situation there which led up to the Rebellion are given in the following important section of that voluminous document. It will be seen to agree in many points with the above quoted Address:

"The English population, an immigrant and enterprising population, looked on the American Provinces as a vast field for settlement and speculation, and in the common spirit of the Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of that continent regarded it as the chief business of the Government to promote, by all possible use of its legislative and administrative powers, the increase of population and the accumulation of property. They found the laws of real property exceedingly adverse to the easy alienation of land, which is, in a new country, absolutely essential to its settlement and improvement. They found the greatest deficiency in the internal communications of the country, and the utter want of local self-government rendered it necessary for them to apply to the Assembly for every road or bridge, or other public work that was needed; they wished to form themselves into companies for the establishment of banks, and the construction of railroads and canals, and to obtain the powers necessary for the completion of such works with funds of their own. And as the first requisite for the improvement of the country they desired that a large proportion of the revenue should be applied to the comple-

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tion of that great series of public works by which it was proposed to render the Saint Lawrence and the Ottawa navigable throughout their whole extent.

Without going so far as to accuse the Assembly of a deliberate design to check the settlement and improvement of Lower Canada, it cannot be denied that they looked with considerable jealousy and dislike on the increase and prosperity of what they regarded as a foreign and hostile race; they looked on the Province as the patrimony of their own race; they viewed it not as a country to be settled, but as one already settled; and instead of legislating in the American spirit, and first providing for the future population of the Province, their primary care was, in the spirit of legislation which prevails in the Old World, to guard the interests and feelings of the present race of inhabitants to whom they considered the new comers as subordinate. They refused to increase the burthens of the country by imposing taxes to meet the expenditure required for improvement, and they also refused to direct to that object any of the funds previously devoted to other purposes. The improvement of the harbour at Montreal was suspended from a political antipathy to a leading English merchant who had been the most active of the Commissioners, and by whom it had been conducted with the most admirable success. It is but just to say that some of the works which the Assembly authorized and encouraged were undertaken on a scale of due moderation, and satisfactorily perfected and brought into operation. Others, especially the great communications which I have mentioned above, the Assembly showed a great reluctance to promote or even permit.

It is true that there was considerable foundation for their objections to the plan on which the Legislature of Upper Canada had commenced some of these works, and to the mode in which it had carried them on; but the English complained that, instead of profiting by the experience which they might have derived from this source, the Assembly seemed only to make its objections a pretext for doing nothing. The applications for banks, railroads and canals were laid on one side until some general measures could be adopted with regard to such undertakings; but the general measures thus promised were never passed, and the particular enterprises in question were prevented. The adoption of a registry was refused on the alleged ground of its inconsistency with the French institutions of the Province, and no measure to attain this desirable end, in a less obnoxious mode, was prepared by the leaders of the Assembly. The Feudal Tenure was supported as a mild and just provision for the settlement of a new country; a kind of assurance, given by a Committee of the Assembly that some steps should be taken to remove the most injurious incidents of the seigneurial tenure, produced no practical results; and the enterprises of the English were still thwarted by the obnoxious laws of the country. In all these decisions of the Assembly, in its discussions and in the apparent motives of its conduct, the English population perceived traces of a desire to repress the influx and the success of their race. A measure for imposing a tax on emigrants, though recommended by the Home Government and warranted by the policy of those neighbouring States which give the greatest encouragement to immigration, was argued on such grounds in the Assembly that it was not unjustly regarded as indicative of an intention to exclude any further accession to the English population; and the industry of the English was thus retarded by this conduct of the Assembly. Some districts, particularly that of the Eastern Townships, where the French race has no footing, were seriously injured by the refusal of necessary improvements; and the English inhabitants generally regarded the policy of the Assembly as a plan for preventing any further emigration to the Province; of stopping the growth of English wealth, and of rendering precarious the English property already invested or acquired in Lower Canada.

The Assembly of which they thus complained, and of which they entertained apprehensions so serious, was at the same time in collision with the Executive Government. The party in power, and which, by means of the Legislative Council, kept the Assembly in check, gladly availed itself of the discontents of this powerful and energetic minority, offered it its protection, and undertook the furtherance of its view; and thus was cemented the singular alliance between

the English population and the Colonial officials, who combined from perfectly different motives and with perfectly different objects against a common enemy. The English desired reform and liberal measures from the Assembly, which refused them, while it (the Assembly) was urging other reforms and demanding other liberal measures from the Executive Government.

The Assembly also complained of the oppressive use of the power of the Executive; the English complained that they, a minority, suffered under the oppressive use to which power was turned by the French majority. Thus a bold and intelligent democracy was impelled by its impatience for liberal measures, joined to its national antipathies, to make common cause with a Government which was at issue with the majority on the question of popular rights. The actual conflict commenced by a collision between the Executive and the French majority: and, as the English population rallied round the Government, supported its pretensions and designated themselves by the appellation of loyal: the causes of the quarrel were naturally supposed to be much more simple than they really were, and the extent of the division which existed among the inhabitants of Lower Canada, the number and nature of the dispute, were concealed from the public view.

The treasonable attempt of the French party to carry its political objects into effect by an appeal to arms brought these hostile races into general and armed collision. I will not dwell on the melancholy scenes exhibited in the progress of the contest, or the fierce passions which held an unchecked sway during the insurrection, or immediately after its suppression. It is not difficult to conceive how greatly the evils, which I have described as previously existing, have been aggravated by the war; how terror and revenge nourished in each portion of the population a bitter and irreconcilable hatred to each other, and to the institutions of the country. The French population, who had for some time exercised a great and increasing power through the medium of the House of Assembly, found their hopes unexpectedly prostrated in the dust. The physical force which they had vaunted was called into action and proved to be utterly inefficient. The hopes of recovering their previous ascendency under a constitution, similar to that suspended, almost ceased to exist. Removed from all actual share in the government of their country, they brood in sullen silence over the memory of their fallen countrymen, of their burnt villages, of their ruined property, of their extinguished ascendency, and of their humbled nationality. To the Government and the English they ascribe these wrongs and nourish against both an indiscriminating and eternal animosity.

Nor have the English inhabitants forgotten in their triumph the terror with which they suddenly saw themselves surrounded by an insurgent majority, and the incidents which alone appeared to save them from the unchecked domination of their antagonists. They find themselves still a minority in the midst of a hostile and organized people; apprehensions of secret conspiracies and sanguinary designs haunt them unceasingly; and their only hope of safety is supposed to rest on systematically terrifying and disabling the French, and in preventing a majority of that race from ever again being predominant in any portion of the Legislature of that Province. I describe in strong terms the feelings which appear to me to animate each portion of the population; and the picture which I draw represents a state of things so little familiar to the personal experience of the people of this country that many will probably regard it as the work of mere imagination; but I feel confident that the accuracy and moderation of my description will be acknowledged by all who have seen the state of society in Lower Canada during the last year. Nor do I exaggerate the inevitable constancy any more than the intensity of this animosity. Never again will the present generation of French-Canadians yield a loyal submission to a British Government; never again will the English population tolerate the authority of a House of Assembly in which the French shall possess or even approximate to a majority."

The nature of the situation will be better understood from this impartial summary than from almost any other source, though Lord Durham's conclusions have fortunately not all been justified by events, while some of his dismal forebodings have been nullified by the granting of the self-

government which neither side in either of the Canadas, or in Great Britain, fully understood at that period.

The Reformers' Declaration of Rights. The following historic Declaration of the Reformers of the City of Toronto was adopted on the 31st July, 1837, and published in *The Constitution* of August 2nd:

"The time has arrived, after nearly half a century's forbearance under increasing and aggravated misrule, when the duty we owe our country and posterity requires from us the assertion of our rights and the redress of our wrongs. Government is founded on the authority, and is instituted for the benefit, of a people; when, therefore, any Government long and systematically ceases to answer the great ends of its foundation, the people have a natural right given them by their Creator to seek after and establish such institutions as will yield the greatest quantity of happiness to the greatest number. Our forbearance heretofore has only been rewarded with an aggravation of our grievances; and our past inattention to our rights has been ungenerously and unjustly urged as evidence of the surrender of them. We have now to choose on the one hand between submission to the same blighting policy as has desolated Ireland, and on the other hand the patriotic achievement of cheap, honest and responsible government.

The right was conceded to the present United States, at the close of a successful revolution, to form a constitution for themselves; and the Loyalists with their descendants and others now peopling this portion of America are entitled to the same liberty without the shedding of blood. More they do not ask; less they ought not to have. But, while the revolution of the former has been rewarded with a consecutive prosperity unexampled in the history of the world, the loyal valour of the latter alone remains amidst the blight of misgovernment to tell them what they might have been as the not less valiant sons of American independence. Sir Francis Head has too truly pourtrayed our country 'as standing in the flourishing continent of North America like a girdled tree with its drooping branches.' But the laws of nature do not, and those of men ought not, longer doom this remnant of the new world to exhibit this invidious and humiliating comparison. The affairs of this country have been ever, against the spirit of the Constitutional Act, subjected in the most injurious manner to the interferences and interdictions of a succession of Colonial Ministers in England who have never visited the country, and can never possibly become acquainted with the state of parties or the conduct of public functionaries, except through official channels in the Province which are illy calculated to convey the information necessary to disclose official delinquencies and correct public abuses. A painful experience has proved how impracticable it is for such a succession of strangers beneficially to direct and control the affairs of the people four thousand miles off; and, being an impracticable system, felt to be intolerable by those for whose good it was professedly intended, it ought to be abolished and the domestic institutions of the Province so improved and administered by the local authorities as to render the people happy and contented. This system of baneful domination has been uniformly furthered by a Lieutenant-Governor sent amongst us as an uninformed and unsympathizing stranger, who, like Sir Francis, has not a single feeling in common with the people and whose hopes and responsibilities begin and end in Downing Street. And this baneful domination is further cherished by a Legislative Council not elected and therefore responsible to people for whom they legislate, but appointed by the ever-changing Colonial Minister for life, from pensioners on the bounty of the Crown, official dependents and needy expectants.

Under this mockery of human government we have been insulted, injured and reduced to the brink of ruin. The due influence and purity of all our institutions have been utterly destroyed. Our Governors are mere instruments for effecting domination from Downing Street; Legislative Councillors have been intimidated into executive compliance as in the case of the late Chief Justice Powell, Mr. Baby and others; the Executive Council has been stripped of every shadow of responsibility and of every shadow of duty; the freedom and purity of elections have lately received under Sir Francis Head a final and irretrievable blow; our revenue has been and still is decreas-

ing to such an extent as to render heavy additional taxation indispensable for the payment of the interest of our public debt, incurred by a system of improvident and profligate expenditure; our public lands, although a chief source of wealth to a new country, have been sold at a low valuation to speculating companies in London, and re-sold to the settlers at very advanced rates, the excess being remitted to England to the serious impoverishment of the country; the ministers of religion have been corrupted by the prostitution of the casual and territorial revenue to salary and influence them; our Clergy Reserves, instead of being devoted to the purpose of general education, though so much needed and loudly demanded, have been in part sold to the amount of upwards of 300,000 dollars, paid into the military chest and sent to England; numerous rectories have been established against the almost unanimous wishes of the people, with certain exclusive ecclesiastical and spiritual rights and privileges, according to the Established Church of England, to the destruction of equal religious rights; public salaries, pensions and sinecures have been augmented in number and amount notwithstanding the impoverishment of our revenue and country; and this Parliament has, under the name of arrearages, paid the retrenchments made in past years by Reform Parliaments; our Judges have, in spite of our condition, been doubled, and wholly selected from the most violent political partizans against our equal civil and religious liberties, and a Court of Chancery suddenly adopted by a subservient Parliament against the long cherished expectations of the people against it, and its operation fearfully extended into the past so as to jeopardize every title and transaction from the beginning of the Province to the present time.

A law has been passed enabling Magistrates appointed during pleasure, at the representation of a Grand Jury selected by a Sheriff holding office during pleasure, to tax the people at pleasure without their previous knowledge or consent, upon all their rateable property to build and support work-houses for the refuge of the paupers invited by Sir Francis from the parishes in Great Britain—thus unjustly and wickedly laying the foundation of a system which must result in taxation, pestilence and famine. Public loans have been authorized by improvident legislation to nearly eight millions of dollars, the surest way to make the people both poor and dependent; the Parliament, subservient to Sir Francis Head's blighting Administration, has, by an unconstitutional Act sanctioned by him, prolonged its duration after the demise of the Crown, thereby evading its present responsibility to the people, depriving them of the exercise of their elective franchise on the present occasion, and extending the period of its unjust, unconstitutional and ruinous legislation with Sir Francis Head; our best and most worthy citizens have been dismissed from the Bench of Justice, from the militia and other stations of honour and usefulness, for exercising their rights as freemen in attending public meetings for the regeneration of our condition, as instanced in the case of Dr. Baldwin, Messrs. Scatchard, Johnson, Small, Ridout and others; those of our fellow-subjects who go to England to represent our deplorable condition are denied a hearing by a partial, unjust and oppressive Government; while the authors and promoters of our wrong are cordially and graciously received and enlisted in the cause of our further wrongs and misgovernment; our public revenues are plundered and misapplied without redress, and unavailable securities make up the late defalcation of Mr. P. Robinson, the Commissioner of Public Lands, to the amount of 80,000 dollars. Interdicts are continually sent by the Colonial Minister to the Governor and by the Governor to the Provincial Parliament, to restrain and render futile their legislation, which ought to be free and unshackled; these instructions, if favourable to the views and policy of the enemies of our country, are rigidly observed; if favourable to public liberty, they are, as in the case of Earl Ripon's despatch, utterly condemned, even to the passing of the ever-to-be-remembered and detestable Everlasting Salary Bill. Lord Glenelg has sanctioned, in the King's name, all the violations of truth and of the constitution by Sir Francis Head, and both thanked and titled him for conduct which, under any civilized government, would be the ground of impeachment.

The British Government, by themselves and through the Legislative Council of their appointment, have refused their assent to laws the most

wholesome and necessary for the public good, among which we may enumerate the Intestate Estate Equal Distribution Bill; the Bill to sell the Clergy Reserves for educational purposes; the Bill to remove the corrupt influence of the Executive in the choosing of juries, and to secure a fair and free trial by jury; the several Bills to encourage emigration from foreign parts; the Bills to secure the independence of the Assembly; the Bill to amend the law of libel; the Bills to appoint Commissioners to meet others appointed by Lower Canada, to treat on matters of trade and other matters of deep interest; the Bills to extend the blessings of education to the humbler classes in every township; and to appropriate annually a sum of money for that purpose; the Bill to dispose of the school lands in aid of education; several Bills for the improvement of the highways; the Bill to secure independence to voters by establishing the vote by ballot; the Bill for the better regulation of the elections of members of the Assembly, and to provide that they be held at places convenient for the people; the Bills for the relief of Quakers, Mennonites and Tunkers; the Bill to amend the present obnoxious Courts of Requests laws, by allowing the people to choose the Commissioners and to have a trial by jury if desired; with other Bills to improve the administration of justice and diminish unnecessary costs; the Bills to amend the Charter of King's College University so as to remove its partial and arbitrary system of government and education; and the Bill to allow free competition in banking.

The King of England has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance unless suspended in their operation till his assent be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has interfered with the freedom of elections, and appointed elections to be held at places dangerous, inconvenient and unsafe for the people to assemble at, for the purpose of fatiguing them into his measures through the agency of pretended representatives; and has, through his Legislative Council, prevented provision being made for quiet and peaceable elections, as in the case of the late returns at Beverly. He has dissolved the late House of Assembly for opposing with manly firmness Sir Francis Head's invasion of the right of the people to a wholesome control over the revenue, and for insisting that the persons conducting the Government should be responsible for their official conduct of the country through its representatives. He has endeavoured to prevent the peopling of this Province and its advancement in wealth; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither and raising the conditions of new appropriations of the public lands, large tracts of which he has bestowed upon unworthy persons, his favourites, while deserving settlers from Germany and other countries have been used cruelly.

He has rendered the administration of justice liable to suspicion and distrust by obstructing laws for establishing a fair trial by jury, by refusing to exclude the chief criminal Judge from interfering in political business, and by selecting as the Judiciary violent and notorious partizans of his arbitrary power. He has sent a standing army into the sister Province to coerce them to his unlawful and unconstitutional measures, in open violation of their rights and liberties, and has received with marks of high approbation military officers who interfered with the citizens of Montreal in the midst of an election of their representatives and brought the troops to coerce them—who shot several persons dead wantonly in the public streets. Considering the great number of lucrative appointments held by strangers to the country, whose chief merit appears to be their subservience to any and every Administration, we may say with our brother Colonists of old 'He has sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people and eat out their substance'.

The English Parliament have interfered with our internal affairs and regulations by the passage of grievous and tyrannical enactments for taxing us heavily without our consent, for prohibiting us to purchase many articles of the first importance at the cheapest European or American markets, and compelling us to buy such goods and merchandize at an exorbitant price in markets of which England has a monopoly. They have passed resolutions for our coercion of a character so cruel and arbitrary that Lord Chancellor Brougham has recorded on the Journals of the House of Peers that:

'They set all considerations of sound policy, of generosity, and of justice at defiance; are wholly subversive of the fundamental principle of the British constitution that no part of the taxes levied on the people shall be applied to any purpose whatever without the consent of the representatives in Parliament'; and that the Canadian 'precedent of 1837 will ever after be cited in the support of such oppressive proceedings as often as the Commons of any Colony may withhold supplies, how justifiable soever their refusal may be'; and (adds His Lordship) 'those proceedings, so closely resembling the fatal measures that severed the United States from Great Britain, have their origin in principles and derive their support from reasonings which form a prodigious contrast to the whole grounds, and the only defence of the policy during latter years, and so justly and so wisely sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament, in administering the affairs of the Mother Country. Nor is it easy to imagine that the inhabitants of either the American or the European branches of the Empire should contemplate so strange a contrast without drawing inferences therefrom discreditable to the character of the Legislature, and injurious to the future safety of the State, when they mark with what different measures we mete to six hundred thousand inhabitants of a remote Province, unrepresented in Parliament, and to six millions of our fellow-citizens nearer home and making themselver heard by their representatives. The reflection will assuredly arise in Canada, and may possibly find its way into Ireland, that the sacred rules of justice, the most worthy feelings of national generosity and the soundest principles of enlightened policy, may be appealed to in vain if the demands of the suitor be not also supported by personal interests and party views, and political fears among those whose aid he seeks; while, all men perceiving that many persons have found themselves at liberty to hold a course towards an important but remote Province, which their constituents never would suffer to be pursued towards the most inconsiderable burgh of the United Kingdom, an impression will inevitably be propagated most dangerous to the maintenance of Colonial dominion, that the people can never safely intrust the powers of government to any supreme authority not residing among themselves.'

In every stage of these proceedings we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries. Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connection and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We, therefore, the Reformers of the City of Toronto, sympathizing with our fellow-citizens here and throughout the North-American Colonies, who desire to obtain cheap, honest and responsible government, the want of which has been the source of all their past grievances as its continuance would lead them to their utter ruin and desolation, are of opinion:

1. That the warmest thanks and admiration are due from the Reformers of Upper Canada to the Honourable Louis Joseph Papineau, Speaker of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, and his compatriots in and out of the Legislature, for their past uniform, manly and noble independence in favour of civil and religious liberty; and for their present devoted, honourable and patriotic opposition to the attempt of the British Government to violate their constitution without their consent, subvert the powers and privileges of their local Parliament, and overawe them by coercive measures into a disgraceful abandonment of their just and reasonable wishes.

2. And that the Reformers of Upper Canada are called upon by every tie of feeling, interest and duty to make common cause with their fellow-citizens of Lower Canada, whose successful coercion would doubtless be in time visited upon us and the redress of whose grievances would be the best guarantee for the redress of our own.

To render this co-operation the more effectual, we earnestly recommend to our fellow-citizens that they exert themselves to organize political associations; that public meetings be held throughout the Province; and that a Convention of delegates be elected and assembled at Toronto to take into consideration the political condition of Upper Canada, with authority to its members to appoint Commissioners to meet others to be named on behalf of Lower Canada and any of the

other Colonies, armed with suitable power as a Congress to seek an effectual remedy for the grievances of the Colonists.

JOHN ELLIOTT,
Secretary.

T. D. MORRISON,
Chairman of the Committee."

The Rebellion of 1837 and the United States. The feeling throughout British North America regarding the sympathy and indirect support given by the United States to the rebels at this time was very bitter. The speeches of the various Provincial Governors to the Legislatures, the Resolutions passed by those bodies, the comments of the press, and the official despatches of the day, all indicate this fact. The following account of the matter, and review of the situation generally, appeared in a despatch from Sir Francis Bond Head to Mr. Henry S. Fox, British Minister at Washington—dated January 8, 1837:

"I have the honour to enclose to you the copy of a special message sent by His Excellency Governor Marcy to the Legislature of the State of New York, in relation to a matter on which Your Excellency will desire the earliest and most authentic information. The message only reached this place yesterday and I lose no time in communication with Your Excellency on the subject. The Governor of the State of New York complains of the cutting out and burning of the Steamboat *Caroline*, by order of Colonel McNab, commanding Her Majesty's Forces at Chippewa, in the Province of Upper Canada, and of the destruction of the lives of some American citizens who were on board the boat at the time she was attacked. The act complained of was done under the following circumstances.

In Upper Canada, which contains a population of 450,000 souls, the most perfect tranquillity prevailed up to the 4th day of December last, although in the adjoining Province of Lower Canada many of the French-Canadian inhabitants had been in open rebellion against the Government for about a month preceding. At no time since the Treaty of Peace with the United States, in 1815, had Upper Canada been more undisturbed. The real cause of the insurrection in Lower Canada, namely, the national antipathy of the French inhabitants, did not in any degree apply in the Upper Province whose population, like the British and American inhabitants of Lower Canada, were wholly opposed to the revolt, and anxious to render every service in their power in support of the Queen's authority. It had been reported to the Government, some time before the 4th of December, that in a remote portion of the Home District, a number of persons occasionally met and drilled, with arms, under leaders known to be disaffected, but it was believed by the Government that nothing more could be intended than to make a show of threatened revolt in order to create a diversion in favour of the rebels in Lower Canada. The feeling of loyalty throughout this Province was known to be so prevalent and decided that it was not thought unsafe to forbear, for the time at least, to take any notice of the proceedings of this party.

On the night of the 4th December the inhabitants of the City of Toronto were alarmed by the intelligence that about five hundred persons, armed with rifles, were approaching the City—that they had murdered a gentleman of great respectability in the highway and had made several persons prisoners. The inhabitants rushed immediately to arms—there were no soldiers in the Province and no Militia had been called out. The Home District, from which this party of armed men came, contained 60,000 inhabitants; the City of Toronto 10,000. In a few hours a respectable force, although undisciplined, was collected and armed in self-defence and awaited the threatened attack. It seems now to admit of no doubt that if they had at once advanced against the insurgents they would have met with no formidable resistance, but it was thought more prudent to wait until a sufficient force could be collected to put the success of an attack beyond question. In the meantime people poured in from all quarters to oppose the insurgents, who obtained no increase of numbers, but on the contrary were deserted by many of their body in consequence of the acts of devastation and plunder into which their leader had forced them. On the 7th of December an overwhelming force of Militia went against them and dispersed them without losing a man—taking many prisoners who were instantly released by my order and suffered to depart to their homes.

The rest with their leaders fled; some have since surrendered themselves to justice; many have been taken; and some have escaped from the Province. It was reported about this time that in the District of London a similar disposition to rise had been observed and, in consequence, a a Militia force of about 400 men was sent into that District where it was speedily joined by three times as many of the inhabitants of the District who assembled voluntarily and came to their aid with the greatest alacrity. It was discovered that about three hundred persons under Doctor Duncombe, an American by birth, were assembled with arms; but before the Militia could reach them they had dispersed themselves and fled; of these by far the greater number came in immediately and submitted themselves to the Government, declaring that they had been misled and deceived, and prayed for forgiveness. In about a week perfect tranquillity was restored and from that moment not a man has been seen in arms against the Government in any part of the Province, with the exception of the hostile aggression upon Navy Island which I shall presently notice—nor has there been the slightest resistance offered to the execution of legal process in a single instance.

After the dispersion of the armed insurgents near Toronto, Mr. Mackenzie, their leader, escaped in disguise to the Niagara River and crossed over to Buffalo. Reports had been spread there and elsewhere along the American frontier that Toronto had been burnt and that the rebels were completely successful; but the falsehood of these absurd rumours was well known before Mackenzie arrived on the American side. It was known, also, that the ridiculous attempt of four hundred men to revolutionize a country containing nearly half a million inhabitants had been put down by the people instantly and decidedly, without the loss of a man. Nevertheless, a number of American citizens in Buffalo, and other towns on the frontier of the State of New York, enlisted as soldiers with the avowed object of invading Canada and establishing a Provincial Government. Public meetings were held to forward this design of invading a country with which the United States were at peace. Volunteers were called for and arms, ammunition and provisions were supplied by contributions openly made. All this was in direct and flagrant violation of the express law of the United States, as well as of the law of nations.

The civil authority of Buffalo offered some slight show of resistance to the movement, being urged to interpose by many of the most respectable citizens, but no real impediment was offered; and on the 13th of December some hundreds of the citizens of the State of New York, as an armed body, under the command of Mr. Van Renssellaer, an American citizen, openly invaded and took possession of Navy Island, a part of Upper Canada, situate in the River Niagara. Not believing that such an outrage would really be committed, no force whatever was assembled at the time to counteract this hostile movement. In a very short time this lawless band obtained from the Arsenals of the State of New York, clandestinely, as it is said, several pieces of artillery and other arms, which in broad daylight were openly transported to Navy Island without resistance from the American authorities. The people of Buffalo and of the adjacent country continued to supply them with stores of various kinds, and additional men enlisted in their ranks. In a few days their force was variously stated from five to fifteen hundred, of whom a small portion were rebels who had fled from Upper Canada. They began to entrench themselves and threatened that they would, in a short time, make a landing on the Canadian side of the Niagara River.

To prevent this and keep them in check a body of Militia was hastily collected and stationed on the frontier under the command of Colonel Cameron, Assistant Adjutant-General of Militia, who was succeeded in this command by Colonel (afterwards Sir Allan) McNab, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, an officer whose humanity and discretion, as well as his activity, have been proved by his conduct in putting down the insurrection in the London District; and have been acknowledged in warm terms of gratitude by the misguided persons who had surrendered themselves into his hands. He received orders to act on the defensive only and to be careful not to do any act which the American Government could justly complain of as a breach of neutrality. An official statement of the unfriendly proceed-

ings at Buffalo was without delay (on the 13th December) made by me to His Excellency the Governor of the State of New York, and after this open invasion of our territory, and when it became evident that nothing was effected at Buffalo for preventing the violation of neutrality, a special messenger was sent to Your Excellency at Washington to urge your interposition in the matter. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed to admit of his return. Soon after his departure this band of outlaws on Navy Island—acting in defiance of the laws and Government of both countries—opened a fire from several pieces of ordnance upon this shore, which in this part is thickly settled (the distance from the Island being about six hundred yards) and in sight of the populous village of Chippewa. They put several balls (six pound shot) through a house in which a party of Militiamen were quartered and which is the dwelling-house of Captain Usher, a respectable inhabitant. They killed a horse on which a man at the time was riding, but happily did no further mischief though they fired also repeatedly with cannon and musketry upon our boats.

They continued daily to render their position more formidable—receiving constant supplies of men and stores from the State of New York, which were chiefly embarked at a landing place on the American main shore, called Fort Schlosser, nearly opposite to Navy Island. This place was once, I believe, a military position before the conquest of Canada from the French ; but there is now neither fort nor village there, but merely a single house occupied as a tavern, and a wharf in front of it, to which boats and vessels are moored. The tavern has been during these lawless proceedings a *rendezvous* for the band, who cannot be called by any name more appropriate than pirates; and was in fact openly and notoriously resorted to as their headquarters on the mainland, and is so to this time. On the 28th December positive information was given to Colonel McNab by persons from Buffalo, that a small steamboat called the *Caroline*, of about fifty tons' burthen, had been hired by the pirates (who called themselves "Patriots"), and was to be employed in carrying down cannon and other stores and in transporting men and anything else that might be required between Fort Schlosser and Navy Island.

He resolved if she came down and engaged in this service to take or destroy her. She did come down, agreeably to the information he received. She transported a piece of artillery and other stores to the Island, and made repeated passages during the day between the Island and the main shore. In the night he sent a party of Militia, in boats, with orders to take or destroy her. They proceeded to execute the order. They found the *Caroline* moored to the wharf, opposite the Inn, at Fort Schlosser. In the Inn there was a guard of armed men to protect her, part of the pirate force, or acting in their support. On her deck there was an armed party and a sentinel who demanded the countersign. Thus identified as she was with the force, which, in defiance of the law of nations and every principle of natural justice had invaded Upper Canada and made war upon its unoffending inhabitants, she was boarded ; and, after a resistance in which some desperate wounds were inflicted upon the assailants, she was carried. If any peaceable citizens of the United States perished in the conflict, it was and is unknown to the captors ; and it was and is equally unknown to them whether any such were there. Before this vessel was thus taken not a gun had been fired by the force under the orders of Colonel McNab—even upon this gang of pirates—much less upon any peaceable citizen of the United States. It must, therefore, have been a consciousness of the guilty service she was engaged in that led those who were employing her to think an armed guard necessary for her defence.

Peaceable citizens of the United States were not likely to be found in a vessel so employed at such a place and in such a juncture ; and if they were there, their presence, especially unknown as it was to the captors, could not prevent, in law or reason, this necessary act of self-defence. Fifteen days had elapsed since the invasion of Upper Canada by a force enlisted, armed and equipped openly in the State of New York. The country where this outrage upon the law of nations was committed is populous. Buffalo alone contains 15,000 inhabitants. The public authorities, it is true, gave no countenance to these flagrant acts, but they did not prevent them, or in the slightest

degree obstruct them, farther than by issuing Proclamations which were disregarded. Perhaps they could not, but in this case, the insult and injury to the inhabitants of Canada were the same and the right to defend themselves equally unquestionable. No wanton injury was committed by the party who gallantly effected this service. They loosed the vessel from the wharf and finding they could not tow her against the rapid current of the Niagara they abandoned the effort to secure her, set her on fire, and let her drift down the stream.

The prisoners taken were a man who it will be seen by the documents accompanying this despatch avowed himself to be a subject of Her Majesty, inhabiting Upper Canada, who had lately been traitorously in arms in that Province and having fled to the United States was on board for the purpose of going to the camp at Navy Island; and a boy who, being born in Lower Canada, was probably residing in the United States, and who, being afraid to land from the boat in consequence of the firing kept up by the guard on the shore, was placed in one of the boats under Captain Drew, and taken over to our side, from whence he was sent home the next day by the Fall's Ferry, with money given him to bear expenses. I send with this letter:

1st. A copy of my first communication to His Excellency Governor Marcy, to which no reply has reached me.

2nd. The official reports, correspondence and Militia General Order respecting the destruction of the *Caroline*, with other documents.

3rd. The correspondence between Commissary-General Arcularius, of the State of New York, respecting the artillery belonging to the Government of the State of New York, which has been and still is used in making war upon this Province.

4th. Other correspondence arising out of the state of things on the Niagara frontier.

5th. The special message of Governor Marcy.

It will be seen from these documents that a high officer of the Government of the State of New York has been sent by His Excellency the Governor for the express purpose of regaining possession of the artillery of that State, which is now employed in hostile aggression upon this portion of Her Majesty's dominions, and that being aided and favoured, as he acknowledges, by the most friendly co-operation which the Commanding Officer of Her Majesty's forces could give him, he has been successfully defied by this army of American citizens and has abandoned the object of his mission in despair. It can hardly fail to be observed by Your Excellency that in the course of this negotiation between Mr. Van Renssellaer and the Commissary-General of the State of New York, this individual, Mr. Van Renssellaer, has not hesitated to place himself within the immediate jurisdiction of the Government whose laws he had violated and in direct personal communication with the officer of that Government, and has, nevertheless, been allowed to return unmolested, to continue in command of American citizens engaged in open hostilities against Great Britain."

On the 30th of January Sir Francis addressed another communication to the British Minister at Washington as follows:

"Since I wrote to you I have learned nothing that would authorize my receding in any point from the statement then given, and it was with no less astonishment than disappointment that I found either the Government of the State of New York, or the Federal Government, adopting as true the most false and exaggerated statement of the destruction of the *Caroline*, and not hesitating to speak of that just and rightful act of self-defence as an assassination of American citizens. I must confess that I cannot but look upon the application of such a term to such an act as scarcely a less outrage than any of those gross infractions of their rights which have compelled the people of Upper Canada to arm in their defence. Though it has been variously stated that from twelve to twenty-two peaceable citizens of Buffalo were murdered in the *Caroline*, I have not yet found that the name of a single person has been ascertained or even mentioned as having perished on that occasion, except one Durfee, who, I am informed, was killed in arms and who, moreover, was really a British subject, usually resident in Canada until within the last few months. I only recur to these circumstances because I am desirous of vindicating the gallant men who performed this plain and necessary act of duty to their coun-

try from the charge of wanton cruelty. If the resistance they had met with had led to a further loss of life their conduct would not have been the less justifiable. It is almost too obvious an observation to make, that if any army of American citizens had taken up a position on their side of the Niagara River, at a point where no Island intervened, and had begun battering the houses and people on our shore, and if this shameful aggression with guns taken from the United States arsenals had continued for weeks without any effectual interposition on the part of the American Government, Her Majesty's subjects would have had an unquestionable right to attack the batteries and disperse the lawless band which carried on this disgraceful warfare; and of course a right to attack any boat or vessel employed in their service and carrying them guns and men. To call so necessary an act of self-defence a violation of neutrality would, of course, be absurd—whatever insult or injury it would occasion to American territory must be ascribed to that portion of their own citizens who were in arms against their authority and committing outrage on their unoffending neighbours.

This being so, it can surely make no difference favourable to the United States that the army of American citizens did, in this instance, first commit the gross wrong of taking forcible possession of British ground that they might fire more effectually from thence. It was merely taking two steps in committing the injury instead of one. Your Excellency, I dare say, has not failed to observe that at a Criminal Court in the State of New York an indictment has been found for murder against Captain Drew, and others who are supposed (but some of them erroneously) to have been present at the capture of the *Caroline*. I cannot but believe that the American Government will feel it to be due, no less to their own character than to their relations with Great Britain, to interest themselves in arresting any such proceeding. The act was done by public authority in the prosecution of a warfare to which this Province was driven by the outrageous aggressions of American citizens. The British nation is to answer for it and not individuals zealously acting in her service.

Your Excellency will have learnt, from various channels, the occurrences which have taken place on our western frontier, opposite the State of Michigan. There a large force, stated in the newspapers of Detroit not to be less than 1,000 or 1,200 in number, with arms and artillery taken from one or more Public Arsenals, attempted to invade this Province; and did, indeed, actually possess themselves of the Island of Bois Blanc, in the River Detroit. With an armed schooner they commenced battering the town of Amherstburgh and intended on the next day to have made a descent on the mainland, but their further progress was arrested by the gallant conduct of some Militia volunteers who attacked and boarded the schooner, and took several prisoners, together with the guns, arms and military stores on board of her. A considerable military force is now stationed on our western frontier. I send you the Proclamations issued by Mr. Sutherland, an American citizen, who styled himself General of the Second Division of the Patriot Army—Van Renssellaer's band of ruffians, I suppose, forming the first. These will show you the nature and object of the expeditions to whose attacks the people of Upper Canada have been exposed. Among the prisoners taken on this last occasion were several American citizens.

I need scarcely state to you that the necessity of being armed at all points along our extensive frontier has occasioned an enormous expenditure to the British Government. The American, I perceive, has called on Congress to provide $600,000 for the pay and outfit of a force necessary to keep down the excitements on the Niagara frontier alone. You will readily understand, therefore, how much greater must be the expense which the Government is put to by the preparations necessary to meet attacks at various points. The hostile spirit manifested in Michigan appeared likely to be attended with more serious consequences than the movements along the Niagara frontier. I send Your Excellency a copy of some correspondence which has taken place since Major-General Scott arrived at Buffalo. Fortunately, the pirates have dispersed without anything further occurring that can give rise to controversy and I have no doubt their removal was hastened by the active measures at length taken by the American Government for preventing their

receiving supplies of arms and provisions. It would give me pleasure if I could add that in the conduct of the American Militia stationed on Grand Island, or in the construction which the officers of the American Government seemed disposed to put upon the relative rights of the two countries under the extraordinary circumstances in which they were placed, I have discovered satisfactory proof of a spirit calculated to contribute to the restoration of permanent tranquillity.

When a people has been insulted and aggrieved as the people of Upper Canada have been, it is not to be supposed that they can feel it necessary to perplex themselves with researches into books upon the laws of nations—they will follow a more unerring guide in obeying the irresistible natural instinct of self-preservation. By the cannonading from Navy Island three inhabitants of this Province have been killed; there is no extenuating circumstances which can make the offence less than murder; and if it can be claimed as a right upon this, or upon other occasions, that the perpetrators shall be allowed to escape with impunity into the country from whence they came in an armed body to commit these flagitious outrages; if it be maintained that to cross the line of division through the waters of the Niagara to destroy them or to cut off their resources is a violation of American neutrality; then it can only follow that, when the American people are suffered to commit such gross outrages upon the Province of Upper Canada, they must bring upon themselves the consequences of a public war, for unquestionably the right of self-defence will be employed. It is not in the nature of things that it should be forborne."

There can be no doubt that the American Government was guilty of grave dereliction of duty at this time in permitting its frontier to be made a base of hostile operations against an unoffending neighbour. Secret societies known as "Hunter's Lodges" had been organized in many of the American border towns for the purpose of aiding the Canadian rebellion. Amongst the members were a number of Canadian refugees, but the greater part were American citizens. Mackenzie and other insurgent leaders organized an "Executive Committee" at Buffalo for the purpose of directing the invasion of Upper Canada. Dr. W. H. Withrow, in his History of Canada, points out very truly that the large floating population of sailors, canal boatmen and dock labourers who thronged that important lake port rendered it easy to procure recruits for the rash enterprise. In retaliation for the reward offered for his apprehension, Mackenzie offered a counter-reward of £500 for the capture of Sir Francis Bond Head. He also offered generous prizes of land and money bounty to all volunteers for the "Grand Army of Liberation." It was on the 13th December, 1837, that the adventurer named Van Renssellaer placed himself at the head of a horde of ruffians from American soil and took possession of Navy Island, about two miles above Niagara Falls. Here Mackenzie proclaimed the "Republic of Upper Canada" and issued a paper currency, redeemable on the establishment of the new republic. Although very few Canadians joined his standard, he succeeded ultimately in collecting about a thousand sympathizers with the plunder which they thought possible and the principles of revolution in which they had been bred. They were supplied with arms and stores taken from the local United States Arsenal or contributed by American citizens, as Sir Francis Bond Head points out in his despatch. This nondescript army was soon entrenched and with mounted guns opened fire on the Canadian shore.

Colonel McNab, who had assumed command of the frontier, soon found himself at the head of an army of 2,500 men composed of Militia, Grand River Indians and some coloured men. He began a siege of the Island which although of a vigourous nature was not immediately successful. It was at this juncture that the famous cutting out of the *Caroline* took place. She was an American steamer and was engaged in carrying men and stores to Navy Island. After remonstrating in vain with the American authorities Colonel McNab resolved to capture the boat. Accordingly on December 28th Commander Drew of the Royal Navy* with a small party of about sixty men, gallantly cut the *Caroline* out from its position near the American fort, towed her into the current, fired her and set her adrift.

*A full account of this incident in pamphlet form was published in 1896 by R. S. Woods, Q.C., County Court Judge of Kent. It was written in part by Rear-Admiral Drew himself.—THE EDITOR.

The act was strongly denounced by the American authorities, and for a time it looked as though war would result, but as the British Government subsequently made a sort of general apology the matter was officially dropped. It was in this connection that Alexander McLeod found himself the centre of an international dispute. He was arrested on the charge of having "murdered" Amos Durfee, one of the *Caroline's* men, during the attack on the vessel. The British Government demanded his immediate release, which was refused, and McLeod was put upon his trial at Utica in the Circuit Court of the State of New York, in October, 1841. The trial lasted eight days, and he was finally and very wisely acquitted. The verdict probably prevented war, as England held that the destruction of the *Caroline* was a public act performed by persons obeying the orders of their superiors and that no one engaged in it could be held individually responsible. No further notice was taken of the matter beyond the burning of the British steamboat, *Sir Robert Peel*, in retaliation. This was accomplished by a rabble on the 28th of May, 1838, while the boat was taking in wood at Welles Island on the St. Lawrence River. The rebels continued to hold Navy Island until January 14th, 1838, when a heavy artillery fire from Chippewa compelled them to evacuate.

During this month occurred the demonstration against Amherstburgh and Sandwich. Several hundred men from Cleveland and Detroit made their headquarters at Bois Blanc Island, and called upon Canadians to rally around the "standard of liberty." They finally opened an artillery fire upon Amherstburg from schooners which were being used as an invading flotilla. The Canadian Militia, though without artillery, attacked and captured these vessels and obtained a large quantity of arms and a number of prisoners. Thus ended a piratical expedition in which a number of the invaders were killed and many wounded. Very soon after this, nearly four thousand of the Militia were distributed along the exposed portions of the Detroit River for the purpose of defence. Notwithstanding this decided demonstration of Canadian loyalty, border ruffians and rebel refugees continued their outrages along the frontier. At Watertown, Sandusky and Detroit, simultaneous attacks on Canada were organized. The Watertown invasion under "Bill Johnston" and Van Renssellaer, two notorious outlaws, was made up of a mob of some two thousand men who rendezvoused, on February 24th, 1838, at Hickory Island, just below Kingston. Owing to the inability of the commanders to agree, and to Canadian vigilance, their design was frustrated. The expedition from Detroit was defeated by a vigourous artillery fire from the Canadian shore and by the aid of the Americans, who had by this time begun to repress border filibustering, the invaders were disarmed. On the 4th of March, some 500 men took possession of Point Pelé Island, on Lake Erie—about twenty miles from the shore. A force of Regulars and Militia crossed the ice and drove them to the American side, with a loss of thirteen killed, about forty wounded and many prisoners. The British loss was two killed and twenty-eight wounded.

Still the American "Hunter's Lodges," reported to number about twelve hundred, with a membership of eighty thousand, continued to keep up hostile agitation. The *Caroline* affair and the Maine and Oregon boundary disputes continued to endanger the relations of the two countries. Frontier forts were repaired and occupied by British troops, and the Militia was put on a thoroughly efficient basis. As above stated, the steamer, *Sir Robert Peel*, was captured on May 28th by about fifty marauders, the passengers being driven ashore on a stormy night and the vessel pillaged and burned. The gang escaped to the Thousand Islands, in the St. Lawrence, where they began the robbery of farm houses. They were eventually dispersed after some little trouble. Other marauding parties crossed the Niagara frontier and also at Goderich and in the London District, but were repulsed by the loyal population. In November, 1838, a simultaneous invasion of the Canadian frontier at different points was attempted. A body of insurgents from Oswego, occupying two schooners and a large steamer, sailed down the St. Lawrence to secure Fort Wellington and Prescott. This force, which was ineffectually attacked by the *Experiment*, a small British steamer carrying two guns, succeeded in landing a force of 250 men under Von

Schultz, a Polish refugee, at Windmill Point, out of the range of the Fort Wellington guns. This windmill gave the rebels a formidable defence, and, as they were re-enforced from Ogdensburg, N.Y., they proved somewhat difficult to dislodge. Colonel Young of the Regular Army, with a force of nearly 500 men, advanced against the fortified insurgents, while the *Victoria* and the *Cobourg*, two armed steamers, patrolled the river to prevent the enemy from being re-enforced, and from escaping. The rebels were soon severely punished and driven to the windmill and adjacent buildings. As the guns of the boats were powerless against the thick walls, the besiegers were obliged to wait some days for the arrival of heavy artillery from Kingston. On the 16th, the Regulars and Royal Artillery arrived, and soon reduced the rebel stronghold. One hundred and thirty surrendered and about fifty were killed, but many of the dead were burned in the buildings. The Canadian loss was thirteen killed and a number wounded. Nine of the brigands, including Von Schultz, were tried by court-martial and executed, while many were transported. Most of the latter were afterwards pardoned and released.

Early in December another rabble of some four hundred and fifty men crossed from Detroit, took possession of Wilson, burned a steamboat at the wharf, and advanced at least two miles into the country. During their march they murdered with wanton cruelty, Dr. Hume, a surgeon of the Regular Army. This horde was met by Colonel Prince with less than two hundred Militia and utterly routed. Twenty-one of their number were killed and four prisoners taken red-handed were promptly shot without trial. Some of those who escaped fled across the river and some took to the woods, where they were afterwards found frozen to death. Three of the prisoners were tried by court-martial and executed at London. Thus ended this utterly unwarranted border warfare, carried on for most part by lawless banditti from the American side. The large military expenditure caused by these wanton invasions and the consequent interruption of peaceful industry greatly retarded the prosperity of the country. The negligence of the American authorities was naturally the cause of much bitterness and international ill-feeling.

The Maritime Provinces and the Rebellion. An historical phase of the Rebellion which has been little noticed in the many works dealing with its incidents is the deep contemporaneous loyalty of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They had exactly the same institutions, with a similar dominant class to that which ruled in Upper Canada, but in the former Provinces the questions connected with the evolution of popular government were worked out along constitutional lines and upon the public platform, instead of the settlement being attempted through the medium of secret revolutionary societies, armed up-risings and international raids. Hence the value of the following documents, including, (1) A reply by Major-General Sir John Harvey, Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick, to a loyal Address presented to him by the people of St. John on December 12, 1837. (2) Part of a despatch from the same to Lieut.-General Sir John Colborne (December, 1837). (3) The Speech from the Throne to the New Brunswick Legislature on December 28th, and the loyal reply of the Legislature. (4) Resolutions passed by the same body on January 5th, 1838, thanking Sir Francis Bond Head and the Militia of Canada. (5) The Nova Scotian Speech from the Throne by Lieut.-Governor Sir Colin Campbell on January 25th, 1838, and the response of the Legislature.

I. *Speech by Lieut.-Governor Sir John Harvey.* "I acknowledge with feelings of pride and pleasure your truly loyal and patriotic Address. Proceeding from such a community and bearing the signatures of all that is most respectable in that loyal city, I feel that I may justly consider this Address as an index, nothing equivocal, of the general feeling of the population of the Province. Taking it in connection with many others which have lately reached me, I deem myself warranted not only unhesitatingly to commit the protection of the Province, and of the lives and property of Her Majesty's subjects within it, to its loyal Militia; but also (in confident anticipation of the Legislative sanction) to tender, through His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief, to Her Majesty's loyal subjects in Lower Canada, not the sympathies only, but the actual co-operation of a large body of the Militia of New Brunswick

in the suppression of the insurrection in that Province; and should their services be required or accepted, I trust that it is unnecessary for me to say that I should glory in placing myself at the head of a volunteer force acting under feelings and upon principles of so high and noble a character."

II. *Sir John Harvey to Sir John Colborne.* "I am instructed by Sir Colin Campbell (Lieut.-Governor of Nova Scotia) to hold the 34th in readiness to follow the 43rd and 85th, upon Your Excellency's requisition, and, as I have summoned the Legislature of the Province to meet on the 28th instant, for the purpose of offering to their loyal fellow-subjects in Canada, and to Royal authority, something beyond the mere expression of their sympathies with the one, and their attachment to the other, I do not entertain a doubt of being empowered by the representatives of this truly loyal people to embody and lead to the neighbouring Provinces such numbers of the Militia of New Brunswick as Your Excellency and the civil authorities of Lower Canada may require, whether for the purpose of assisting in forming the garrison of Quebec, and thereby rendering the whole of the Queen's forces disposable, or of being elsewhere employed in maintaining Her Majesty's authority, by checking and controlling any seditious or rebellious movements in the parts of Lower Canada adjoining this Province—in a word, in any way in which their services and my own may be rendered useful in the Royal cause. I can depend upon the loyalty of the people of this Province to a man."

III. *Sir John Harvey and the N.B. Legislature.* His Excellency stated that his object in calling them together at this early period was "to invite their attention to the lamentable state to which the treasonable and rebellious proceedings of a certain portion of the deluded inhabitants have reduced the neighbouring Province of Lower Canada. The disaffected having availed themselves of a season of the year when succours from the Mother-Country are believed to be excluded by the rigour of the climate, it appears to be in a more special manner incumbent upon Her Majesty's loyal subjects in the surrounding Colonies to stand forward, not with the mere expression of their sympathies, but, if required, in active support of the Royal authority, and in aid of their loyal fellow-subjects in Lower Canada, now contending against the desperate efforts of a revolutionary faction for the preservation, to themselves and their descendants, of the inestimable blessings of British connection. The mode and extent of this aid your own loyalty and wisdom will best devise; for myself I will only add that my individual services in the furtherance of such an object shall be afforded with all the energy of which I am capable, and in any manner in which it may be considered that they can best promote it. I cannot upon this occasion refrain from expressing my high admiration of the unchanged loyalty and gallantry of the Militia of our sister Colony of Upper Canada, evinced in the prompt suppression by them, unaided by any portion of Her Majesty's troops, of the revolutionary outbreak which was attempted by some misguided persons in that Province."

To this the Assembly responded as follows: "We the representatives of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, the people of New Brunswick, beg leave to express our thanks for Your Excellency's Speech at the opening of the present Session. We can assure Your Excellency that the people of this Province have not failed to derive both consolation and satisfaction from the unequivocal manifestation of deep-rooted attachment to its ancient monarchial institutions which simultaneously burst forth in expressions of the most ardent loyalty from every part of the Mother-Country after the lamented death of our late beloved Sovereign, William the Fourth, of revered and glorious memory, and upon the occasion of the accession of Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the Throne of her illustrious ancestors. The lamented state to which a portion of its deluded and rebellious inhabitants have reduced the neighbouring Province of Lower Canada excites within us that fraternal sympathy for our loyal fellow-subjects in that Province, with the mere expression of which we shall not rest satisfied, but shall evince it by our active support of the Royal authority, and in aid of those who are now contending against the desperate efforts of a revolutionary faction, for the preservation to themselves and their descendants, in common with us all, of

the inestimable blessings of British connection; and, although succours from the Mother-Country may be, in some degree, cut off at this season of the year by the severity of the climate, yet we hope that the prompt and effective manner in which the surrounding Colonies shall render assistance to the Government, at this important crisis, will be a sufficient assurance that succours are always at hand which no rigour of climate can exclude while a man remains in these loyal Provinces able to take the field.

We shall apply ourselves with diligence in order to devise the mode and extent of the aid which we can best render to our loyal brethren of Lower Canada, and Your Excellency's past conduct in your country's service affords us a most satisfactory guarantee that all the energy by which Your Excellency has been heretofore characterized will be readily directed, it required, in that manner which will be best calculated to promote the interests of the Crown, and the security of the country. We were prepared to learn that the loyalty and gallantry for which the Militia of Upper Canada have been so memorably distinguished remain unchanged; and we sincerely hope that the suppression by them, unaided by any portion of Her Majesty's troops, of the revolutionary outbreak which was attempted by some seditious and deluded persons in the Province, will have a most beneficial influence in preventing the repetition of such violent outrages on the peace and good order of society."

IV. *New Brunswick Assembly Resolutions.*—"Resolved: That the thanks of this Province are due, and should be presented to, Sir Francis Bond Head, and the gallant Militia of Upper Canada for their able, prompt and energetic suppression of the insurrection which lately took place in the neighbourhood of Toronto. Resolved: That the conduct of our fellow-subjects of Upper Canada on this memorable occasion, so fully in accordance with their former high spirit and character, affords a glorious example to the sister Colonies, in support and defence of the liberties they enjoy under British laws and institutions. Resolved: That our fellow-subjects in Upper Canada may rest assured of the lively sympathy of the inhabitants of this Province in their loyalty and patriotic ardour, and of our most zealous co-operation in maintaining the Royal authority and the inestimable advantages of our connection with the Mother-Country. Resolved: That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, praying that His Excellency will be pleased to transmit these Resolutions to His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada."

The House of Assembly also voted an Address to the Lieutenant-Governor stating that a sum not exceeding £10,000 should be at the disposition of His Excellency, "to meet any emergency which the interests of the Province or the welfare of the British Colonies may appear to require," and that the Assembly would make provision for the same. Sir John Harvey, in his speech on proroguing the Legislature, observed that: "I advert with feelings of proud emotion to your joint resolutions which have just been presented to me, placing at my disposal the sum of £10,000 for the purpose of enabling me to meet any emergency which may arise out of the state of affairs now existing betwixt the British and American Governments, in consequence of the lawless and hostile proceedings of the armed banditti by which the frontiers of Upper and Lower Canada are threatened from the United States, and for the object of preserving that connection with the Mother-Country, which is so warmly cherished by the inhabitants of this Province."

V. *Sir Colin Campbell and the N.S. Legislature.*—"It is with deep regret that I have to notice the late unfortunate events in the Canadas; but I have the satisfaction of informing you that the insurrection has been put down in Lower Canada and that the traitorous attempt made to separate the Upper Province from British rule has been signally defeated by the gallant conduct of the Militia alone. It is true that a small and desperate band still retain possession of Navy Island, but there is every reason to believe, as measures have been adopted at the recommendation of the President of the United States for the enforcement of neutrality on the frontier, that these deluded men, deprived of all foreign assistance, will be speedily dispersed. These rebellious proceedings have called forth in this Province the strongest expressions of indignation and abhor-

rence, and the Addresses from various quarters which have been presented to me declare the unshaken attachment of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia to Her Majesty's person and government."

In answer to this Speech from the Throne, the Assembly declared that :

"The regret we feel for the recent insurrection in the Canadas is mitigated by the knowledge that it has been suppressed in the Lower Province. And we feel proud that the constitutional force of the Upper Province has defeated the traitorous attempt to cast off British allegiance, and are gratified to learn that the Government of the United States is determined to adhere to the pacific treaties subsisting between the two nations, and to preserve that neutrality which may leave the desperate band of conspirators encamped at Navy Island no alternative but submission to a just and indignant Government. The attachment of Nova Scotians to Her Majesty's person and government has ever been unshaken, and recent events have only caused it to be more openly and fervently expressed."

Mackenzie's Proclamation from Navy Island. From Navy Island on December 13th, 1837, there was issued by William Lyon Mackenzie, Chairman *pro. tem.* of the "Provisional Government of the State of Upper Canada," the following Proclamation :

"For nearly fifty years has our country languished under the blighting influence of military despots, strangers from Europe, ruling us not according to laws of our choice but by the capricious dictates of their arbitrary power. They have taxed us at their pleasure, robbed our exchequer and carried off the proceeds to other lands ; they have bribed and corrupted ministers of the Gospel with the wealth raised by our industry ; they have, in place of religious liberty, given rectories and Clergy Reserves to a foreign priesthood, with spiritual power dangerous to our peace as a people ; they have bestowed millions of our lands on a company of Europeans for a nominal consideration and left them to fleece and impoverish our country ; they have spurned our petitions, involved us in their wars, excited feelings of national and sectional animosity in counties, townships and neigbourhoods, and ruled us, as Ireland has been ruled, to the advantage of persons in other lands and to the prostration of our energies as a people.

We are wearied of these oppressions, and resolved to throw off the yoke. Rise, Canadians ! Rise as one man and the glorious object of our wishes is accomplished. Our intentions have been clearly stated to the world in the Declaration of Independence, adopted at Toronto on the 31st of July last, printed in *The Constitution, Correspondent and Advocate*, and *The Liberal*, which important paper was drawn up by Dr. John Rolph and myself, signed by the Central Committee, received the sanction of a large majority of the people of the Province west of Port Hope and Cobourg, and is well known to be in accordance with the feelings and sentiments of nine-tenths of the people of this State. We have planted the Standard of Liberty in Canada for the attainment of the following objects :

1. Perpetual peace, founded on a Government of equal rights to all, secured by a written constitution, sanctioned by yourselves in a Convention to be called as early as circumstances will permit.

2. Civil and religious liberty in its fullest extent, that in all laws made, or to be made, every person be bound alike ; neither shall any tenure, estate, charter, birth or place, confer any exemption from the ordinary course of legal proceedings and responsibilities whereunto others are subjected.

3. The abolition of hereditary Honours, of the laws of Entail and Primogeniture, and of hosts of pensioners who devour our substances.

4. A Legislature composed of a Senate and Assembly chosen by the people.

5. An Executive, to be composed of a Governor and other officers elected by the public voice.

6. A Judiciary, to be chosen by the Governor and Senate, and composed of the most learned, honourable and trustworthy of our citizens. The laws to be rendered cheap and expeditious.

7. A free trial by jury ; Sheriffs chosen by you and not to hold office, as now, at the pleasure of our tyrants. The freedom of the press. Alas for it, now ! The free presses in the Canadas are trampled down by the hand of arbitrary power.

8. The Vote by Ballot—free and peaceful township elections.

9. The people to elect their Court of Request Commissioners and Justices of the Peace, and also their Militia Officers, in all cases whatsoever.

10. Freedom of Trade—every man to be allowed to buy at the cheapest market and sell at the dearest.

11. No man to be compelled to give military service, unless it be his choice.

12. Ample funds to be reserved from the vast natural resources of our country to secure the blessings of education to every citizen.

13. A frugal and economical Government, in order that the people may be prosperous and free from difficulty.

14. An end forever to the wearisome prayers, supplications and mockeries attendant upon our connection with the lordlings of the Colonial Office, Downing Street, London.

15. The opening of the St. Lawrence to the trade of the world, so that the largest ships might pass up to Lake Superior, and the distribution of the wild lands of the country to the industry, capital, skill and enterprise of worthy men of all nations.

For the attainment of these important objects, the patriots now in arms under the Standard of Liberty, on Navy Island, U.C., have established a Provisional Government, of which the members are as follows (with two other distinguished gentlemen, whose names there are powerful reasons for withholding from public view), viz.:

William L. Mackenzie, Chairman, *pro tem.*

Nelson Gorham.	John Hawk.
Samuel Lount.	Jacob Rymall.
Silas Fletcher.	William H. Doyle.
Jesse Lloyd.	A. G. W. G. Van Egmond.
Thomas Darling.	Charles Duncombe.

Adam Graham.

We have procured the important aid of General Van Rensselaer of Albany, of Colonel Sutherland, Colonel Van Egmond and other military men of experience; and the citizens of Buffalo, to their eternal honour be it ever remembered, have proved to us the enduring principles of the Revolution of 1776, by supplying us with provisions, money, arms, ammunition, artillery, and volunteers; and vast numbers are floating to the standard under which, heaven willing, emancipation will be speedily won for a new and gallant nation hitherto held in Egyptian thraldom by the aristocracy of England.

Brave Canadians! Hasten to join that standard and to make common cause with your fellow citizens now in arms in the Home, London and Western Districts. The opportunity of the absence of the hired red-coats of Europe is favourable to our emancipation. And short-sighted is that man who does not now see that, although his apathy may protract the contest, it must end in Independence—freedom from European thraldom forever! Until Independence is won, trade and industry will be dormant, houses and lands will be unsaleable, merchants will be embarrassed, and farmers and mechanics harassed and troubled; that point once gained the prospect is fair and cheering, a long day of prosperity may be ours. The reverses in the Home District were owing: First, to accident which revealed our design to our tyrants and prevented a surprise; and second, to the want of artillery. Three thousand five hundred men came and went, but we had no arms for one in twelve of them, nor could we procure them in the country. Three hundred acres of the best of the public lands will be freely bestowed upon any volunteer who shall assist personally in bringing to a conclusion the glorious struggle in which our youthful country is now engaged against the enemies of freedom all the world over. Ten millions of these lands, fair and fertile, will, I trust, be speedily at our disposal, with the other vast resources of a country more extensive and rich in natural treasures than the United Kingdom or Old France.

Citizens! Soldiers of Liberty! Friends of Equal Rights! Let no man suffer in his property, person or estate; let us pass through Canada not to retaliate on others for our estates ravaged, our friends in dungeons, our homes burned, our wheat and barns burned, and our horses and cattle carried off; but let us show the praiseworthy example of protecting the houses, the homes, and the families of those who are in arms against their country and against the liberties of this continent. We will claim and severely punish all aggressions upon private property, and consider those as our ene-

mies who may burn or destroy the smallest hut in Canada, unless necessity compel any one to do so in any cause for self-defence. Whereas, at a time when the King and Parliament of Great Britain had solemnly agreed to redress the grievances of the people, Sir Francis Bond Head was sent out to this country with promises of conciliation and justice; and whereas, the said Head hath violated his oath of office as a Governor, trampled upon every vestige of our rights and privileges, bribed and corrupted the local Legislature, interfered with the freedom of elections, intimidated the freeholders, declared our country not entitled to the blessings of British freedom, prostrated openly the right of trial by jury, placed in office the most obsequious, treacherous, and unworthy of our population, and sought to rule Upper Canada by the mere force of his arbitrary power; imprisoned Dr. Morrison, Mr. Parker, and many others of our most respected citizens; banishing in the most cruel manner the highly respected Speaker of our late House of Assembly, the Honourable Mr. Bidwell, and causing the expatriation of that universally beloved and well-tried eminent patriot, Dr. John Rolph, because they had made common cause with our injured people, and setting a vast price on the heads of several (as if they were guilty persons); for which crimes and misdemeanours he is deserving of being put upon his trial before the country; I do therefore hereby offer a reward of £500 for his apprehension, so that he may be dealt with as may appertain to justice.

In Lower Canada, Divine Providence has blessed the arms of the Sons of Liberty — a whole people are there manfully struggling for that freedom without which property is but a phantom and life scarce worth having a gift of. General Girard is at the head of fifteen thousand determined democrats. The friends of freedom in Upper Canada have continued to act in strong and regular concert with Mr. Papineau and the Lower Canada Patriots; and it is a pleasing reflection that between us and the ocean a population of six hundred thousand souls are now in arms, resolved to be free. The tidings that worthy patriots are in arms is spreading through the Union, and the men who were oppressed in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the continent, are flocking to our standard.

We must be successful!

I had the honour to address nearly three thousand of the citizens of Buffalo, two days ago, in the Theatre. The friendship and sympathy they expressed is honourable to the great and flourishing Republic. I am personally authorized to make known to you that from the moment that Sir Francis Bond Head declined to state in writing the objects he had in view in sending a flag of truce to our camp in Toronto, the message once declined, our esteemed fellow-citizen, Dr. John Rolph, openly announced his concurrence in our measures and now decidedly approves of the stand we are taking in behalf of our beloved country, which will never more be his until it be free and independent.

Canadians! My confidence in you is as strong and powerful in this our day of trial and difficulty, as when, many years ago in the zeal and ardour of youth I appeared among you, the humble advocate of your rights and liberties. I need not remind you of the sufferings and persecutions I have endured for your sakes; the losses I have sustained; the risks I have run. Had I ten lives I would cheerfully give them up to procure freedom to the country of my children, of my early and disinterested choice. Let us act together; and warmed by the hope of success in a patriotic course be able to repeat in the language so often happily quoted by Ireland's champion:

> 'The nations are fallen and thou still art young,
> Thy sun is but rising when others have set;
> And though Slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,
> The full tide of Freedom shall beam round thee yet.'

Militia men of 1812! Will ye again rally round the standard of our tyrants? I can scarce believe it possible. Upper Canada Loyalists, what has been the recompense of your long, tried and devoted attachment to England's Aristocracy? Obloquy and contempt. Verily we have learnt in the school of experience and are prepared to profit by the lessons of the past. Compare the great and flourishing nation of the United States with our divided and distracted land and think what we also might have been, as brave, independent lords of the soil. Leave, then, Sir Francis Bond Head's defence to the miserable serfs dependent on his bounty and to the last hour of your lives the proud remembrance will be yours: 'We also were among the deliverers of our country.'"

Some other Proclamations Issued. On December 7th, 1837, His Excellency Sir Francis Bond Head addressed a Proclamation to the people, concluding with the offer of a substantial reward for the capture of the leading rebels in the following terms:

"Be vigilant, patient and active; leave punishment to our laws. Our first object is to arrest and secure all those who have been guilty of rebellion, murder and robbery. And to aid us in this a reward is hereby offered of one thousand pounds to any one who will apprehend and deliver up to justice William Lyon Mackenzie; and five hundred pounds to any one who will apprehend and deliver up to justice David Gibson, or Samuel Lount, or Jesse Lloyd, or Silas Fletcher; and the same reward and a free pardon will be given to any of their accomplices who will render this public service except he or they shall have committed, in his own person, the crime of murder or arson. And all, but the leaders above named, who have been seduced to join in this unnatural rebellion are hereby called to return to their duty to their Sovereign, to obey the laws, and to live henceforward as good and faithful subjects; and they will find the Government of their Queen as indulgent as it is just."

On January 10th, 1838, Mackenzie's co-leader on Bois Blanc Island, in the Detroit River, issued the following ludicrous appeal:

"Proclamation to the Deluded Supporters of British Tyranny in Upper Canada: You are required to lay down your arms, and return quietly to your homes. The Patriot Army of Upper Canada desires not bloodshed. We fight only for liberty and personal and public safety. Your persons and property shall be protected, all your private rights preserved to you, your homes secured, your possessions untouched, on condition that you yield up your weapons and return to your accustomed occupations. You are now enjoying a moiety of liberty vouchsafed to you from motives of caprice or interest on the part of your rulers. We will secure to you all the blessings of freedom by a permanent and honourable tenure. Avoid, then, the horrors of war. Enrage not soldiers already exasperated by oppression. Save yourselves from confiscation. Cease resistance, and all will be well with you.

THOMAS J. SUTHERLAND,
Brigadier-General.
Commanding Second Division, Patriotic Army."

The death of Lount and Mathews on the scaffold adds interest to the following Proclamation issued by "General" Burce, leader of the raid upon Windsor which took place on December 3rd, 1838, after the men had marched in armed force through the streets of Detroit and started across the river amid the cheers of 5,000 American spectators. The document was signed by the son of the executed rebel:

"Citizens of Canada! We have received the Standard of Liberty on our shores. It is not an ensign of oppression but of protection. We have returned to our native land, not as enemies, but as friends. Charges, false as the hearts of our oppressors, have been made against us; and you have been told that we are pirates, robbers, banditti, and brigands. You have been told that we came to plunder and destroy; and that the reward for which we are contending was indiscriminate robbery. False is the charge—alike false and deceptive. We come to restore to our beloved country that liberty so long enjoyed and so tyrannically wrestled from us. This is our only object—this is the end of our desires, and of our ambition. When this is accomplished, gladly will we return to the cultivation of our beloved fields and the enjoyments of the domestic fireside. No one who remains at home shall be molested in his avocation—those, only, found in arms, or aiding our oppressors, will be treated as enemies; those aiding us in restoring liberty to Canada will be hailed as friends to us, to Canada, to humanity. Let every one, then, who has not the spirit to engage in the cause of liberty, remain at home and pursue his usual avocations in peace. But above all, let those who ask for honour and glory, and their country's good, espouse the cause of the Patriots of Canada.

Headquarters, Patriot Army, Windsor, Nov. 30, 1838.

By order of the Commander-in-Chief,

WM. LOUNT, Military Secretary."

The Upper Canadian Government View. Historically, the Tory side of the question at

issue between the two parties has hardly been done justice to. Canadian public opinion at the close of the century by a large majority believes that what the Reformers contended for was in the main right and fails to comprehend the strong and really patriotic reasons which to some extent justified the Tory party amid its peculiar environments in much of the policy it strove to maintain. Hence the value and interest of the following Report of a Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, dated February 8th, 1838, and signed by the Hon. Henry Sherwood as Chairman. The chief part of this document was as follows:

"Your Committee will enter into no discussion of the possible circumstances arising from a long course of injustice or tyranny that may excuse or justify a people in throwing off their allegiance to their Sovereign. They think this the less necessary because they at once assert that the condition of the Canadas presents no single point on which to build an argument favourable to such a position. They were as exempt from tyranny and as free from oppression on the part of their Government as it is possible to suppose any people to be, who are subject to the salutary control of the laws of their own choice, and administered in their utmost purity by Judges above the suspicion of unfair or improper basis. Neither can your Committee ascribe the conduct of the disaffected to that impatience natural to man, to be freed even from nominal dependence on a higher power, although that dependence be evidently to his advantage. Your Committee have no hesitation in stating that in Lower Canada that Rebellion proceeded from an inveterate hatred of British rule and British connection, on the part of the Canadians of French origin, to which class dissatisfaction is, in that Province, exclusively confined. In Upper Canada the riot or insurrection (it deserves not the name of rebellion), confined to less than 1,000, out of 450,000 inhabitants, proceeded from a heedless preference to the democratic institutions of the neighbouring Republic on the part of a small number of worthless men, chiefly of broken fortune, who had contrived by the most gross and detestable system of falsehood and misrepresentation to delude a few hundreds of the most ignorant and credulous of the people to unite with them in the criminal attempt to seize upon the Seat of Government and the Public Offices, and to subvert the Constitution.

Your Committee will now direct the attention of Your Honourable House to the gradual development of the feeling of hatred towards the British nation on the part of the Lower Canadians of French descent; the measures of the leaders of the disaffected party, having in view the destruction of the constitutional power of the Crown and separation from Great Britain; and the encouragement they received from the mistaken policy of the British Ministry. At the conclusion of the late war with the United States of America, these Provinces began to attract a larger share of the attention of the people of the United Kingdom than they had previously enjoyed, and many persons of wealth, as well as great numbers of agriculturists and mechanics, resorted to them as a country affording favourable opportunities of investing their capital and establishing their families in independence and comfort; and from emigration alone, the Canadas have more than doubled their population since the year 1820. This influx of our fellow-subjects was in the highest degree satisfactory to the inhabitants of British origin, but most distasteful and repugnant to the wishes and views of those of French descent. The former saw in it the most certain security for the maintenance of the connection with the Mother-Country, while they experienced in common with all others the immense advantages arising from increased commerce and general wealth, as well as improvement in the condition of society, and social comfort and happiness. The latter at once discovered that unless they could check immigration from the British Isles, or at all events obtain such an ascendancy over the Government as would place it in a state of dependence upon the House of Assembly, before they were outnumbered by the 'Foreigners,' as they termed the English, Irish and Scotch settlers, their hopes of independence would be frustrated.

With this view the leading members of the Assembly, of French descent, (those of English origin who at the time united with them did not probably understand their true motives) demanded their surrender, on the part of the Crown, of the

revenues raised under the British Act 14, George III., chap. 88, and which by the terms of that law were to be applied to the support of the Civil Government of both Provinces, under the direction of the Lords of the Treasury, and which, though inadequate to the purpose at the time, it was probably foreseen, when added to other sources of revenue at the disposal of the Crown, would in the course of a few years amount to a sum equal to the payment of the salaries of the Governor, Judges and other public officers, and thus render the Government independent of any vote of supply. The contest began by representations to the Home Government on the unconstitutionality of any portion of the public revenues being disposed of by any other authority than the representatives of the people; by reductions in the estimates for the support of the Civil Government; by sending the supply bills to the other branches of the Legislature, drawn in such form as to prevent their adoption; and, finally, by refusing to grant a supply on any terms.

This course of conduct pursued by the House of Assembly, as might be expected, led to disagreement with the other branches of the Government; and, without entering into any detail of the various acts manifesting a total disregard of the ordinary rules of courtesy and decorum, exhibited by the Assembly and their Speaker, in their intercourse with the Earl of Dalhousie, then Governor-General of British North America, your Committee will proceed at once to the consideration of petitions purporting to be signed by about 87,000 of the inhabitants of Lower Canada, addressed to the King in the year 1828, and purporting to contain all the grounds for complaint on the part of the Province, and the measures contingent upon them. Upon a reference to these petitions it will be apparent that their object and design was to gain concessions by which the constitutional authority of the Crown would be weakened, and the democratic power strengthened. Your Committee will not prolong their Report by the examination of the particular points which, in their opinion, justify this assertion, as the remarks they have to offer on the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, to whom those petitions were referred, and upon which the subsequent policy of the Home Government appears to have been based, will sufficiently prove its correctness.

Before proceeding with their remarks, however, your Committee cannot withhold the expression of their regret, even at this distant day, that the Colonial Minister should have felt it necessary to appeal to the House of Commons for a Committee to enquire into the subjects complained of. It has been justly remarked that there are few occasions where those who administer public affairs are justified in delegating to others the duties that belong peculiarly to themselves, and this was a case of all others unfitted for such delegation. The points in dispute were such as involved the great principles of Colonial Government and the remedy for the abuses complained of, if they really existed, were mostly within the power of the Crown and in no respect requiring the interference of Parliament, and those that demanded such interference should have proceeded at once from the Minister and upon his responsibility. The evil of the course pursued is apparent from the fact that a Report was drawn up upon *ex-parte* statements and (in some instances) gross misrepresentations, and contains recommendations and opinions destructive of the just and constitutional authority of the Crown and the maintenance of an efficient administration of the Government.

The consequence, as might have been foreseen, has been to cripple such of our Colonial Ministers as have, since that day, been desirous of maintaining a firm and consistent course of policy, and to afford a pretext for others to pursue a system which has almost annihilated the Government, and which has encouraged the enemies of British supremacy to demand concession after concession with greater rapidity than it seems to have been practicable, or with a due regard to appearances, proper to grant, until at length, unable any longer to restrain their impatience, they have risen and attempted to gain their object by open rebellion. The most important recommendation of the Committee of the House of Commons was that the receipt and expenditure of the whole revenues of the Province, including of course those derivable from the 14 Geo. 3., chap. 88 and by that Act applicable to the support of the Civil Government of the Colony, should be placed under the

superintendence and control of the House of Assembly, at the same time declaring that 'they (the Committee) were strongly impressed with the advantage of rendering the Governor, the Members of the Executive Council and the Judges independent of the annual votes of the House of Assembly for their respective salaries'. The Committee proceed to recommend that a more independent character should be given to the Legislative Councils in both the Canadas, that the Judges with the exception of the Chief Justice, should be excluded from the Executive Council; they recommend that the Jesuits' estates should be appropriated to purposes of education; they charge the Government with having expended £140,000 without the consent of the representatives of the people, and conclude their Report with a censure upon Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, which censure is evidently founded on *ex-parte*, and, as in other instances, most inaccurate information.

Without discussing the propriety of some of the recommendations of this celebrated document, or even denying that, if carried into effect in particular instances, they might have been attended with beneficial effects, it is nevertheless apparent that every one of them has a strong tendency to strengthen and encourage a democratic policy, and in no single instance can it be discovered that the Committee felt the least solicitude for the preservation of those Monarchial principles which constitute so important a feature in the British Constitution. Indeed, when your Committee refers to the names of the Members of the House of Commons from whom this Report emanated and the majority of whom concurred in it (a bare majority as it is generally believed), they cannot but feel surprise that it did not occur to them that unless the Crown retained within its hands the means of sustaining the Government of a Colony, independently of the annual vote of the local Legislature, such Colony became virtually independent; and the surprise is not a little increased when this salutary power of the Crown was to be surrendered to the Assembly of a conquered Colony, inhabited by people, a great majority of whom were of French descent, speaking a foreign language and governed by laws differing from those of Great Britain.

Whatever opinions may be entertained on these points, it is perfectly certain that with the Report in question commenced that course of policy which has in no small degree tended to bring about that lamentable state of internal dissension and revolt which the loyal subjects of Her Majesty now so deeply deplore. As was to be expected, the recommendations of the Committee of the House of Commons were hailed as a triumph by that party in Lower Canada who have since too plainly proved their traitorous and disloyal principles; and by them the Report was declared 'an imperishable monument of human wisdom and national justice.' The British Parliament and His Majesty's Ministers were led to suppose that, if the concessions recommended were made, peace and contentment would prevail throughout the country and that the representatives of the people, gratified to the fullest extent of their wishes, would cheerfully concur in all such measures as were necessary to maintain the Government of the Colony and perpetuate the connection with the Mother-Country.

Confiding in these delusive promises the Colonial Minister began by surrendering up to the control of the House of Assembly the funds out of which the King had hitherto been enabled to pay the Governor, the Judges and other officers, without whose services the Government of the country could not be conducted; and this measure was sanctioned by Parliament under the vain expectation that the Assembly would honourably redeem the implied pledge that they would themselves make the necessary provision. Such, however, was not, and probably never had been, the intention of the majority of the Assembly; the moment they had attained so important a concession which rendered the Sovereign a supplicant to the Legislature of one of his Colonies, and that a conquered Colony, for the means of carrying on his Government within its limits, they felt the advantage they had gained, and they resolved to avail themselves of it. Uninfluenced by the noble and prompt example of the representatives of the loyal people of Upper Canada, who patriotically and wisely secured the independence of the Judges and the upright discharge of the duties of the Governor, Executive Councillors and other high officers of the Government by voting them

reasonable and permanent salaries, the Assembly of Lower Canada refused to vote a shilling as a supply for these objects, and the Judges and other public functionaries have in consequence for years past exhibited the degrading spectacle of being compelled to borrow and incur debts for the ordinary and necessary support of their families.

Notwithstanding this vicious and ungenerous course of conduct the recommendations of the Committee of the House of Commons continued to be acted upon. The Chief Justice was removed from the Executive Councils in both Provinces; the Judges, by a questionable exercise of the Royal influence, were induced to absent themselves from the Legislative Council in Lower Canada; the Jesuits' Estates, the property of the Crown, were generously given np; new members were added to the Legislative Council to render it more independent—chiefly taken from among that class of persons most distinguished for their opposition to the Government while members of the Lower House; and the noble-minded and patriotic Earl of Dalhousie was recalled. Having thus gained all the advantages promised by the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, the Assembly turned their attention to new subjects of complaint and increased efforts to annihilate British influence. They erected themselves into an inquisitorial tribunal for the trial of such officers of the Government as they desired to deprive of their situations, and succeeded by a system of attack unheard of in any other British Colony to induce the King's Government to dismiss from office, and remove from various situations, several of the oldest, most faithful and most respectable servants of the Crown; and to render their eagerness to retard and discountenance the increase of population from the British Isles more apparent and effectual, a capitation tax was imposed on all emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland, and from thence only, on landing at Quebec; and strong efforts were made (hitherto unsuccessful) to induce the Home Government to annul the agreement with the British America Land Company which had been established for the settlement of emigrants from the United Kingdom on lands lying waste and useless in the most fertile part of the Province. They exerted themselves to procure the repeal of the Act passed by the Imperial Parliament authorizing persons holding lands under the ancient Feudal Tenure to change their titles to the British Tenure of Free and Common Soccage; and in the most arbitrary and unconstitutional manner they from time to time expelled members of British descent from their body and maintained in their seats those of French origin who had been elected in the most palpably illegal manner; and lastly, the Assembly demanded that the Constitution of the Province should be so altered as to admit of the election of the Members of the Legislative Council by the people; and ultimately declared their determination no longer to act in concert with the other branches of the Government, unless this demand was complied with.

Had this point been conceded—and, from the facility with which their previous demands had been granted the Assembly had reasonable grounds to suppose it would be yielded to them—the last vestige of British supremacy would as a matter of course have been annihilated. Happily, however, the British Minister did not possess the power of making this concession without the authority of Parliament and in that august assembly it was not likely to meet with much countenance. The time, however, had arrived when it was indispensably necessary, either to abandon the Colony to a state of anarchy, or adopt measures to prevent the Government from falling to pieces; and accordingly certain resolutions were proposed by one of the King's Ministers, and adopted by the Lords and Commons of the United Kingdom, containing a timid pledge not to extend the elective principle to the Legislative Council and proposing the payment to the Judges and other public functionaries of the arrears of their unjustly and long witheld salaries. They further proposed certain changes in the system of administering the Government in both Provinces which the author doubtless believed would be productive of salutary effects.

The leaders of the revolutionary faction, having thus for the first time met an apparently decided refusal of their demands, determined, in an evil hour to themselves, but as every loyal man hopes and believes, auspicious to the future welfare of these Provinces, on revolt. They carried their design into execution, were overthrown, and, as

we earnestly pray, forever crushed. Your Committee believe that the history they have thus given will sufficiently prove that the impelling motive to rebellion on the part of the Lower Canadians, as they (the Committee) have asserted in a previous part of this Report, was hatred to British rule. They were not oppressed; they had never been oppressed or denied a single right that British subjects could justly claim; they were prosperous and they might have been happy. It is due to truth further to remark that disaffection was confined, with exceptions so few as not to deserve notice, to Canadians of French descent; and that it was put down by soldiers and citizens of British and Irish origin, and by them only.

Your Committee would here gladly close their observations on the revolt in Lower Canada and the causes which led to it, but the due performance of a solemn duty requires that they should not omit notice of the unwise measures that, for a series of years, marked the policy of the British Ministry towards that Colony; and which, in the opinion of almost every honest and intelligent man in these Provinces, greatly encouraged the disaffected in their hope of throwing off British connection. The concessions made in pursuance of the recommendations of the Committee of the House of Commons have been noticed; and the dismissals from office of persons accused by the popular branch of the Legislature and against whom the Executive of the Province have preferred no charge—and whose impeachment was known to be in opposition to its wishes—have been already adverted to. In consequence of the first, the power and efficiency of the Government was destroyed, and the effect of the second was to alarm every public servant, and to cause him to fear that he might be dismissed and dishonoured through the false representations of malignant and irresponsible accusers. But this was not all. It seems to be considered necessary, upon almost all occasions, to show a deference to the wishes of the disloyal faction and a total disregard to the claims and representations of the well-affected.

The Earl of Dalhousie, a nobleman peculiarly suited by his talents and firmness of character, to administer the Government, and endeared to the British portion of the community by his many generous acts and estimable qualities, was recalled at a moment when he was resolutely upholding the constitutional prerogatives of the Crown, and vigourously maintaining the authority of the laws. His successor, Sir James Kempt, was the first Governor-General who was directed to fall in with the views of the dominant faction and endeavour to conciliate the disaffected. He commenced his Government by thanking the Assembly for, and declaring his high satisfaction at receiving an Address from them which contained an ungenerous and unjust attack upon his

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noble predecessor. His Administration was, nevertheless, an entire failure; and he had sagacity enough to resign the Government at the moment when men of all parties were ready to condemn his measures.

Lord Aylmer followed, and never did a Governor more assiduously labour to gain the applause of the anti-British party than His Lordship did the first two years of the Administration. No single request was made of him by the Assembly that he did not grant, and in not a few

instances he yielded to demands that deeply compromised the constitutional rights of the Crown and the justice due to individuals. He suspended from office the able and efficient Attorney-General of the Province upon charges, the truth of which has never been established (although his dismissal was afterwards confirmed by Lord Goderich). He rendered the Legislative Council 'more independent,' by placing in it some of the most violent and ungenerous opponents of the Government, and at the very time when the Assembly were factiously withholding from the Judges and other public officers of the Crown the salaries and allowances to which they were justly and constitutionally entitled, and for want of which some of them had been reduced to poverty and want, His Lordship advanced them money without legal authority from the public funds, to enable them to pension Members of the British Parliament to use their influence in obtaining concessions from the Imperial Government, that would, when granted, assist them in accomplishing their revolutionary designs. At a subsequent Session, His Lordship had the temerity to ask the Assembly for a Bill indemnifying them for having advanced money in compliance with their Address only, and to protect him from the personal liability he had in consequence incurred; and he declined making any further advance until an Act was passed to that effect. This was deemed a violent breach of the constitutional rights and privileges of the House, and forthwith Ninety-two Resolutions were fulminated, impeaching His Lordship of high crimes and misdemeanours; denouncing the British Government as arbitrary and oppressive; threatening rebellion and containing matter altogether so grossly treasonable and seditious that every subject of the Crown who respected the ancient institutions of the realm and desired to see the Constitution maintained, was led to expect that if the authors were not otherwise punished, a dissolution of the Assembly would take place, if for no other reason than to prove that the King's Government was sensible of the indignity that had been offered it. Far different, however, was the result. His Lordship was recalled from his Government, and the author of the Resolutions referred to was elevated by his successor to a seat on the Bench of the Superior Court of the Province.

Lord Gosford's Administration now commenced, and with him were associated two gentlemen as Commissioners, appointed to enquire into and report upon the state of the Province and the grievances under which its inhabitants were reputed to be suffering. His Lordship's instructions were to adopt the most conciliatory policy towards the people of the country. This was done by showing open favour and partiality to the known leaders of disaffection, such as the promotion of Mr. Bédard (above alluded to) to the Bench, and of Mr. Debartchz to the Executive Council, and manifesting a distrust and want of confidence in those who in the day of peril have cast aside the recollection of their wrongs; have rushed to the support of their Sovereign, and have proved that in the hour of need to them only can Her Majesty look for the preservation of this portion of her dominions as an appendage of her Crown.

The first act of the Assembly upon being called together by Lord Gosford was to offer an insult to our late gracious and good King, by denying his right to appoint Commissioners to enquire into the state of affairs in the Province (one of his conquered Colonies) and contemptuously rejecting an Act which was designed and intended for its especial benefit. Notwithstanding this (and without requiring any Bill of indemnity for Lord Aylmer), the new Governor-General, in obedience to his instructions and in pursuance of his conciliatory policy, 'cheerfully' advanced upwards of £20,000 of the public revenues on the sole Address of the Assembly, and in defiance of the solemn protest of the Legislative Council, to enable the former body to pay the arrears of salary due to Mr. Roebuck, of the Imperial Parliament, and to continue his allowance as an Agent, and to reward his exertions in forwarding their revolutionary designs. Having been thus triumphant in all their conflicts with the Governors of the Colony, and having been led to believe that they would ultimately succeed in their attempt to coerce the Home Government into granting the next great object for which they were contending, viz., the subjection of the Legislative Council to the popular will, controlled as

the latter was by the same influence that had rendered the Assembly a mere revolutionary club, they declared, as has been already stated, that they would proceed no further with public business until this demand was complied with.

Your Committee will here close their observations on the political history of Lower Canada, as distinct from that of the Upper Province, and will now offer some few remarks on the progress of the latter to that state of prosperity and contentment in which it was peacefully reposing, and which it would have continued to enjoy, but for the unnatural and wicked revolt that broke out in Lower Canada—proceeding as it did from causes that your Committee have detailed. The advancement of Upper Canada in population and wealth, from the time of the division of the Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada, in 1791, has already been alluded to; and it is perhaps not too much to say, that from that time to the present no country in the world has presented a more industriously disposed or devotedly loyal people than were to be found within its limits.

It is of course true that in the excitement incident to all conflicts of domestic political parties, disagreements have occurred in the House of Assembly and among the electors and people generally, that have led to references to the Home Government for the redress of alleged wrongs, and which have been seized upon by the adverse parties as grounds for imputing to the people general discontent and dissatisfaction with their Government. It would probably be sufficient evidence of the want of just grounds for any such statement to refer to the history of past Houses of Assembly and the result of the different appeals that have been made to the people at General Elections. That would show that since the time our first Governor (General Simcoe) entered upon the administration of the Government of the Province in 1792, to the present time, a period of 45 years, there have been but two Houses of Assembly returned who can be said to have taken a course hostile to the views of the Government, each of which was succeeded by a large majority of representatives of a different political character, and on only one occasion has there been a dissolution on account of differences with the local Administration. In truth, the people are intelligent as well as patriotic and, when left to themselves in the free exercise of their constitutional rights, they have ever proved themselves able to apply the necessary remedy to any attempt to oppress or mislead them.

With respect to the loyalty of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, your Committee will not insult the noble pride and exalted patriotism of their fellow-subjects by any sentence or word that could imply in the most distant degree that there was a necessity for defending it. They point to their

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descent; they point to their deeds in a former war; and they point to their attitude and bearing at this moment of threatened invasion and revolt; and they bid their calumniators, be they in the British Senate or elsewhere, to point out the stain or reproach that rests upon their fair fame as 'loyal men and true' to their Sovereign and their country. If in truth they desired to release themselves from their allegiance by traitorously conspiring against the authority of their Queen, what prevents their

accomplishing their wishes? It is not many days since there were not fifty soldiers of the regular Army in the Province, and even now, when the usual military force has returned to our garrisons, there is no man who will not admit that the question of remaining a dependency of the British Crown rests entirely with ourselves. That question has been answered; and the sincerity of the reply has been proved by more than 20,000 men, eagerly striving who should be foremost in taking up arms and hazarding their lives and fortunes to perpetuate our connection with our glorious parent state.

It however must not be supposed that Upper Canadians are without their causes of complaint against the Imperial Government. The fact, your Committee lament to say, is far otherwise. They have felt, in common with their fellow-subjects of British origin in Lower Canada, the blighting effect of the erroneous policy pursued with respect to the latter Colony. The consequences of it have been to render nugatory some of the great enterprises this Province has engaged in to improve its navigation (especially that of the St. Lawrence), to extend its commerce and increase its revenue. The dissensions that have so long existed there have alarmed and prevented thousands of our fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland from coming and settling among us; and our intercourse with the Mother-Country has been interrupted and obstructed by oppressive and unjust legislation, countenanced in some instances by Ministers of the Crown. These evils have been frequently and earnestly represented, but although the remedy has always been in the hands of the British Government it has never been applied, and we are now left to suffer under them with accumulated force. In our own more immediate and local concerns we have at times been alarmed and embarrassed at the apparent influence gained by the enemies of British connection with the Colonial Secretary of State, and the interference which followed in matters of a purely local character. Among the number of these may be mentioned the threatened disallowance of our Bank Charters after those institutions have been for some time in full operation; interference in Legislative proceedings relating exclusively to questions of privilege; and frequent collisions with our Governors the moment they manifested a preference for that class of persons they had learned to regard as best entitled to the confidence and protection of their Sovereign. To this last ground of complaint, your Committee feel it a painful duty to draw the particular attention of your Honourable House, and with their remarks upon it, to close this part of their Report.

The appointment of Sir John Colborne to the Government of this Province, as the successor of Sir Peregrine Maitland, was simultaneous, or nearly so, with the appointment of Sir James Kempt to the Government of Lower Canada; and there is no doubt that the design of the British Ministry was to infuse a larger share of 'Liberal policy' and 'conciliatory measures' into the administration of public affairs than it was supposed previously existed. Sir John, accordingly, kept aloof for a time from the old and tried servants of the Crown in the Colony and manifested a disposition to conciliate the good-will and support of those who were understood to be opposed to the past Administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland. In this His Excellency met with no embarrassment from any one. The officers of Government did their duty cheerfully and steadily; they never intruded themselves upon his notice or sought to embarrass him in the attempt he was making to reclaim the disaffected, or to strengthen the loyalty of the wavering. He conferred offices in a few instances without sufficient assurance that they were deservedly bestowed, and to a more serious extent he deprived some of the best men of the Colony of emoluments and appointments they had long enjoyed and to the continuance of which their merits and long services amply entitled them.

His Excellency, however, soon found that measures of this kind were not the most judicious; he discovered that he might make enemies, but that he was not likely to gain friends. He was speedily convinced that the designs of the majority of the turbulent and noisy politicians, self-styled Reformers, who sought his confidence, aimed at revolution, not reform—and he was therefore compelled to withhold from them any further marks of his favour. Owing to causes of an accidental and local character, a House

of Assembly was returned containing a majority of eleven opposed to his Administration. The leaders of this majority industriously applied themselves to the investigation of supposed grievances and the promulgation of Reports from Select Committees calculated to inflame the public mind against the Lieutenant-Governor and other officers of the local Government, and by false representations to render the people discontented. These were in some instances sent to Downing Street, by order of the House; at other times by individual Members, without the sanction of the Assembly. The consequence, as is now generally understood, was that an ungracious correspondence sprung up between His Excellency and the Colonial Secretary of State, so offensive to Sir John that he was induced to tender his resignation, which however did not reach England before his recall had been determined upon and, in the depth of a Canadian winter, this venerable and gallant soldier with a constitution impaired in the service of his country and a body mutilated by wounds received on many a victorious field of battle, whose name is identified with the glory of his country, felt himself obliged to leave the Seat of Government, and repair to the Lower Province, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, accompanied by his numerous and amiable family.

This was a scene that awakened the sympathy and aroused the indignation of the generous and loyal people of the Province. At every town and village on his route of 300 miles, he was met by Addresses expressive of the respect and regard in which he was held as a man and as a Governor, and throughout his whole journey the people turned out in their sleighs and carriages, and with acclamations, accompanied and cheered him on his way. The departure of Sir John Colborne infused new life and vigour into the faction that had accidentally acquired a temporary ascendency in the Assembly. Always ignorant of the true feelings and character of the great body of the people, the leaders of this party determined on making a display of their fancied political power, and, if possible, establish their ascendency in the Councils of the Province; and this they believed they could the more easily accomplish, as it was reported the new Governor was a 'tried Reformer.'

Upon assuming the Administration, it was generally understood that Sir Francis Head was instructed to pursue a policy far more liberal than that of his predecessor, and the apprehensions entertained that measures might be too hastily taken by which the country would be involved in lasting dissensions, were greatly increased by the appointment of Dr. Rolph and Mr. Robert Baldwin to be Members of the Executive Council; and, to prove how well-founded were those fears, it is sufficient to state that the first named individual has since fled the country to escape the penalties of treason, and the latter, long his most intimate political associate, has professedly withdrawn himself from all interference in public affairs. Rumours of other appointments, equally distasteful to the loyal subjects of His Majesty, were at the same time in circulation. Happily, however, they could not be made, if they were ever intended. Events occurred that saved this Province from evils that must inevitably have led, and that within a short period, to the entire destruction of the authority of the Crown, and a speedy separation from the parent state.

No sooner had Mr. Rolph and Mr. Baldwin (with whom also was associated Mr. Dunn, the Receiver-General,) taken their seats at the Council Board than they proposed, and had sufficient influence to induce the other Members to agree to the proposal, that they should henceforth, in effect, be accountable to the people and not to the Crown, for their acts; that is, that they should remain in office so long as a majority of the Assembly approved of their conduct and no longer; and that when the Lieutenant-Governor acted in opposition to their advice they should be at liberty to make the circumstances publicly known. This proposition, so contrary to all Colonial usage, and destructive of the Constitutional authority of the Sovereign by rendering every Department of the Government dependent on the democratic branch of the Legislature, at once convinced the Lieutenant-Governor of the real character of the men he had, with an honest desire to reconcile conflicting parties, admitted to his confidence, and the extremely delicate and somewhat dangerous position in which he stood. Happily for this Province His Excellency possessed a vigourous, active and intelligent mind and

was prompt and resolute in acting upon its suggestions. He addressed the Council in terms of mild but firm remonstrance; he pointed out with ability and clearness the error of their opinions and the danger that would result from their adoption; and in conclusion candidly stated that unless they were abandoned his confidence in them must cease. The Council adhered to their opinions and resigned their offices.

As was to be expected the party in the House of Assembly, whose hopes of establishing their political power were thus suddenly frustrated, became in the highest degree exasperated, and, after adopting several resolutions and addresses in the hope of retaining the power which the unwise and hasty conduct of their leaders had lost to them, they appointed a Select Committee, composed exclusively of Members of their own political opinions, with authority to send for persons and papers, and to report the result of their enquiries. The Report made by this Committee was brought up towards the close of the Session; it is a document too voluminous to admit of a detailed examination in this place, even if it were desirable to do so. It is enough to say that in addition to its containing the most offensive and insulting language towards the Representative of their Sovereign, who had been but a very few weeks in the Province, and of whose general character and sentiments they could scarcely have any knowledge, its authors contemptuously rejected the offer that had been made to submit the question in dispute to the King. They, in effect, insisted that the construction of the Constitution rested exclusively with them and that, whatever might be the decision of the House of Assembly, all other branches of the Government must be bound by it; and they demanded adherence to a course of policy on the part of the Executive, which, if granted, it was manifest to every reflecting man, would utterly destroy the authority of the Crown, and would subject the people to the government of the capricious and ever-varying opinions of the party that might chance to have the ascendency in the House of Assembly; and lastly, it recommended, and the House resolved, that until the concessions demanded were made to them they would grant no supply for the support of the Government; and the Session accordingly closed without any provision having been made for the Public Service.

At no period since the formation of the Government of the Province had so distinct and open a disagreement occurred between the Executive and the House of Assembly. The questions involved were of vital consequence to the future peace, welfare and good government of the country, and at the same time they were capable of being plainly stated and clearly understood. They were argued and discussed at public meetings and in private circles. Misrepresentation and abuse of the public authorities, and of the Lieutenant-Governor in particular, were the weapons used by the advocates of the majority of the House of Assembly. Truth and reason were opposed to them; the latter was listened to and fully comprehended by a loyal and intelligent people, and the result was an almost universal demand for the dismissal of men who had betrayed their confidence, and, under the veil of patriotism, had endeavoured to destroy the Constitution they so highly prized. They became convinced that if those persons succeeded in their political views the country would soon be subject to the tyranny of an irresponsible faction, and that the cherished connection with the parent state must, ere long, be dissolved. The petitions that were addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor, condemnatory of the proceedings of the House of Assembly and demanding its dissolution, and in the strongest terms approving of the firm and uncompromising course pursued by the Lieutenant-Governor, evinced the most unequivocal attachment to the Constitution as by law established; the determination of the people to maintain it inviolate; and their gratitude to Sir Francis Head for his resistance of the attempts that had been made to subvert it. The dissolution of the Assembly, and the General Election that followed it, resulted in the rejection of every prominent member of the majority of the last House, and the return of an overwhelming preponderance of those of an opposite political character.

The overthrow of the party, instead of being silently and respectfully submitted to, as the constitutional decision of the electors, served but to exasperate them and to lead them gradually to

the open avowal of their traitorous designs. It was asserted that the elections were decided by bribery, corruption, intimidation and riot; and by the unconstitutional interference of the Governor in creating a vast number of votes; by the unlawful issue of patents for lands to persons who were not entitled to them; and a Dr. Charles Duncombe, one of the persons who belonged to the party composing the majority of the last House and who had been re-elected to the present, had the singular audacity to embody these utterly false assertions in a petition addressed to the House of Commons—which petition was presented by Mr. Joseph Hume, then one of the Members for Middlesex and the (upon all occasions) chosen mouth-piece of the traitors of this Province. A copy of this petition, as an act of justice, was transmitted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Lieutenant-Governor, for his remarks. His Excellency before noticing it himself, transmitted it to the House of Assembly as the body best qualified to investigate the charges contained in it. The Select Committee to whom it was referred, composed of the most independent members of all parties, entered upon the enquiry, and as soon as the petitioner, Dr. Duncombe, took his seat, he was called upon to establish his charges and was informed of the readiness of the Committee to hear any evidence he might have to offer in their support. So far from doing this, and well knowing the untruth of his statements, he left the House on some idle pretence and never made the least attempt to establish any of his assertions.

The Committee, however, were not content to leave the matter there. They called before them all the leading members of the party to which the petitioner belonged, and questioned them as to their knowledge of the truth of the charges made by him. Most of these persons disclaimed all connection with Dr. Duncombe and not one of them offered the slightest evidence, or intimated that he could give any, in support of his allegations. The Committee then proceeded to a more conclusive step, and calling before them persons of the highest character of truth and honour, and requiring the production of documentary evidence the most conclusive in its nature, every statement contained in the document referring to them was to the entire satisfaction of every honourable man in the Province, completely disproved. Their Report, drawn up at the conclusion of their labours, vindicated the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor in the most ample and satisfactory manner and rescues the loyal electors of the Province from the calumny of having been influenced in the exercise of their elective franchise by bribery, corruption, intimidation, or any other improper means.

This additional defeat of the revolutionary faction had the effect of urging them forward to attempt the attainment of their traitorous designs by violence, earlier than otherwise in all probability would have been the case. They saw that the great majority of the people were of stern and incorruptible loyalty; their hopes of countenance from their representatives had vanished; their attempts to mislead the British Parliament had resulted in their own disgrace; and the Province was governed by a man who, guided by the principles of the Constitution, was firmly resolved to do his duty; and they saw that all their efforts to intimidate him or to draw him aside from the resolution he had formed to concede nothing to faction, would be fruitless. Meetings were consequently called by the chief agitator, Mr. Mackenzie, and were attended by some scores of deluded men, at which the treason in progress in Lower Canada was applauded, and secret measures were taken to assist them in their attempt at revolution.

During these proceedings, Sir Francis Head reposed in perfect confidence in the tried loyalty of the great body of the people, whose Governor he was, to check and overthrow any attempt that might be made to subvert the Government; and when the Commander of the Forces, Lieutenant-General Sir John Colborne, desired to be informed what number of the troops could be spared from Upper Canada to assist in putting down rebellion in the Lower Provinces, Sir Francis Head promptly and unhesitatingly replied, 'All.' They were accordingly marched to Montreal, and soon after the revolt broke out in the vicinity of that place and for a time fears were entertained that the struggle would be of long duration. The number of troops in the country, it was apprehended, was too small to afford adequate protection to all parts of the Province, and Sir John Colborne in consequence applied for additional

assistance from the Militia of Upper Canada. It is now well known that a correspondence was kept up between the leaders of rebellion in both Provinces, and it is not improbable that those in Upper Canada were induced to hasten their meditated revolt, with a view of preventing any of the gallant Highlanders and other Militia of the Eastern Districts being sent to the assistance of their loyal fellow-subjects in Lower Canada. It was supposed by the traitors that nothing could withstand the rebels there, and if they were successful, it was assumed that, as a matter of course, Upper Canada must yield also. Far otherwise, we are warranted in saying, would have been the fact.

Our patriotic Lieutenant-Governor had not miscalculated the loyal feeling of the inhabitants of Upper Canada. His administration had confirmed them in the belief that they would be protected by the British Government; he had, by generous and well placed confidence, awakened their pride and excited the noble feeling of devoted patriotism. At his call they thronged in thousands to the Seat of Government to repel the attack of rebellious and unnatural traitors, and tens of thousands would in like manner have marched at his command to protect and maintain the authority of their Sovereign in the Lower Province. To his policy and adherence to the principles of the Constitution in the administration of the Government this deeply affecting and gratifying exhibition of enthusiastic loyalty is to be ascribed—no other policy than his, and few other men than Sir Francis Head could have called it forth. The rebellion in Lower Canada was put down by the gallant soldiers and loyal British subjects of Her Majesty—not, however, without a fearful sacrifice of human life and vast destruction of property. In Upper Canada, it may be said to have been put an end to by the indignant frown of an insulted people. Hundreds of the repentant offenders have been forgiven by the man who, in the exercise of the Royal clemency with which he was entrusted, was empowered to extend pardon to them; thus proving, in a manner the most grateful to his own generous nature, that he was not the tyrant that they had been induced to believe him to be. Others, more guilty, await that justice which the laws they would have overthrown may award them; and the leaders, including Rolph, Duncombe and Mackenzie, the lauded and cherished patriots of Mr. Joseph Hume, have fled their country and have found an asylum in the United States among the robbers, murderers, pirates and traitors who, in that Republic, bid open defiance to law, and are avowedly protected in their crimes by the sovereign will of the people.

This short and necessarily condensed view of the causes and termination of the recent insurrection in Upper Canada, has been introduced by your Committee for the purpose of showing by incontrovertible facts the estimation in which His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor is held by the people, and the confidence entertained in his administration of the Government. Notwithstanding this, however, it appears that His Excellency's policy has not harmonized with that of his official superiors, and, as in the case of his predecessor, he has resigned his office. In replying to the announcement of this most unexpected event, your Honourable House truly stated:

'That this House and the people of the Province will regard Your Excellency's relinquishment of its Government as a calamity of the most serious nature, and which may result in difficulties and dissensions that cannot be easily repaired or reconciled. We, however, are fully persuaded that the blame cannot rest with Your Excellency, and while we sincerely and most willingly acknowledge the zeal, ability, justice and honourable disinterestedness with which you have conducted the Government of this Province during your short but eventful and arduous administration of its affairs, we beg respectfully and affectionately to express, on behalf of this Province, our earnest hope that your Excellency's prosperity in future life may be commensurate with the claims, deep and lasting as they are, upon our gratitude; the approbation of our Gracious Queen; and the applause and acknowledgment of the British Nation.'

His Excellency, it appears, does not feel himself at liberty to disclose the causes which have led to his resignation of the Government, and therefore your Committee is precluded from making distinct remark upon them; but if it be true, as has been rumoured, that those differences of opinion consist in an unwillingness or refusal on his part to employ the patronage of the Crown in the vain attempt to conciliate the

disaffected and thus to outrage the feelings of the unquestionably faithful subjects of Her Majesty, his conduct vastly increases his claims upon the gratitude of the people of this Province, and renders it a solemn duty on their part, as far as they have the power, to vindicate and uphold him in the good opinion of our Sovereign and our fellow subjects of the United Kingdom."

Mackenzie's Account of the Rebellion. An important historical letter was addressed by William Lyon Mackenzie, while in occupation of Navy Island, to the Editor of an American (N.Y.) newspaper, *The Watertown Jeffersonian*, which throws much interesting light upon the subject of the insurrection near Toronto. It was dated the 14th of January, 1838, and was described by himself as a "narrative." The following extracts are of value :

"On the 31st of July last, the Reformers of Toronto responded to the request of their fellow-sufferers in Lower Canada, by the appointment of Ward Committees of Vigilance, the passage of resolutions of sympathy and co-operation, and the adoption of a Declaration of rights and grievances, which only differed from your great Declaration of 1776, in that it did not at once proclaim the Province independent, nor enumerate, in all cases, the same complaints. The Reformers had taken great pains to inform the British Government of the true state of affairs in Upper Canada, and many believed that Sir Francis Bond Head would do what he could to remove the chief causes of discontent, until the proceedings of the Executive previous to and at the last general election of the House of Assembly convinced them that nothing but a revolution would relieve the country. This opinion I was confirmed in by observing that, when the Assembly of Lower Canada deferred granting supplies until their wrongs would be redressed, the House of Commons of England, by a vote of about ten to one, and the Lords, unanimously (Lord Brougham alone dissenting), resolved that the proceeds of the revenue raised in that Colony, both by Provincial and British Statutes, should be expended without the consent of the representatives of the people, or the form of law, in keeping up a costly foreign government in which the governed had no share.

In the Declaration of Grievances of the 31st of July, the British Government were distinctly given to understand that revolt might be the consequence of its duplicity. And that Declaration was read, considered and approved at 200 public meetings in the country; 150 branch associations, agreeing to its principles, were speedily organized; and Sir F. B. Head was informed through the press that the officers of these societies might be used as captains and lieutenants of companies, for resistance by force, in case a change of his measures did not soon take place. The many scenes of violence and outrage which occurred at our public meetings between July and December, I need not recount. Let it suffice to say that we kept up a good understanding with the Reformers of Lower Canada; and, concluding that arbitrary imprisonments and a declaration of military execution would follow the anticipated outbreak at Montreal, we resolved to second the Lower Canada movements by others, equally prompt and decisive.

Some of the members of our branch societies were kept in ignorance of the intended revolt. Others were fully aware of it. Some whose names were attached to no association were leaders in the revolution; other very active Republicans took no part. The presses under my control sent forth nearly 3,000 copies of a periodical filled with reasons for revolt, and about the third week in November it was determined that on Thursday, the 7th of December, our forces should secretly assemble at Montgomery's Hotel, three miles back of Toronto, between six and ten at night, and, proceeding from thence to the city, join our friends there, seize 4,000 stand of arms, which had been placed by Sir Francis in the City Hall, take him into custody, with his chief advisers, place the garrison in the hands of the Liberals, declare the Province free, call a Convention together to frame a suitable constitution, and meantime appoint our friend, Dr. Rolph, Provisional Administrator of the Government. We expected to do all this without shedding blood, well knowing that the Vice-regal Government was too unpopular to have many real adherents.

Only in one instance did we forward a notice of the intended movement beyond the limits of

the county of York, and to Whitby and some other towns in it no circulars were sent. We never doubted the feeling of the Province. Sir Francis admits in his 'Speech from the Throne,' that we should have cheerfully submitted the whole matter to a Convention of the people. Twelve leading Reformers in the city and country agreed, one day in November, that, on Thursday the 7th of December last, between the hours of six and ten in the evening, the friends of freedom in the several townships, led by their captains, would meet at Montgomery's, march to Toronto, seize the arms we so much wanted, dismiss Sir Francis, and proclaim a Republic. The details were left entirely to my management; and an Executive in the city was named to correspond with Mr. Papineau and our other friends below, afford intelligence, aid our efforts, and finally, to join the army at Montgomery's. It was also stipulated that no attempt should be made by that Executive to alter the time on which we were to revolt, without consulting with me in the first instance.

The country was ripe for a change, and I employed a fortnight previous to Sunday, the 3rd December, in attending secret meetings, assisting in organizing towns and places, and otherwise preparing for the revolution. On that day I rode from Southville (where I had two private meetings on the Saturday) to Yonge Street; and arrived at Mr. Gibson's in the evening. To my astonishment and dismay, I was informed by him that, although I had given the captains of townships sealed orders for Thursday following, the Executive, through him, by a mere verbal message, had ordered out the men beyond the ridges to attend at Montgomery's with their arms next day, Monday, and that it was probable they were already on the march. I instantly sent out one of Mr. Gibson's servants to the north, countermanding the Monday movement, and begged of Colonel Lount not to come down nor in any way to disturb the previous regular arrangement, because neither of the other towns, nor the citizens of Toronto, were in any way prepared for an alteration which if persisted in would surely ruin us. The servant returned on Monday with a message from Mr. Lount, that it was now too late to stop, that the men were warned and moving with their guns and pikes on the march down to Yonge Street (a distance of 30 to 40 miles on the worst roads in the world) and that the object of their rising could therefore be no longer concealed.

I was grieved and so was Mr. Gibson, but we had to make the best of it; accordingly I mounted my horse in the afternoon, rode in towards the city, took five trusty men with me, arrested several gentlemen on suspicion that they were going to Sir Francis with information, placed a guard on Yonge Street, the main northern avenue to Toronto, at Montgomery's, and another guard on a parallel road, and told them to allow none to pass to the city. I then waited some time expecting the Executive to arrive, but waited in vain. No one came, not even a message. I was therefore left in entire ignorance of the condition of the capital; and, instead of entering Toronto on Thursday with 4,000 or 5,000 men, was apparently expected to take it on Monday with 200, wearied after a march of 30 or 40 miles through mud, and in the worst possible humour at finding they had been called from the very extremity of the county, and no one else warned at all. About eight or nine o'clock I accompanied Captain Anderson, of Lloydtown, Mr. Shephard, and two others on horseback down Yonge Street, intending if no one came with tidings from the city to go there and ascertain how far an attack and seizure of muskets and bayonets we much needed was practicable. There were warrants out for my apprehension, but I did not mind them much. We had not proceeded far when we met Alderman John Powell (now the Mayor) and Mr. Archibald McDonald, late of Kingston, on horseback, acting as a sort of patrol. I rode up to them, presented a double-barrelled pistol, informed them that the democrats had risen in arms, that we wished to prevent information of that fact from reaching the city, and that they would have to go back to Montgomery's as prisoners, where they would be well treated, fed and lodged, and in no way injured in person or in purse, but they must surrender to me their arms. They both assured me they had none, and, when I seemed to doubt, repeated the assurance; on which I said, 'Well, gentlemen, as you are my townsmen and men of honour, I would be ashamed to show that I ques-

tion your words by ordering you to be searched'; and, turning to Messrs. Shephard and Anderson, I bade them place the gentlemen in the guard room and see that they were comfortable, after which I proceeded again towards the city.

Not many minutes afterwards I was overtaken by Alderman Powell, riding in great haste. I asked what it meant, and told him he must not proceed except at his peril. He kept on; I followed and fired over my horse's head, but missed him. He slackened his pace till his horse was beside mine, and while I was expostulating with him, he suddenly clapt a pistol quite close to my breast, but the priming flashed in the pan, and thus I was saved from instant death. At this moment McDonald rode back seemingly in great affright, and Powell escaped from me by the side bar, and by a circuitous route reached Toronto. McDonald appeared unable to explain. I therefore sent him back the second time, and being now alone judged it most prudent to return to Montgomery's, on my way to which I encountered the murdered remains of the brave and generous Captain Anthony Anderson, the victim of Powell's baseness. His body was stretched in the road, but life was extinct. The manner of his death was as follows: Shephard and Anderson were accompanying Powell and McDonald on their way to their guard room at Montgomery's, when Powell was observed to slacken his horse's pace a little. By this means he got behind Anderson, and, taking a pistol from his pocket, shot him through the back of the neck, so that he fell and died instantly. Shephard's horse stumbled at the moment. Powell rode off, and McDonald followed. Whether Powell is or is not a murderer, let the candid reader say. I give the facts. On arriving at Montgomery's, I was told by the guard that Colonel Moodie of the army had attempted to pass the barrier, that they had told him what guard they were, that he had persisted in firing a pistol at them, on which one of the men levelled his rifle and shot him. He died in an hour or two after. I find it stated in many papers that I killed Col. Moodie, although at the time of his death I was several miles distant, as those then present well know. But I fully approved of the conduct of those who shot him.

Sir Francis Head admits that he was entirely ignorant of our intended movement until awakened out of his bed that night. His informant, I believed to have been Captain Bridgeford. He had the bells set a-ringing, took up his abode in the City Hall, delivered out a few rusty guns, made speeches, and was in great trouble. Of all which particulars our Executive neither brought nor sent us any account whatever. About midnight our numbers increased, and towards morning I proposed to many persons to march to Toronto, join such of the Reformers there as were ready, and endeavour to make ourselves masters of the garrison and muskets. To this it was objected, that I was uninformed of the strength of the fortress, that the other townships had not yet joined the men from the upper country, that we were ignorant of the state of the city, and that gentlemen who had advised and urged on the movements, and even the Executive who had ordered this premature Monday rising, stood aloof, and had neither joined us nor communicated with us. Next day (Tuesday) we increased in number to 800, of whom very many had no arms, others had rifles, old fowling pieces, Indian guns, pikes, etc. Vast numbers came and went off again, when they found we had neither muskets nor bayonets. Had they possessed my feeling in favour of freedom, they would have stood by us even if armed but with pitchforks and broom-handles.

About noon we obtained correct intelligence that with all his exertions, and including the College boys, Sir Francis could hardly raise 150 supporters in town and country; and by 1 P.M. a flag of truce reached our camp near the city, the messengers being the Honourable Messrs. Rolph and Baldwin, deputed by Sir Francis to ask what would satisfy us. I replied, 'Independence'; but sent a verbal message that, as we had no confidence in Sir F.'s word, he would have to send his messages in writing, and within one hour. I then turned to Colonel Lount, and advised him to march the men under his command at once into the city and take a position near the Lawyer's Hall, and rode westward to Colonel Baldwin's where the bulk of the rebels were, and advised an instant march to Toronto. We had advanced as far as the College Avenue, when another flag of truce arrived, by the same messengers, with a message from Sir F. declining to comply with our

previous request. We were proceeding to town, when orders from the Executive arrived that we should not then go to Toronto but wait till six o'clock in the evening and then take the city.

True to the principle on which the compact was made for our rising, the order was obeyed, and at a quarter to six the whole of our forces were near the toll bar, on Yonge Street, on our way to the city. I told them that I was certain there could be no difficulty in taking Toronto; that both in town and country the people had stood aloof from Sir Francis; that not 150 men and boys could be got to defend him; that he was alarmed and had sent his family on board a steamer; that 600 Reformers were ready to join us in the city; and that all we had to do was to be firm, and with the city would at once go down every vestige of foreign government in Upper Canada. It was dark, and there might have been an ambush of some sort. I therefore told six riflemen to go ahead of us for a quarter of a mile on the one side of the street, inside the fences, and as many more on the other side, and to fire in the direction in which they might see any of our opponents stationed. When within half a mile of the town, we took prisoners the captain of their artillery, a lawyer, and the Sheriff's horse. Our riflemen ahead saw some twenty or thirty of the enemy in the road, and fired at them; the twenty or thirty, or some of them, fired at us, and instantly took to their heels and ran towards the town. Our riflemen were in front, after them the pikemen, then those who had old guns of various kinds, and lastly, those who carried only clubs and walking-sticks. Colonel Lount was at the head of the riflemen, and he and those in the front rank fired, and, instead of stepping to one side to make room for those behind to fire, fell flat on their faces, the next rank fired and did the same thing. I was rather in front when the firing began, and stood in more danger from the rifles of my friends than the muskets of my enemies. I stept to the side of the road and bade them stop firing, and it appeared to me that one of our people who was killed was shot in this way by our own men. Certainly it was not by the enemy.

Some persons from town, friendly to us, but not very brave, had joined us during the march, and they, unknown to me, told awful stories about the preparations the Tories had made in several streets, to fire out of windows at us, protected by feather beds, mattresses, etc. These representations terrified many of the country people, and when they saw the riflemen in front falling down, and heard the firing, they imagined that those who fell were the killed and wounded by the enemy's fire, and took to their heels with a speed and steadiness of purpose that would have baffled pursuit on foot. In a short time not twenty persons were to be found below the toll bar. This was almost too much for human patience. The city would have been ours in an hour, probably without firing a shot; hundreds of our friends waited to join us at the entrance; the officials were terror struck; Governor Head had few to rely on; the Colony would have followed the city; a Convention and a democratic constitution been adopted, and a bloodless change from a contemptible tyranny to freedom accomplished. But 800 ran where no one pursued, and unfortunately ran the wrong way.

I rode hastily back until I got in the rear of the main body, stopped a number of them, and implored them to return. I explained matters to them, told them to fear nothing, offered with half a dozen more to go between them and all danger, and reminded them that the opportunity of that night would be their last, that the moment it was known in the country that the Reformers were timid and fearful without cause, Sir Francis would instantly gain numbers. But it was of no use. To successive groups I spoke in vain. Neither threats nor coaxing could induce them to go to the city. I tried to find either fifty or forty to go to town, but the reply was, 'we will go in the light but not in the dark.' Of these many went home that evening, and, although about 200 joined us during the night, we were 200 less numerous on the Wednesday morning. With the steamers in the hands of the Government, the city, 4,000 muskets and bayonets, perhaps 60 experienced military officers, the well-paid officials and their sons and dependants, abundance of ammunition, a park of artillery well served, the garrison, and the aid of all who are prejudiced in favour of Colonial Government, it had become a difficult task for a collection of undisciplined and half-

armed countrymen, without cannon, scarce of gunpowder, not possessed of a single bayonet, not even of guns or pikes for half their numbers, to contend successfully against the enemy for the city. We therefore stood on the defence on Wednesday. Gentlemen of influence, who were pledged to join us, and even the Executive, who commanded us to make the premature and unfortunate movement, neither corresponded with us nor joined us. To explain their conduct was beyond my power. It discouraged many and thinned our ranks.

On Wednesday forenoon, I took a party with me to Dundas Street, intercepted the great western mail stage and took a number of prisoners, with the stage, mails and driver, up to our camp. The Editors state that money was taken from the mail, which was not the case. But the letters of Mr. Sullivan, President of the Executive Council, Mr. Buchanan, and others, conveyed useful information. We found they expected soon to have strength enough to attack us in the country, and I wrote to the Executive in the city to give us timely notice of any such attack. Some of the leading Reformers in the city had left it, but not to join us; others seemed to have lost their energies: neither messenger nor letter reached our camp; the Executive was not there. One man on horseback told us we might be attacked on Thursday. My chief hope lay in this, that, if we were not attacked till Thursday night, vast re-enforcements would join us from the outer townships, and that Reformers at a distance would march to our aid the moment they heard that we had struck for self-government. With this view, I sought to confine the attention of the enemy to the defence of the city, and on Thursday morning selected forty riflemen and twenty others to go down and burn the Don Bridge, the eastern approach to Toronto, and the house at its end; to take the Montreal mail stage and mails, and to draw out the forces in that quarter if possible. I also proposed that the rest of our men who had arms should take the direction to the right or left, or to retreat to a strong position as prudence might dictate. At this moment Colonel Van Egmond, a native of Holland, owning 13,000 acres of land in the Huron Tract, a tried patriot, and of great military experience under Napoleon, joined us, and one of the captains desired a council to be held, which was done. Col. V. approved of my plan, a party went off, set fire to the bridge, burnt the house, took the mails, and went through a part of the city unmolested.

But the councilling and discussing of my project occasioned a delay of two hours which proved our ruin, for the enemy having obtained large re-enforcements by the steamers from Cobourg, Niagara, and Hamilton, resolved to attack us in three divisions, one of them to march up Yonge Street, and the others by ways about a mile to the right and left of the road. Had our forces started in the morning, the party at the bridge would have interfered with and broken up the enemy's plan of attack, and we would have been in motion near Toronto, ready to retreat to some of the commanding positions in its rear, or to join the riflemen below and there enter the city. We were still at the hotel, discussing what was best to be done, when one of the guards told us that the enemy was marching up with music and artillery and within a mile of us. Our people immediately prepared for battle. I rode down towards the enemy, doubting the intelligence, until when within a short distance I saw them with my own eyes. I rode quickly back, asked our men if they were ready to fight a greatly superior force, well-armed, and with artillery well-served. They were ready and I bade them to go to the woods and do their best. They did so, and never did men fight more courageously. In the face of a heavy fire of grape and canister, with broadsides of musketry in steady and rapid succession, they stood their ground firmly and killed and wounded a large number of the enemy, but were at length compelled to retreat. In a more favourable position, I have no doubt but they would have beaten the assailants with immense loss. As it was, they had only three killed and three or four wounded. I felt anxious to go to Montgomery's for my portfolio and papers, which were important but it was out of the question, so they fell into the hands of Sir Francis. All my papers previous to the event of that week I had destroyed, except a number of business letters, and these it took my family upwards of an hour and a quarter to burn. But, with all my caution, some letters fell into their hands to the injury of others.

The manly courage with which two hundred farmers, miserably armed, withstood the formidable attack of an enemy 1,200 strong*, and who had plenty of ammunition, with new muskets and bayonets, artillery, first-rate European officers, and the choice of a position of attack, convinces me that discipline, order, obedience and subordination under competent leaders would enable them speedily to attain a confidence sufficient to foil even the regulars from Europe. About 200 of our friends stood at the tavern during the battle, being unarmed. Mr. Fletcher, Col. Van Egmond, myself and others, held a consultation near "Hogg's Hollow," and concluded that it would be useless to re-assemble our scattered forces, for that without arms success would be doubtful, and I determined to pass over to the United States, and accomplished my purpose in three days, travelling 125 miles, was seen by 2,000 persons at least, and, with a reward of 4,000 dollars advertised for my head, speedily reached Buffalo."

Sir Francis Bond Head's Narrative. The Lieutenant-Governor, writing from Toronto on December 19th, 1837, gave to the Colonial Secretary -Lord Glenelg—a very full account of the Rebellion and its causes as understood by him. The following statement is important not only because it gives a side of the story which is unfamiliar to the mass of Canadians but because it was written by a man who—whatever his mistakes and faults—was beyond all doubt honestly and sincerely patriotic:

"I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that on Monday, 4th instant, this city was, in a moment of profound peace, suddenly invaded by a band of armed rebels, amounting, according to report, to 3,000 men (but in actual fact to about 500), and commanded by Mr. Mackenzie, the Editor of a republican newspaper; Mr. Van Egmond, an officer who had served under Napoleon; Mr. Gibson, a land-surveyor; Mr. Lount, a blacksmith; Mr. Lloyd, and some other notorious characters. Having, as I informed Your Lordship in my despatch, No. 119, dated 3rd ultimo, purposely effected the withdrawal of Her Majesty's troops from this Province and, having delivered over to the civil authorities the whole of the arms and accoutrements I possessed, I, of course, found myself without any defence whatever excepting that which the loyalty and fidelity of the Province might think proper to afford me. The crisis, important as it was, was one I had long earnestly anticipated and accordingly I no sooner received the intelligence that the rebels were within four miles of the city than, abandoning the Government House, I at once proceeded to the City Hall in which about 4,000 stand of arms and accoutrements had been deposited.

One of the first individuals I met there, with a musket on his shoulder, was the Chief Justice of the Province, and in a few minutes I found myself surrounded by a band of brave men who were of course unorganized, and, generally speaking, unarmed. As the foregoing statement is an unqualified admission on my part that I was completely surprised by the rebels, I think it proper to remind, rather than to explain, to Your Lordship, the course of policy I have been pursuing. In my despatch, No. 124, dated 18th ult., I respectfully stated to Your Lordship, as my opinion, that a civil war must henceforward everywhere be a moral one, and that, in this hemisphere in particular, victory must eventually declare itself in favour of moral and not of physical preponderance. Entertaining these sentiments I observed with satisfaction that Mr. Mackenzie was pursuing a lawless course of conduct which I felt it would be impolitic for me to arrest. For a long time he had endeavoured to force me to buoy him up by a Government prosecution, but he sunk in proportion as I neglected him, until, becoming desperate, he was eventually driven to reckless behaviour which I felt confident would very soon create its own punishment. The traitorous arrangements he made were of that minute nature that it would have been difficult, even if I had desired it, to have suppressed them; for instance, he began by establishing union lists (in number not exceeding forty) of persons desirous of political reform; and who by an appointed secretary were recommended to communicate regularly with himself for the purpose of estab-

*Editor's Note. Dent gives the number as 1,100, McMullen 1,000, and Withrow 900, while there is a general agreement that they were only partially armed.

lishing a meeting of delegates. As soon as, by most wicked misrepresentations, he had succeeded in seducing a number of well-meaning people to join these squads his next step was to prevail upon a few of them to attend their meetings armed for the alleged purpose of firing at a mark. While these meetings were in continuance Mr. Mackenzie, by means of his newspaper and by constant personal attendance, succeeded in inducing his adherents to believe that he was everywhere strongly supported and that his means, as well as his force, would prove invincible.

I was not ignorant of these proceedings; and in proportion as Mr. Mackenzie's paper became more and more seditious, and in proportion as these armed meetings excited more and more alarm, I was strongly and repeatedly called upon by the peaceable portion of the community forcibly to suppress both the one and the other. I considered it better, however, under all circumstances, to await the outbreak, which I was confident would be impotent, inversely as it was previously opposed; in short, I considered that if an attack by the rebels was inevitable, the more I encouraged them to consider me defenceless the better. Mr. Mackenzie, under these favourable circumstances having been freely permitted by me to make every preparation in his power, a concentration of his deluded adherents and an attack upon the city of Toronto was secretly settled to take place on the night of the 19th inst. However, in consequence of a Militia general order which I issued, it was deemed advisable that these arrangements should be hurried, and accordingly, Mr. Mackenzie's deluded victims, travelling through the forest by cross-roads, found themselves assembled at about four o'clock in the evening of Monday, the 4th inst., as rebels, at Montgomery's Tavern, which is on the Yonge Street macadamized road, about four miles from the city.

As soon as they had attained this position, Mr. Mackenzie and a few others, with pistols in their hands, arrested every person on the road, in order to prevent information reaching the town. Colonel Moody, a distinguished veteran officer, accompanied by three gentlemen on horseback, on passing Montgomery's Tavern, was fired at by the rebels, and I deeply regret to say that the Colonel, wounded in two places, was taken prisoner into the tavern, where in three hours he died, leaving a widow and family unprovided for. As soon as this gallant, meritorious officer, who had honourably fought in this Province, fell, I am informed that Mr. Mackenzie exultingly observed to his followers that, 'as blood had now been spilled, they were in for it, and had nothing left but to advance.' Accordingly, at ten o'clock at night they did advance; and I was in bed and asleep when Alderman Powell awakened me to state that, in riding out of the city towards Montgomery's Tavern, he had been arrested by Mr. Mackenzie and another principal leader; that the former had snapped a pistol at his breast; that his (Mr. Powell's) pistol also snapped, but that he fired a second, which, causing the death of Mr. Mackenzie's companion, had enabled him to escape. As soon as Mr. Powell reached Toronto the alarm-bell was rung, and, as Mr. Mackenzie found we might be prepared for him, he forebore to proceed with his attack.

On arriving at the City Hall I appointed Mr. Justice Jones, Mr. Harry Sherwood, Captain Strachan, and Mr. John Robinson, my Aides-de-Camp. I then ordered the arms to be unpacked and, manning all the windows of the building as well as those of opposite houses which flanked it, we awaited the rebels, who, as I have stated, did not consider it advisable to advance. Besides these arrangements, I despatched a message to the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Colonel the Honourable Allan McNab, of the Gore District, and to the Colonels of the Militia regiments in the Midland and Newcastle Districts; an advanced picquet of thirty volunteers, commanded by my Aide-de-Camp, Mr. Justice Jones, was placed within a short distance of the rebels. By the following morning (Tuesday) we mustered about 300 men and in the course of the day the number increased to about 500; in the night, an advanced picquet commanded by Mr. Sheriff Jarvis was attacked within the precincts of the city by the rebels, who were driven back, one of their party being killed and several wounded. On Wednesday morning we were sufficiently strong to have ventured on an attack, but being sensible of the strength of our position, being also aware how much depended upon the contest in which we

were about to be engaged, and feeling the greatest possible reluctance at the idea of entering upon a civil war, I despatched two gentlemen to the rebel leaders to tell them that, before any conflict should take place, I parentally called upon them, as their Governor, to avoid the effusion of human blood. In the meanwhile, however, Mr. Mackenzie had committed every description of enormity; he had robbed the mail with his own hands; had set fire to Dr. Horne's house; had plundered many inoffensive individuals of their money; had stolen several horses; had made a number of respectable people prisoners; and, having thus succeeded in embarking his misguided adherents in guilt, he replied to my admonition by a message that he would only consent that his demands should be settled by a national convention, and he insolently added that he would wait till two o'clock for my answer, which in one word was 'Never.'

In the course of Wednesday, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Colonel the Honourable Allan McNab, arrived from the Gore District at the head of about sixty men whom he had assembled at half an hour's notice; and, other brave men flocking in to me from various directions, I was enabled by strong piquets to prevent Mr. Mackenzie from carrying into effect his diabolical intention to burn the city of Toronto in order to plunder the banks; and, having effected this object, I determined that, on the following day, I would make the attack. Accordingly, on Thursday morning, I assembled our forces under the direction of the Adjutant-General of Militia, Colonel Fitzgibbon, Clerk of the House of Assembly. The principal body was headed by the Speaker, Colonel Allan McNab, the right wing being commanded by Colonel Samuel Jarvis, the left by Colonel William Chisholm, assisted by the Honourable Mr. Justice McLean, late Speaker of the House of Assembly; the two guns by Major Carfrea, of the Militia Artillery. The command of the Militia left in the city remained under Mr. Justice Macaulay, and the protection of the city with Mr. Gurnett, the Mayor. I might also have most advantageously availed myself in the field of the military services of Colonel Foster, the Commander of the Forces in Upper Canada, of Captain Baddeley, of the Corps of Royal Engineers, and of a detachment of eight artillerymen who form the only regular force in this Province; but having deliberately determined that the important contest in which I was about to be engaged should be decided solely by the Upper Canada Militia, or, in other words, by the free inhabitants of this noble Province, I was resolved that no consideration whatever should induce me to avail myself of any other assistance than that upon which, as the representative of our gracious Sovereign, I had firmly and implicitly relied.

At twelve o'clock the Militia force marched out of the town with an enthusiasm which it would be impossible to describe, and in about an hour we came in sight of the rebels who occupied an elevated position near Gallows' Hill, in front of Montgomery's Tavern, which had long been the rendezvous of Mr. Mackenzie's men. They were principally armed with rifles, and for a short time, favoured by buildings, they endeavoured to maintain their ground; however, the brave and loyal Militia of Upper Canada, steadily advancing with a determination which was irresistible, drove them from their position, completely routed Mr. Mackenzie, who, in a state of the greatest agitation, ran away, and in a few minutes Montgomery's Tavern, which was first entered by Mr. Justice Jones, was burnt to the ground. Being on the spot merely as a civil Governor, and in no way in command of the troops, I was happy to have an opportunity of demonstrating to the rebels the mildness and beneficence of Her Majesty's Government, and, well knowing that the laws of the country would have ample opportunity of making examples of the guilty, I deemed it advisable to save the prisoners who were taken, and to extend to most of these misguided men the Royal mercy, by ordering their immediate release. These measures having been effected, and the rebels having been deprived of their flag (on which was inscribed in large letters:

'Bidwell, and the glorious minority!
1837, and a good beginning!'),

the Militia advanced in pursuit of the rebels about four miles, till they reached the house of one of the principal ringleaders, Mr. Gibson, which residence it would have have been impossible to have saved, and it was consequently burned to the ground.

The infatuated followers of Mr. Mackenzie were now completely dispersed; deceived and deserted by their leaders they sought for refuge in all directions; ashamed and disgusted with the murder, arson, highway and mail robbery which he had committed before their eyes and detesting him for the overbearing tyranny of his conduct towards them, they sincerely repented that they had ever joined him; and I have been credibly informed that their wives and children now look upon Mr. Mackenzie as their most malignant enemy. Mr. Mackenzie has fled to the United States; Mr. John Rolph has absconded; Mr. Bidwell, who took no part in the affray, has amicably agreed with me to quit, and has quitted this Province for ever; Dr. Morrison and the Captain Van Egmond are our prisoners; Mr. Lount and Mr. Gibson have fled and I understand are making for the United States. As Mr. Mackenzie had been particularly active in disseminating his principles throughout the London District, and as Duncombe, well-known to the House of Commons in England, was reported to be there with a body of armed rebels, I deemed it advisable, as soon as the Militia returned to Toronto from driving Mr. Mackenzie from Gallows' Hill, to order a body of 500 men to proceed immediately to the London District. I placed this corps under the command of the Hon. the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Colonel Allan McNab, who, with great promptitude marched with it to the point of its destination.

On the day of Mr. Mackenzie's defeat as well as on the following morning bands of Militiamen from all directions poured in upon me, in numbers which honourably proved that I had not placed confidence in them in vain. From the Newcastle District alone 2,000 men, with nothing but the clothes in which they stood, marched in the depth of winter towards the capital, although nearly 100 miles from their homes. From Gore, Lake Simcoe, and from various other places, brave men, armed as well as unarmed, rushed forward unsolicited; and, according to the best reports I could collect, from ten to twelve thousand men simultaneously marched towards the capital to support me in maintaining for the people of Upper Canada the British constitution. The numbers which were advancing towards me were so great that, the day after Mr. Mackenzie's defeat, I found it absolutely necessary to print and circulate a notice declaring 'that there existed no further occasion for the resort of Militia to Toronto'; and the following day I was further enabled to issue a general order authorizing the whole of the Militia of the Bathurst, Johnstown, Ottawa, and Eastern Districts to go and lend their assistance to Lower Canada. I have now completed a plain statement of the events which have occurred in this noble Province during the last week and have done so at some length, as the moral they offer is most important.

Your Lordship knows that at the last election Mr. Mackenzie and those of his party who advocated murder, plunder, equal rights, and revolution, under the mask of reform, in vain applied to farmers and yeomen of this country to support them instead of supporting me. Driven by the voice of the people from their seats in the House of Assembly they declared that they had only been defeated by the influence of a corrupt Government. However, the moment the charges made against me in the House of Commons reached this country, the House of Assembly deliberately investigated the whole affair, which they proved and pronounced to be a series of wilful and premeditated falsehoods. Mr. Mackenzie and his party, finding that at every point they were defeated in a moral attack which they had made upon the British constitution, next determined to excite their deluded adherents to have recourse to physical strength. Being as ready to meet them on that ground as I had been ready to meet them in a moral struggle, I gave them every possible advantage. I in no way availed myself of the immense resources of the British Empire; on the contrary I purposely dismissed from this Province the whole of our troops. I allowed Mr. Mackenzie to write whatever he chose, say what he chose, and do what he chose; and, without taking any notice of his traitorous proceedings, I waited with folded arms until he had collected his rebel forces and had actually commenced his attack. I then, as a solitary individual, called upon the Militia of Upper Canada to defend me, and the result has been as I have stated, viz.: that the people of Upper Canada came to me when I called them;

that they completely defeated Mr. Mackenzie's adherents and drove him and his rebel ringleaders from the land."

The British Radical View. Mr. John Arthur Roebuck, M.P., for many years a distinguished Member of the Imperial Parliament and always a representative Radical, was during this period a very enthusiastic supporter of the Canadian agitators—and even of the rebels. For a short time he conducted a special periodical dealing with Canadian affairs which he called *The Portfolio*. To the columns of this publication he contributed on January 4th, 1838, under his own name, the following article:

"In the year 1763, aided by our Colonists in North America, we acquired possession of Canada then called the Province of Quebec. We behaved wisely, at least, to Canada at that time, allowing the Canadians to be governed by their former laws and customs, and softening the rigour of the French criminal code. The English Colonies rebelled, for to them we desired to be a cruel stepmother. Then was seen the wisdom of our conduct towards Canada. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, Franklin was sent by Congress to Canada with an Address inviting and entreating the Canadians to join their confederation. Governed by gratitude, the Canadians resisted this tempting offer, preferring the subservient position of a protected and cherished colony to the imposing and dazzling name of an independent nation. 'England has used us well and we will stand by her, in this her hour of need.' Such was then the language of the Canadian people. They held to this determination, and resisted not merely the entreaties but the arms of the Americans. The fatal expedition of Montgomery told how loyal to England were the people of this French Colony.

The disastrous termination of the contest with the revolted Colonies for the moment taught us wisdom. We were wise, too late it is true; we had lost the finest provinces of our Empire; but we had others yet in our possession. The Act of the 18th of George III. was passed by a humiliated Parliament, solemnly acknowledging as a principle for ever after to be religiously observed that none of our Colonies were to be taxed without the consent of the inhabitants. The words of this Act are worthy of the most serious consideration at this present most eventful crisis. They are as follows: 'It is enacted that from and after the passing of this Act the King and Parliament of Great Britain will not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatever, payable in any of His Majesty's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America or the West Indies, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of such duties to be always paid and applied to, and for, the use of the colony, province, or plantation in which the same shall be respectively levied; in such manner as other duties collected by the authority of the respective general courts, or general assemblies of such colonies, provinces or plantations are ordinarily paid and applied.' And still further to strengthen this part of the case respecting Canada, by the 31st of George III., c.31, sec. 47, it is enacted, 'That the net produce of all duties which shall be so imposed shall at all times hereafter be applied to and for the use of the said provinces respectively, and in such manner only as shall be directed by any law or laws which may be made by His Majesty, his heirs or successors, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Assembly of such province.' Let the reader bear in mind that this specifically relates to the application of the revenue.

In 1791, the famous Quebec Bill was passed, and a Constitution granted to Lower and to Upper Canada. I need not now describe this Constitution. Suffice it to say, that in each Province a Legislature was created, consisting of three parts —a Governor chosen by the Crown, a Legislative Council chosen by the Crown for life, and a House of Assembly chosen by the people. The Executive Government was to be composed of the Governor and a Council. When, in 1812, another war broke out between Great Britain and America, the people of Canada again proved their grateful sense of our liberal policy in thus granting them a Constitution, by resisting without aid from England the invasion of the Americans. The Canadian Militia turned out to a man, met the Americans in the field, and signally defeated the

invaders. And these are the people whom we are taught to look upon as persons who have willingly sought occasion to throw off the English dominion, and to be besides of such a quiet and coward nature as to tremble at the mere idea of fighting. Had they at this crisis remained passive, the Americans would, without resistance, have acquired possession of the Canadas. Our troops were all employed in the war against Napoleon, and Canada was left wholly unprotected. Experience will not make fools wise.

Until 1810, England paid the expense of the Government; in that year the House of Assembly wisely asked to be allowed to maintain their own civil administration. To this a furious opposition was offered by a party now first noticed, but who have never since been forgotten, viz., the officials of Lower Canada. They persuaded the then Governor, Sir James Craig, to send certain members of the House of Assembly to prison for their audacity in presuming to desire to pay their own expenses. Do not think this a romance; every word is true. It has by myself been asserted oftentimes in the House of Commons, and although it may seem too outrageous to be possible, believe me, fellow-countrymen, when I say no man will dare to deny my assertion. England, then making gigantic efforts to put down Napoleon, was too much pressed by her burthens to resist the offers of the Canadians; and, in spite of the official opposition, the House of Assembly were allowed to provide for the expenses of the civil government. Strange as the assertion may appear to you, from this source has arisen all the misery of Lower Canada. On one side, the official party, supported in the Legislature by the irresponsible Legislative Council, have furiously opposed every attempt at economy, and have step by step defended the power which they possessed of plundering the Province. On the other side, the people, represented faithfully by the House of Assembly, have strenuously demanded of the Government complete control over their own finances, and have desired to have all the public servants, except the Governor, responsible to the Legislature. This has been the subject matter of the quarrel; and the Home Government, together with the Parliament, have steadfastly supported the official party against the people. The officials, desiring unstinted pay without responsibility, found sympathizing hearers on this side of the water; when the people complained that their servants plundered and ill-served them, they were met with neglect, contumely and scorn.

The progress of this contest between these two parties deserves attentive consideration. The various steps taken by the Assembly to gain their end I will endeavour shortly to narrate, as well as the successive subterfuges by which the official party have attempted to fight off that which

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they dreaded above all things, viz.: responsibility to intelligent and active superintendents chosen by the people. Let me ask the enemies of Canada, at this point, the following questions:

1. Do you deny that it was the aim of the House of Assembly to gain full and complete control over every branch of their revenue?

2. If you do not deny this, do you deem such end improper?

3. If you deem such end not improper, do you

quarrel with the means which the Assembly have employed to attain it?

I will not describe these means, and will leave it to you, my fellow-countrymen, to decide whether common justice will sanction your waging war with the unfortunate people of Canada for the purpose of preventing their attaining the end their representatives sought, or of punishing them for employing the means which you and your Parliament put into their hands. The moment that the civil expenses were to be defrayed by the Canadians themselves, scrutiny into the accounts necessarily followed. Will you believe it, people of England, this inspection of accounts was refused to the House of Assembly? Will the enemies of Canada deny this? They dare not. But, they will say, it is not refused now. No, not now; but how long, and by what means, was it refused, and what were the means which drove the Colonial Office here, and the Executive in the Colony, however unwilling, to grant this long-refused request? On this depends the whole controversy. The conduct of both parties in the dispute explains itself and needs only to be described to be understood."

General Sir Peregrine Maitland, G.C.B., who who was Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada from 1818 to 1828, and Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia from 1828 to 1834, was born at Long Parish House, Hampshire, England, in 1777. In 1792, when but fifteen years of age, he was connected with the Grenadier Guards as Ensign, two years later became Captain and Lieutenant, and in 1803 was made Lieut.-Colonel. He saw active service at Flanders in 1794, was in action at Ostend in 1798 and at Corunna and Vigo in 1809. He was a Brevet-Colonel when commanding his regiment at Cadiz, and in the engagement at Seville was second in command. In Dec. 1813 he led the 1st Brigade of Guards at the crossing of the Nive, became Major-General in 1814 and was made a C.B. in 1815. He led the 1st and 3rd Battalions of Grenadier Guards at Waterloo, and at the occupation of Paris received a K.C.B. and medal for his services in the Waterloo campaign. He was the recipient of the foreign decorations of St. Vladimir of Russia and of Wilhelm of the Netherlands. After the close of his Lieutenant-Governorship in Nova Scotia he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army (1836), a position which he held for two years, when he was succeeded by Sir Joseph Nicolls. During the three years ending Sept. 1846 he was Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Cape of Good Hope. He left the Colony during the Kaffir war, which broke out before his rule had terminated. He was Colonel of the 16th and 17th Regiments respectively and became a G.C.B. in 1852.

When Sir Peregrine received his appointment to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada, he was accompanied by his father-in-law, the Duke of Richmond, who came out to fill the same office for Lower Canada. The sad death of the Duke (from hydrophobia) made it necessary for Sir Peregrine to also adminisister the Government of Lower Canada until the Earl of Dalhousie arrived to fill the vacancy. He died at Eaton Place, West London, England, May 30th, 1854.

The Right Hon. Sir Francis Bond Head, Bart., K.C.H., was the son of James Roper Head, and was born near Rochester, Kent County, England, January 1st, 1793. He was educated at Woolwich Military Academy and received his first commission in the Royal Engineers in 1811. He saw active service in Spain and was present at Quatre Bras and Waterloo. In 1825 he was commissioned to lead a mining expedition to the Provinces of the Rio de la Platte in South America. It appears that the venture was a failure beyond bringing some literary reputation to Sir Francis, who presented to the public a very acceptable sketch of the stirring events of the great journey. The immense distances covered by him in connection with this expedition and the amazing rapidity with which he travelled, secured for him the nick-name of "Galloping Head." He was frequently referred to under this sobriquet in the literature of the times. In 1828 he retired from the army on half pay, and during the next few years added to his fame as an author by writing some further volumes which were well received —the most popular amongst them being "The Life of Bruce, the Abyssinian Traveller," and "Bubbles from the Brunnen of Nassau by an Old Man." In 1834 he became Assistant Poor Land Commissioner for a Kentish district at

£500 per annum. He filled this office very satisfactorily and brought about some needed reforms. In 1835 he received the offer of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Upper Canada, as successor to Sir John Colborne. Just how he came to receive the appointment is always said to have been a mystery to Sir Francis himself, and apparently it remains somewhat of a problem. Rumour affirmed that the appointment was intended for his relative—afterwards Sir Edmund Walker Head—and that the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, did not discover the mistake until it was too late to recall the offer. Be this as it may the gallant Major accepted the honourable post and set sail for Canada, arriving in Toronto on January 23rd, 1836.

His Administration was a stormy and difficult one. It still furnishes food for historical consideration, and has been condemned upon many points by writers who too evidently dealt with the subject from a partially biassed and party standpoint. He appears to have entertained sincere and enthusiastic British views, and to have striven through good and ill repute to maintain British institutions and ideas in opposition to American ones. For this basic principle of action he can hardly be condemned at this period in Canadian history, however much details may have been mismanaged, or certain propositions now self-evident, misunderstood.

Early in the spring of 1838 his resignation was accepted, and he returned to London, where he was made a Baronet in consideration of his public services. The close of his Canadian Administration was virtually the close of his public life. During the greater part of his after career he devoted himself to literary pursuits, and, for his services in this direction, enjoyed an annual pension of £100. From the time of his return until shortly before his death he published many books, essays and sketches, including "The Emigrant"; "Stokers and Pokers"; "The Defenceless State of Great Britain"; "Fortnight in Ireland"; "Practical Hints Against the Theory of Emigration"; "An Address to the House of Lords Against the Union of the Canadas"; "High Ways and Dry Ways"; "The Royal Engineer"; "The Horse and his Rider"; "Sketch of the Life of Field-Marshal Sir John Burgoyne." Some of these brought him considerable reputation. Sir Francis was a Knight of the Prussian Military Order of Merit, a Knight Commander of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order and a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council. His death occurred on July 20th, 1875.

Field-Marshal the Right Hon. Lord Seaton, better known in Canadian history as Sir John Colborne, was born in 1777, the son of Samuel Colborne, a gentleman resident in Lyndhurst, County of Hants. His early education was by private tuition and he then took a College course. He entered military life in 1794 by becoming an Ensign in the army. He was a born soldier and developed great capacity for war. His career in Canada begins with 1828. Prior to this he achieved much of military distinction and success. In 1799 he served in Egypt under Sir Rolph Abercrombie and was with the British troops on the Neapolitan frontier in 1805, and in Calabria and Sicily in 1806. He was Military Secretary to General Fox in Sicily, and was serving in the same capacity to Sir John Moore when the latter was killed at the Battle of Corunna. Sir John's dying request was that Major Colborne be given a Lieutenant-Colonelcy, which was granted. In 1809 he was sent to the Peninsula and carried out an important commission for Lord Wellington in connection with the Spanish defeat at Deona. For some years after this he won marked military distinction in numerous important engagements, especially at Waterloo, where his skill assisted in achieving the great victory. Sir John Colborne was, on the conclusion of peace, June 4th, 1814, made a Colonel, decorated with a gold cross and three clasps, and on the extension of the Order of the Bath was made a K.C.B. and later an A.D.C. to the Prince Regent.

Waterloo was the last European conflict in which he took part. He subsequently became Lieut.-Governor of one of the Channel Islands, and later was made a Major-General. In 1828 he was sent out to succeed Sir Peregrine Maitland as Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada.

When Sir John assumed the reins of Government the Canadian people were endeavouring to grasp the principles of constitutional liberty, and

it was soon discovered that his policy was not in accord with the views of a somewhat aggressive minority. He was largely guided by the Tory party which was in power and in command of a popular majority, and his military career had naturally made him stern and unyielding and void of that conciliatory manner which might have made his Administration more effective. He asked to be recalled in 1835, and in the succeeding year had taken passage for Europe when he found himself appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Canada, and at once made his headquarters at Quebec, the capital of the Lower Province. He was now in his proper element, and at a most critical juncture. The prompt and effectual manner in which he suppressed the rebellion in Lower Canada fully maintained the splendid military reputation he had earned in Europe. The rebel leaders, Papineau, Wolfred and Robert Nelson, and their scattered forces were soon compelled to fight, or fly, or submit. In any case the result was disastrous to them. On the retirement of Lord Gosford in February, 1838, Sir John Colborne held the temporary appointment of Governor-General of British North America until the arrival of Lord Durham in May following, and again assumed the position from Nov. 1st, 1838, to January, 1839, as a result of Lord Durham's sudden and unauthorized departure. Upon his relief he returned at once to England where he was created Baron Seaton, made a Privy Councillor and accorded a pension of £2,000 per annum for his services in suppressing the rebellion. He became Lieutenant-General in 1838 and in 1854 General and Colonel of the Second Life Guards. In 1860 Lord Seaton became a Field-Marshal and thus attained the highest honour in the British military service. He died on April 17th, 1863. His name is intimately associated with the founding of Upper Canada College at Toronto.

George Ramsay, 9th Earl of Dalhousie, was born in the year 1770. When seventeen years of age he entered the 3rd Dragoon Guards by purchasing a Cornetcy. He was soon raised to the rank of Captain, and joined the 2nd Battalion of Royals in 1791. One year later he became Major in the 2nd Foot, and in 1794 obtained the Lieut.-Colonelcy of the Regiment. In 1795 he returned to England, after being badly wounded in an engagement between the English and French forces on the Island of Martinique. In 1798 he served in the troubles in Ireland, and the following year passed through all the actions of the Helda campaign. He was made a Colonel in 1800, when he served under General Maitland at Belle-Isle. He subsequently joined the forces under Sir Rolph Abercrombie, and went with the Army to Egypt, where he participated in several actions. In 1802 the Earl was in garrison at Gibraltar, and a year later was in Scotland as Brigadier-General, and in 1805 received rank as a Major-General. For a few years following this period he led a quiet life on the family estates, studying and superintending scientific farming, of which he was very fond.

In 1809 Lord Dalhousie resumed military life, and was appointed to the staff in England. He soon accompanied a force to the Scheldt, was with General Hope in the first reserve, and subsequently commanded at Flushing. On the termination of this expedition, Lord Dalhousie distinguished himself in the Peninsula War under Wellington, and received honourable mention by the Duke for his gallantry at Vittoria and at the Battle of the Pyrenees. Both Houses of Parliament thanked him for his services in these engagements, and particularly for his conduct at Waterloo. He also received a medal and clasp. Again he was conspicuous for his capture of French prisoners near St. Andrew de Cuhzac. When the English Army entered France His Lordship was in command at Bordeaux, and his treatment of the inhabitants was so honourable that the authorities presented him with a sword mounted in gold, as an evidence of their appreciation of his generous and considerate conduct towards them. The next honour conferred upon him was his elevation to an English Barony. In 1816 he became Lieut.-General-Commanding in Nova Scotia, and upon the sad and sudden death of the Duke of Richmond he was made Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in British North America. He arrived in Canada and assumed the Government in 1820, and retained the high office until 1828. On the expiration of his Governorship of Canada he was promoted to

the highest military command in the Colonies, viz.: Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, where, as in other places, he became deservedly popular. Subsequently he was compelled by ill-health to return to his native land. Lord Dalhousie was not a bigot and was on friendly terms with those whom he could not otherwise than sincerely oppose politically. He was a liberal contributor to public enterprises and also to cases of individual need. He died at Dalhousie Castle, Scotland, March 21st, 1838, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

General, the Right Hon. Sir James Kempt, G.C.B., G.C.H., was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1765. He entered military life in 1783 as Ensign in the 101st Foot, and became Lieutenant in 1784. In 1794 he was made Captain of the 113th Foot with which he served in Ireland, and during that year became Major of the Regiment. For a short period in 1796-7 he was in the recruiting service in Scotland as inspecting field officer, and then became Aide-de-Camp to General Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the same country. During 1797 he was present in Holland with Sir Ralph in several actions. He was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1799 upon his return with despatches announcing the victory of the Helda. In 1800 he acted as Military Secretary to Sir Ralph in the Mediterranean, and was with him at his death in Alexandria. He was present with Lord Hutchinson (successor to Sir Ralph Abercrombie) at the captures of Cairo and Alexandria, as well as in all the other battles in Egypt. He and his Regiment were under Sir James Craig in the Mediterranean in 1805. In 1806 he was in Calabria and led the light brigade at Maida. One year later he became Quarter-Master-General of the Forces in North America, and in 1809 ranked as Colonel and served as Aide-de-Camp to the King. Two years later he was a Major-General and took part in numerous engagements in Spain and Portugal, at one of which he was badly wounded. In 1813 he was appointed Colonel of the 60th Foot.

General Kempt was subsequently in charge of important commands both in Flanders and America. He was made a K.C.B. in January, 1815, and after Waterloo, at which he was seriously wounded, he received the Grand Cross of the Order. The allied Sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and the Netherlands also honoured him with various orders, and in 1816 he became a Knight Grand Cross of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order. Sir James next appears in the capacity of Lieut.-Governor at Portsmouth in 1819, and in that year he also came into the command of the 81st Foot. He was appointed Governor of Nova Scotia in succession to the Earl of Dalhousie in 1820. In 1828 he assumed the Government of Canada, and held the post for over two years. Upon his return to England, Sir James Kempt was made Master-General of the Ordnance (Nov. 30th, 1830), and was also sworn in as a Privy Councillor. From this time until 1846 he held various positions of military rank and distinction. He died in London on December 20th, 1855.

The Right Hon. John George Lambton, 1st Earl of Durham, was born in Berkeley Square, London, on April 12th, 1792. He received his education at Eton and when seventeen years of age joined the 10th Dragoons, of which he became Lieutenant in 1810. He gave up military life one year later. In 1813 he entered the House of Commons for Durham County in the Whig interest, and was elevated to the peerage in 1828. The first decade of Lord Durham's Parliamentary life, although full of energy and industry, was somewhat stormy and often fruitless. He frequently found himself in the Opposition and was often obliged to accept the defeat of his plans and resolutions. In January 1828 he had become Baron Durham and taken his seat in the House of Lords. When the Administration of Earl Grey was formed Lord Durham entered the Privy Council and became Lord Privy Seal in 1830. He and some others were entrusted with the preparation of the first Reform Bill. During the next two or three years his course in the House was marked by much opposition to himself. Being chagrined at not having his policy on certain matters carried out, he resigned on March 14th, 1833, and on the 23rd of the same month was made Viscount Lambton and Earl of Durham. In 1834 a bitter controversy arose between him and Lord Brougham which led to considerable and unprofitable discussions on the platform and through the

press. Lord Durham, although failing in his political ambitions, was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg, July 5th, 1835. Some dissatisfaction having been expressed over his appointment he resigned. Queen Victoria created him a G.C.B. on June 27, 1837—one of her first Royal public actions.

At this time there was trouble in the Canadian Colonies. In Lower Canada Legislative action had been practically suspended for upwards of two years, and the temporary Government was in the hands of a Special Council. Lord Durham was appointed Governor-General of the British Provinces in North America and landed in Quebec on May 29th, 1838, bearing with him a commission to adjust any differences existing between the Provinces and also to advise in reference to the form of its future government. His Administration began with a strong hand. He dismissed the then existing Executive Council, and installed in their places officials attached to his own person. This new body he instructed to authorize the transportation to Bermuda of Wolfred Nelson and several other leading rebels who were then in prison, and to pronounce the penalty of death on Papineau and many others should they return to Canada. As soon as this procedure was known to the Imperial Government the action was disavowed and Lord Durham's decision disallowed. This led to his resignation and hasty departure for England on Nov. 1, 1838. Early in the following year he reported on the affairs of British North America to the Colonial Secretary in a celebrated and valuable document which has largely guided the policy of his successors.

Lord Durham made his last speech in the House of Lords on July 26th, 1839. He spoke in connection with the debate on the Bill relating to the Government of Lower Canada and concluded by a short defence of his own connection with Canadian affairs. He was a man of great energy, vast ambition, and of very high spirit. His ill-health had probably much to do with the irritability of manner and lack of self-control which made him an undesirable colleague and an unpleasant opponent. A man of great ability he would have lived a more useful life had he learned to rule his spirit. He died at the age of 48 years at Lowes, England, on July 28th, 1840.

Robert Fleming Gourlay was the son of a man of ability and considerable means. He was born in Fifeshire, Scotland, March 24th, 1778. After his early tuition, he was educated at the High School, Edinburgh, and the University of St. Andrews. At the latter, he was the friend and contemporary of Thomas (afterwards Dr.) Chalmers. Upon completing his College course, Gourlay does not seem to have had any special profession in view, and to have spent his time in a somewhat desultory manner. It is evident that even at this time he possessed an energetic but ill-balanced mind, and was liable to follow almost any rash impulse which entered his mind. He very early exhibited one redeeming trait of character, viz., that of sympathy for the poor, with whose needs he became familiar and by whom he was beloved for the interest he took in their welfare. He became well posted regarding the condition of the poor in England. In this connection he did really valuable work, and was in some measure an authority on the varied phases of that important subject.

He married, and settled on one of his father's estates in Fifeshire. He did not long remain in harmony with his surroundings owing to a foolish quarrel with his neighbour, the Earl of Keltie. This trouble, which made Mr. Gourlay locally unpopular, was almost entirely caused by his own hasty action. About this time, his health becoming poor, he decided to try a change of climate, and accepted a long-standing invitation from the Duke of Somerset to locate on one of his estates in Wiltshire. In this move he doubtless had as much interest in improving the English farming community as in any personal gain he was likely to receive. Throughout his entire career he cared little or nothing for personal gain. His heart seemed to be set on redressing the wrongs that existed about him. In fighting his battles, he often had a good cause, but unfortunately, usually put himself in the wrong through the manner of his procedure. It was not long until the Duke of Somerset had to part with him on account of his constant agitation for changes, in which he made himself personally disagreeable. Owing to his liberal charities, comfortable way of living and highly expensive litigation in separating from the Duke, Mr. Gourlay found his means

so nearly gone that he was forced to seek some promising place in which to retrieve his fortune. Having some years prior to this time purchased a block of land in Oxford County, Upper Canada, he resolved to visit this country and prospect for the future. He arrived in June, 1817, and was much pleased with the Province. He was soon fairly well informed on Canadian affairs, especially in matters of history and statistics. He naturally convinced himself that the Tory party was working against the best interests of the country, almost immediately began a vigourous opposition to its policy, and then addressed a series of thirty-one questions to the leading people of the various townships, intended, of course, to injure the Government.

At the same time he made himself very obnoxious by his personal abuse of the Executive and members of the same party. He wrote, through the public press, most bitter and intemperate letters and succeeded in creating a considerable disturbance in some parts of the country. When the public agitation, growing out of these efforts, had reached a point which he considered of importance he drafted a petition to be sent to the Imperial authorities. One section of this contained references to certain grave abuses which he alleged to exist in the Department of Crown Lands. It was considered libellous and he was arrested and placed in jail at Kingston on August 14th, 1818. At his trial, which occurred one week later, he conducted his own defence and was acquitted. Within a few days he was again arrested and tried at Brockville for another libel alleged to be in the famous petition, but was again acquitted. This success raised his hopes to a high pitch and made him very bold and sanguine. He was publicly banquetted and for a time was made the hero of a certain portion of the people.

The Government party had, however, resolved that Gourlay must leave the country. He was therefore again arrested under the Alien Act of 1804, which was a Statute intended to check the designs of disloyal immigrants from Ireland and the United States. His trial resulted in finding him guilty under the said Act, and he was given ten days in which to depart from the Province. As Mr. Gourlay stood his ground a warrant was issued for his arrest, on the expiration of the time allotted, and he was lodged in Niagara Jail where he remained for eight months. During this period his sufferings, physically and mentally, are alleged to have been so great as to at least partially unbalance his mind. At the close of this incarceration he was granted another trial, again found guilty and required to leave the Province under pain of death should he return. He made his way to the United States where he published a Pamphlet entitled the "The Banished Briton" in which he expatiated on the wrongs claimed to have been done him. Shortly after this he returned to England where he found his mother a widow and his own personal affairs badly wrecked. After attempting to adjust his financial interests to a reasonable extent, he turned his attention to his manuscripts of which he had many of real value, and finally succeeded in getting them published in three large volumes in London in 1822. Mr. Gourlay then concluded to indulge in further litigation with his old enemy the Duke of Somerset, but this only resulted in the unfortunate man being compelled to sell his furniture and effects to pay costs.

He was soon left penniless and is said to have become for a period quite insane. In September, 1822, he came upon the Parish where he had formerly resided and was set to break stones on the public highway. This was due to his own desire, as he believed the bodily exercise would restore him to his former mental and physical condition, which was the case to a limited extent. At this time he seems to have had a mania for presenting petitions to the House of Commons, chiefly in reference to his personal affairs. In 1826, after several years spent in the House of Correction for striking Lord Brougham with a whip, he is found writing and publishing his views on various questions. He re-visited the United States some years before the Rebellion of 1837 took place, but owing to his sentence of banishment did not enter Canada. He located in Cleveland, Ohio, and saw a good deal of the filibustering that was carried on by Americans, and he gave strong evidence of his own loyalty to Great Britain by endeavouring to induce the invaders to refrain from their enterprise, and by informing Sir Francis Bond Head concerning their movements. The latter greatly

appreciated this and sent repeated letters of thanks and an invitation to return to Canada. However, this he could not do until the sentence of banishment was finally reversed in 1841. At the same time a pension of £50 per annum was granted to Mr. Gourlay which he refused to accept. For some years after this time he is lost sight of. Apparently he returned to Scotland where he managed to maintain himself in some degree of comfort. His former great trials do not appear to have taught him wisdom, for he is found when nearing his seventieth year inciting the people to a miniature riot over a piece of enclosed ground. During the scene he had a leg broken by a carriage and was rendered a cripple for the rest of his life.

In 1857 he again visited Canada, remaining several years on some property which he owned in Oxford County. He also announced his intention of running for Parliament. This was not taken seriously by the people, but he actually went so far as to publish a statement of his political views. In 1858 he obtained permission to address the House of Assembly which he did in a rather incoherent way. At the close of the address he handed in certificates from eminent men in Scotland as to his character and ability, As a result he was granted an official pardon by the Governor-General. This he took as an insult and continued to refuse his pension. When eighty years of age he married a young woman who had been his housekeeper. The union was not a happy one, and in time the old man returned to Scotland leaving wife, farm and all behind him. He died in Edinburgh on August 1st, 1863, in his eighty-sixth year.

William Lyon Mackenzie, the central figure of the Upper Canadian troubles of 1837, was born at Springfield, Forfarshire, Scotland, on March 12th, 1795. When but a few weeks old his father died, leaving him and his widowed mother dependent on charity, and they often suffered greatly for the necessaries of life. The boy inherited from his mother both his mental and physical qualities, and was specially endowed by her with the unbending will and strength of purpose which were so fully developed in the stirring political life of an aftertime. His early education was very meagre and incomplete, and at nineteen years of age he embarked in business for himself at Alyth, a village near his native town. This venture was not successful and he was obliged to abandon it, leaving some of his creditors in arrears. However he subsequently paid them in full. Early in 1820 he resolved to go to Canada, where he arrived in April of that year. He found brief employment on the Lachine Canal, but shortly after opened a small business at York, then the capital of Upper Canada, and a little later he started a general store business in Dundas, under the firm name of Mackenzie & Leslie. This business existed until 1823 when Mr. Mackenzie retired from the partnership, removing to Queenston where he opened another shop which he conducted for one year, when he finally abandoned commercial life and entered the field of politics.

It was at Queenston that the famous *Colonial Advocate* made its advent under Mr. Mackenzie's control. Its first issue of twelve hundred copies appeared on May 18th, 1824, and contained thirty-two pages. The *Advocate* at once launched into a severe criticism of the "Family Compact" and soon stirred up the hostility of that formidable body. When the Legislature met in January, 1825, it was discovered that the Government was in a minority, owing somewhat, no doubt, to Mr. Mackenzie and the *Advocate*. For various reasons the paper was discontinued in 1834. However the attack on his printing office in York so aroused public sympathy in Mr. Mackenzie's behalf that in a short time the *Advocate* resumed and for a number of years enjoyed comparative prosperity. In 1828 Mr. Mackenzie was elected to represent York in the Provincial Parliament, but his presence in the House was the cause of a series of disturbances which lasted for many years. The columns of the *Advocate* were constantly filled with bitter and burning invective against the dominant party in the House. The expressions in his paper were made a ground of complaint and he was proceeded against for breach of privilege and expelled from the House. He was re-elected and again expelled—which process was continued four times in succession. Finding it impossible to successfully oppose Mr. Mackenzie, his constituency was denied a writ for a new election and for three years York County had only

one representative. In 1832 he appealed to the Imperial Government, taking with him a long list of grievances from which the Canadian people were alleged to be suffering. Soon after his return to Canada the town of York received incorporation as a city under the name of Toronto, and Mr. Mackenzie was elected its first Mayor.

In the general election of 1834 he was again elected to the Assembly, and took his seat without opposition. The publication of the *Advocate* was discontinued from this time. The next two or three years were periods of bitter bickering and controversy. The Assembly and the Home Government were more or less antagonistic. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne, was somewhat unfairly charged with acting in a very high-handed manner, and, finding his position almost untenable, was forced to resign. His successor, Sir Francis Bond Head, found himself involved in a prolonged struggle with the disloyal element in the country, and even with many who were not disloyal. Mr. Mackenzie took the lead in the agitation which soon culminated in rebellion. He made inflammatory speeches, wrote stinging and fiery articles, and in other kindred ways tried to rouse the people to open and armed defiance of the Government. The Rebellion proper is a matter of history, and is dealt with elsewhere. Suffice it to say that in less than a week the insurrection was suppressed. Mr. Mackenzie, a fugitive from justice and with a price on his head, escaped to the American side. After the succeeding events and the evacuation of Navy Island, he was arrested by the American authorities for a breach of the neutrality laws in attempting to invade Canada, found guilty and given eighteen months' imprisonment. However, at the end of a year he was pardoned. While in Rochester, N.Y., at this time, he made some unsuccessful attempts to establish a newspaper, and then went to New York, where, after being in poverty for some years, he obtained a humble position in the custom house. For a term he was on the staff of Mr. Greeley's paper, *The Tribune*, and did some responsible work. On February 1st, 1849, he received his pardon from the Canadian Government, and shortly afterwards returned to Canada and located in Toronto. In 1851 he was elected to represent Haldimand in the Legislature, which he continued to do until his resignation in 1858. After this, an attempt was made to secure from the public a testimonial for him in consideration of the past services which it was claimed he had rendered to the Reform party. This resulted in the purchase of a homestead for him on Bond Street, Toronto, where he passed the few remaining years of his life, and where he died at the age of sixty-five, on August 29th, 1861.

The Hon. Marshall Spring Bidwell was the son of Barnabas Bidwell, a Canadian lawyer of considerable prominence. He was born at Stockbridge, Mass., U.S.A., in February, 1799, and came to Canada when about twelve years of age. After receiving a good general education he entered upon the study of law, and after being called to the Bar soon secured an important practice in Kingston. Prior to this he had married and united with the Presbyterian Church. At the age of twenty-five (1824) he was elected to the Assembly for Lennox and Addington and continued to hold this seat for eleven successive years. During this period he was one of the foremost Reformers of the day and an avowed Radical with clearly Americanized views. He was elected Speaker of the House in 1829 and also in 1835. He was a very amiable and sincere man and commanded the personal liking of even his opponents. While as desirous of reform and change as William Lyon Mackenzie, or any other contemporary leader, his manner and policy aroused comparatively little antagonism.

Mr. Bidwell ceased to reside in Canada under peculiar circumstances. During the Mackenzie insurrection of 1837 amongst the banners captured from the insurgents was one with the inscription "Bidwell and the glorious Minority." It is claimed that this was an old political flag that had done duty during previous years and had been appropriated by the rebels in their hurry. Mr. Bidwell was notified of its capture by Sir Francis Bond Head, who rather generously intimated that this, in connection with other evidence, made him liable for conviction as guilty of high treason; and as martial law was likely to be declared he (the Lieutenant-Governor) would be unable to protect him, but if he saw

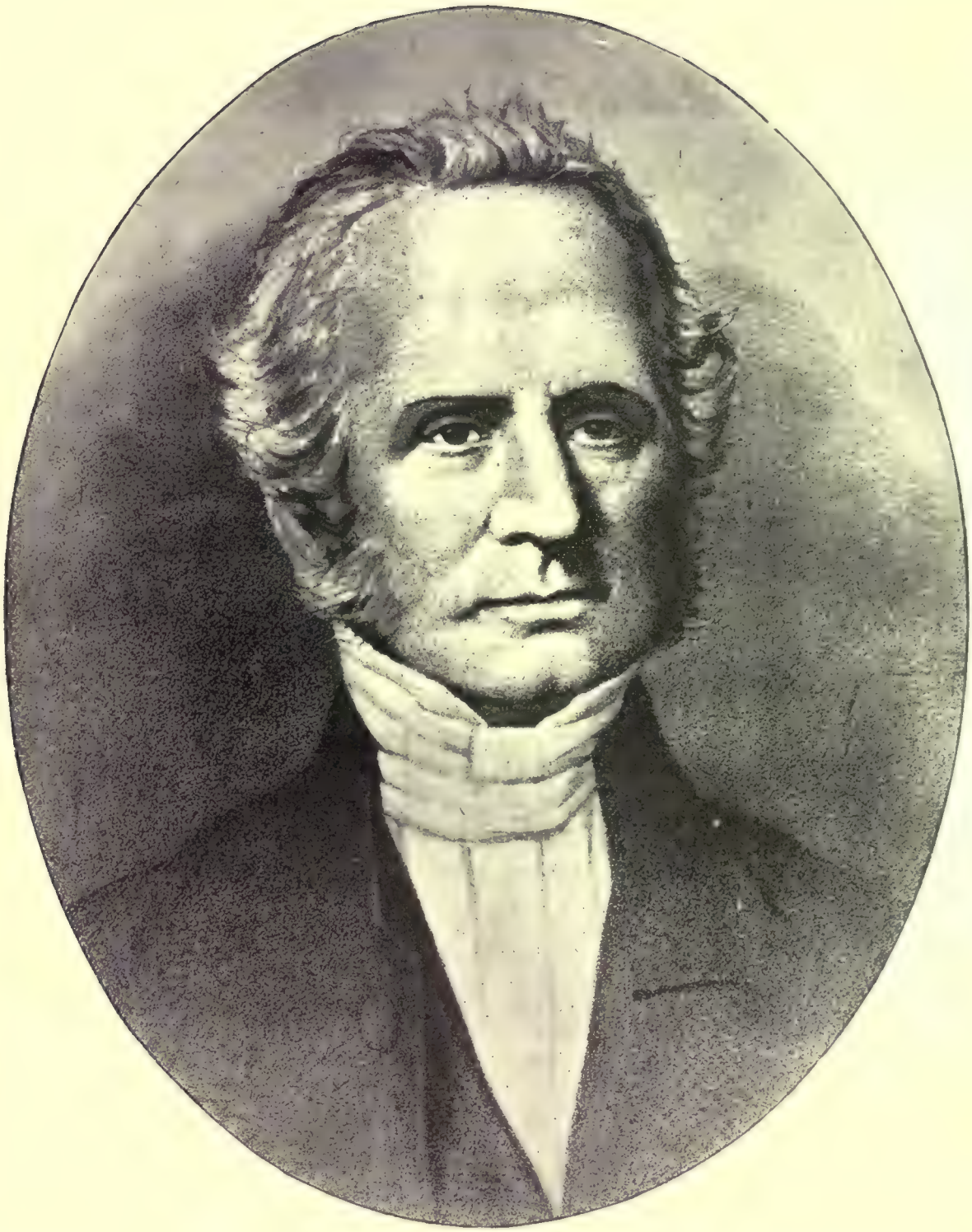
fit to leave Canada at once he would not be disturbed. While Mr. Bidwell claimed to have no connection with the Rebellion he readily foresaw that in the existing disturbed condition of affairs almost certain personal embarrassment, if not ruin, awaited him, and he consequently removed to New York where he was admitted to the Bar and continued to practise his profession.

At the close of the Rebellion many Canadians desired the return of Mr. Bidwell who received assurances of preferment should the Reform party come into power. But, while appreciating the good feeling of his friends here he resolved to remain on the American side, where both popularity and prosperity had attended him. In New York he became Director of the American Bible Society, President of a Savings Bank, and was engaged in many cases in the most important Courts of the land. He won the reputation of being a great lawyer and a legal philosopher and reasoner. His whole life is said to have been marked by much of purity and truth. It was his desire that he might be spared a lingering death and that he might pass away without being reduced to an enfeebled condition of mind or body. This wish was granted on the 24th of October, 1872, when in the midst of excellent health, and just after having made a pleasant remark to a person in his office, he instantly died without a noticeable struggle.

The Hon. Sir John Beverley Robinson, Bart., C.B., D.C.L., was a descendant of an old Yorkshire family which had a lineage running back to the time of Henry VII. His father was Christopher Robinson, who, during the Revolutionary War, received a commission in the famous "Queen's Rangers," under Colonel Simcoe, afterwards the first Governor of Upper Canada.

He was born at Berthier, Quebec, July 26th, 1791, and when seven years of age removed with his parents to York, the then Provincial capital. Some two years later he was sent to Kingston to the school of the afterwards celebrated Bishop Strachan. Being a very bright and attractive boy, the great educator became very fond of him and proud of his proficiency. It was, therefore, quite natural that the opinions of the youth should be moulded by the learned Doctor, and it was during this early formative period that young Robinson's political convictions, which he ever after conscientiously held, were formed. During his entire political career, indeed, he was very susceptible to the powerful influence of his early teacher. When about sixteen, he began the study of law, at which he made such rapid progress and displayed such unusual legal knowledge, that when only twenty-one years of age he was made Attorney-General of Upper Canada. In order to accept this high office, he was called to the Bar by a special action of the Court, and this was duly confirmed by an Act of the Legislature.

At this time he also took up arms in defence of his country, and served during the War of 1812. Throughout the campaign he was conspicuous for courage and indifference to danger. He was with Brock on his western expedition, and took part in the surrender of Detroit. He was a member of the guard placed over the American General, took part in the Battle at Queenston Heights, and was not far from General Brock when he fell. Lieutenant Robinson was foremost in the last desperate charge of the men of Lincoln and the York Volunteers. He was greatly admired by the troops for his military dash and bravery. During his terms as Attorney-General—Dec. 3, 1812, to Jan. 6, 1815, and Feb. 18, 1818, to July, 1829—it devolved upon him to prosecute in the celebrated case of Robert Gourlay. In connection with this trial, grave charges were made against him by political opponents of tampering with justice, but there was never any ground for such an accusation. In 1821, Mr. Robinson became the first representative of the town of York in the House of Assembly, and was at once the leader and mouthpiece of the Tory party. He was a ready and finished speaker, and, having himself well under control, made comparatively few personal enemies. He possessed a commanding presence and the bearing of an English gentleman of the old school. In 1822 he successfully accomplished an important mission to Great Britain regarding the settlement of certain differences which had arisen between Upper and Lower Canada over the collection of custom duties at Montreal, and for this he received a vote of thanks from both Houses of the Legislature.



THE HON. SIR JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON, BART.

About this time the Imperial Government offered to make him Chief Justice of the Island of Mauritius, an honour which he declined although the office would have yielded several thousand pounds per annum. In 1829 he declined the office of Chief Justice of Upper Canada, but in 1830 he accepted the position. As Chief Justice he was President of the Executive Council and was also Speaker of the Upper House from 1828 to 1840. In debates his Conservative cast of mind was generally apparent. He was ever in favour of maintaining the Clergy Reserves and always opposed to Responsible Government as understood in those days. In the Rebellion of 1837 he volunteered for the defence of Toronto against the rebels and it was he who was obliged as Chief Justice to pronounce sentence of death upon Peter Matthews and Samuel Lount. While in England in 1839 he declined the honour of Knighthood, and at the union of the Provinces in 1841, shortly after his return, his political life may be said to have terminated. For nearly a quarter of a century after this he continued to discharge the duties of Chief Justice in a way which brought him universal respect. His learning, acumen and stainless integrity were proverbial. His industry was as marked as his learning and his judgments were very rarely at fault. In 1850 Chief Justice Robinson was made a Companion of the Bath. Four years later was created a Baronet of the United Kingdom, and in 1856 received from the University of Oxford the Honourary degree of D.C.L. In 1862 he retired from the position of Chief Justice and accepted the less arduous one of President of the Court of Appeal. In January 1863 he presided in this capacity for the last time, as a few days after he was seized by acute illness and expired on the 31st of that month. His remains were laid to rest in St. James' Cemetery, Toronto. For upwards of half a century he had held a foremost position in the history of the Province. Success not only came to him early in life but remained with him. Throughout his entire career, whether as a boy at school, a student at law, a soldier on the battle-field, a leader in Parliament, or as Chief Justice of the Province, he honoured each position and brought to the discharge of his duty that continued industry, nobility of character and splendid talent which ever distinguished his private and public life, and kept for him a high position amongst his fellow-men.

The Hon. Robert Baldwin, C.B., son of Dr. William Warren Baldwin, was born in York (now Toronto) May 12th, 1804. He was educated at the Home District Grammar School presided over by the Rev. Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Strachan. In 1819 he began the study of law in his father's office and some six years later was called to the Bar in Toronto. He subsequently formed a partnership with his father, which in time resulted in a very remunerative and extended connection. The senior member died in 1844 and his son continued the legal business under the old firm name. Robert Baldwin was now a prosperous legal practitioner and began to give some attention to political matters. At the general election of 1828 he became a candidate for the County of York, but was defeated. In the year 1830 the seat of Attorney-General Robinson was made vacant by the appointment of that gentleman to the office of Chief Justice of the Province, and Mr. Baldwin was returned to fill the vacancy. The election was, however, declared void on technical grounds, and another contest resulted in Mr. Baldwin being again returned. He was at this time in his twenty-sixth year. He soon entered very heartily into the struggle for Responsible Government and for some time did much to assist the more moderate section of the Reform party. A few years before the Rebellion he became weary of the popular turmoil and retired from active public life.

During the troublesome times of 1836-7 Mr. Baldwin acted for a brief period as a sort of constitutional adviser to Sir Francis Bond Head, who called him to a seat in the Executive Council. This position he only held for a few weeks, when he became dissatisfied and again retired to private life. When the Rebellion took place and the rebels were marching on Toronto Sir Francis sent an urgent despatch to Mr. Baldwin requesting him to meet the insurgents with a flag of truce and demand an explanation of their procedure. This he did in company with Dr. Rolph. The action of the latter during this mission did not please Mr. Baldwin, and he returned alone and delivered Mr. Mackenzie's

message to the Lieutenant-Governor. For a considerable time after this episode he was severely censured for what was claimed to be his share in the Rebellion, but after a personal defence and explanation in the House of his connection with the matter the charges against him ceased to be pressed.

In 1841 he accepted the office of Solicitor-General upon the urgent solicitation of the Governor-General, and later on in the year was named for the Executive Council. The latter honour he declined when the session opened. At the next election he went back to the Legislature and laboured steadily for Responsible Government. In 1842 Lord Sydenham was succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot as Governor-General, and a few months later the first responsible Government known in Upper Canada—the Hincks-Baldwin Administration—came into power with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Hincks as Inspector-General, and Mr. Baldwin as Attorney-General. In 1843 the Government resigned. Sir Charles Metcalfe who had succeeded Sir Charles Bagot could not agree with his Ministry on the subject of Responsible Government, and the friction continued until the difficult task of forming a new Ministry was precipitated. After a short term of Conservative government the Baldwin-Lafontaine Administration came into existence at the close of 1847. This Government retained power until 1851 when Mr. Baldwin resigned. At the election following he contested his old constituency of North York and was defeated. It was practically the end of his political career. From this time he maintained the seclusion of private life, residing at the old homestead of "Spadina" in Toronto. In 1854 he was made a Companion of the Bath. In the autumn of 1858 he gave evidence of fast-failing health and on December 9th of that year the end came. His remains were interred in the family vault at Spadina, where they remained until 1874 when they were removed to their present resting-place in St. James' Cemetery, Toronto.

The Hon. Louis Joseph Papineau was born at Montreal, P.Q., on October 7th, 1789. He was the son of a prominent notary public and member of the Provincial Assembly, whose ancestors had come from Southern France. He received his early training at the Seminary of Quebec, and when quite young entered upon the study of law. Long before reaching manhood he was known as a brilliant agitator against all measures favoured by the Government. While yet pursuing his studies and before he came of age he was elected to represent the constituency of Kent in the Legislature. Having attained his majority in 1811, he was admitted to the Bar, and immediately elected as one of the representatives of Montreal. Young Papineau became such an agitator along the lines of French nationality that public harmony was seriously affected, and he soon found himself the leader of a minority of nationalists in the Assembly. During the War of 1812 he commanded a volunteer company until peace was restored. In 1817 he became Speaker of the House, and continued to occupy the position for twenty years.

For many years following 1820 there was much conflict of opinion and action between Mr. Papineau and the Governor, Lord Dalhousie. So great was the disturbance that legislation was seriously impeded and public jealousies greatly increased. Before the difficulty was settled, Sir James Kempt succeeded to the Governorship (1828), and his adjustment of the deadlock so far favoured Mr. Papineau's stand as to give him greatly increased importance in the eyes of the French-Canadians. However, there was no continued change of policy, and the conflict steadily developed. Mr. Papineau at this time had a large and enthusiastic following, chiefly young men, who looked upon him as a sort of oracle. He advocated republicanism, and prophesied that America would yet furnish republics to the old world. The advice given in his public addresses was weak and unstatesmanlike. The famous "Ninety-two Resolutions" were transmitted to England with a prayer that the Imperial Parliament would impeach the Governor-General, Lord Aylmer. This was followed by an organized attempt by Mr. Papineau at demonstrations which very nearly disturbed the public peace.

The Province was now on the verge of a rebellion which was actually inaugurated in the autumn of 1837. Mr. Papineau was the head of the Cen-

tral Committee in Montreal when the mob first paraded the streets and defied British authority. At this juncture the Government arrested a number of the ringleaders, but Papineau escaped to the United States, where, after spending two years, he repaired to France and there remained for the following eight years. In 1847 an amnesty was proclaimed and he returned to Canada when he was again shortly elected to Parliament. During his absence great changes had taken place. The bitterness of the past was slowly moving to the grave of forgetfulness, and the fierce fires of party strife, while destroying much that was worth preserving, swept away very much that was rubbish and thus made room for what was stronger and better. It was this altered condition of things which met the one-time rebel leader when he again took his seat in the Legislature, and although his eye had lost none of its flashing brilliancy, and his voice none of its stirring powers, his appeals failed to arouse as of yore and he found that his power had departed. Mr. Papineau retired from public life in 1854 and spent the remainder of his time in scholarly seclusion at his home on the Ottawa River. He died on Sept. 22nd, 1871.

Wolfred Nelson, M.D., with one exception was the most conspicuous figure in the Lower Canadian Rebellion. He was born in Montreal July 10th, 1792. His father came of good English stock, and his mother was of U.E. Loyalist descent. After obtaining a general education he entered upon the study of Medicine, and in 1811 he began to practise his profession in the County of St. Hyacinthe. Being specially skilful as a surgeon he obtained considerable reputation and soon had a flourishing practice. Through the War of 1812 he served as Surgeon of the Battalion from his own district, and rendered some service to his country. At the close of the struggle he settled down to his profession and once more won success. Public honours were tendered him, but he steadily refused all such overtures until 1827, when, in the general election, he defeated Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Stuart, the Attorney-General. Dr. Nelson was a conspicuous figure in the Assembly and made himself felt in the various measures which came under discussion. He was not long in coming to the front as the champion of the disaffected section of the population of Lower Canada. With the expressed desire to obtain an improvement in the rights of British subjects in Canada, he joined cause with Mr. Papineau and "the Sons of Liberty," and was soon found advocating revolutionary measures. His military experience placed him in command of a portion of the ensuing uprising and led to a partial success in the first conflict with the authorities.

The miserable murder of Lieutenant Weir by the insurgents on the night before this conflict cannot be palliated, although many who claim to be in possession of the facts do not agree in making Dr. Nelson directly responsible for the outrage. The defeat of Colonel Gore at St. Denis only delayed the inevitable result. Before the insurgents could mature their further plan of campaign their sympathizers at St. Charles had been severely punished by the Loyalist troops under Colonel Wetherall. This utterly discouraged the rebels, who now saw safety only in flight to the United States. Dr. Nelson was in great personal danger, scouts were on the alert for him and a reward of two thousand dollars was offered for his apprehension. After many privations from hunger and fatigue he was captured in the County of Shefford not far from the frontier on the morning of December 12th, 1837. When taken he was in a pitiable condition from exposure in the forests for several days without proper food and clothing, and was a veritable caricature of his former self. He was taken to Montreal and lodged in gaol where he after a time recovered his health and spirits. He would not ask for leniency nor attempt to palliate his crime. He declared that he was right in resisting the authorities and was ready for the worst. He and several of his companions in trouble addressed a letter to His Excellency, Lord Durham, stating their desire to avoid the necessity of a trial by pleading guilty. The result was that the Doctor and others of his fellow-prisoners were banished to Bermuda where they so conducted themselves as to be treated with confidence and respect. Their banishment was not of long duration owing to the sentence having been pronounced illegal. Dr. Nelson went to Plattsburg in the United States where his family joined him, and where he

practised his profession until 1842 when he could legally return to Canada.

He located in Montreal, and continued his practice with much success. In 1844 he defeated the Government candidate, the Hon. D. B. Viger, as member for the county of Richelieu, which he continued to represent in several Parliaments under the Union. He made a strong speech in favour of the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, and gave a stinging rejoinder to those members who reminded him of the part he had played in the Rebellion. In 1851 he became Inspector of

The Right Hon. Charles Buller.

Prisons, and in this capacity did good service. Eight years later he was made Chairman of the Board of Inspectors. Twice he was President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons for Lower Canada, and was as often elected Mayor of Montreal. He remained in good health up to within a year of his demise, which occurred in Montreal, June 17th, 1863. The errors of his past life were forgotten, and at his death he was widely respected. There was in his career a good deal of romance, and whatever his mistakes of judgment may have been, and notwithstanding his responsibility for unwise actions, he seems to have been a man of really high ideals.

The Right Hon. Charles Buller, P.C., Q.C., M.P., President of the Commission for the Administration of the Poor Laws, was born in Calcutta, August, 1806, the only son of Charles Buller, a civil servant of the Hon. East India Company. He was educated at Harrow, at Edinburgh, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He entered Parliament at the age of twenty-three, on the eve of the Reform Bill, for a borough belonging to his family. He voted for the Bill, lost his borough, and was afterwards returned for Liskeard, which he represented till his death. Mr. Buller was a zealous opponent of the Corn Laws long before those who gave him office took up the question, and even declared against property qualifications for members; in favour of triennial Parliaments; and for removing the Bishops from the House of Lords. In 1833 he moved an adverse amendment to the Irish Coercion Bill. In 1838 he accompanied the Earl of Durham to Canada as his Secretary, and is supposed by many to have written the masterly Report which bore the name of the Governor-General. There is no doubt that he helped greatly in its preparation. But Lord Durham had plenty of ability and it is not likely that his Secretary did more than this.

From that time Mr. Buller's attention was specially directed to the state of the British Colonies and to emigration. He was called to the Bar, June 10, 1831, but had few opportunities of exhibiting his forensic abilities. In 1841 he was appointed by Lord Melbourne Secretary to the Board of Control, and in 1845 to the office of Judge-Advocate-General. In November of the some year he was appointed Queen's Counsel, and on July 22nd, 1847, was sworn of the Privy Council. After holding the office of Judge-Advocate for eighteen months, during which he remodelled the Mutiny Act, he gave up that post to become Poor Law Commissioner. He was a man of brilliant abilities, and the impression which he made on some of the most intelligent of his contemporaries was extraordinary; but his early death, which took place November 28th, 1848,

prevented the full realization of his promise. He will always hold a place in Canadian history in connection with the famous Durham Report and brief Administration.

The Right Hon. John Arthur Roebuck, P.C., M.P., grandson of Dr. John Roebuck, of Sheffield, and maternally descended from the poet Tickell, was born at Madras in 1802, went to Canada in boyhood, and left that Colony in 1824 for the purpose of studying law in England. He was admitted a barrister of the Inner Temple in 1831, and chosen Member for Bath at the first election after the Reform Bill. The character of a thorough reformer, which he won in this arena, led to his appointment, in 1835, as Agent for the House of Assembly of Lower Canada during the dispute pending between the Executive Government and that House. Mr. Roebuck (who was at this time a Radical, a pupil of Bentham and a friend of J. S. Mill) commenced the publication of a series of political "Pamphlets for the People," in which, having assailed the whole body of political editors, reporters, and contributors to the press, particularly those of the *Morning Chronicle*, he became involved in what was called an affair of honour, and fought a very harmless duel with Mr. Black, the Editor of that journal. In parts of the country he was a popular favourite, though the plain speaking he had practised towards the Whigs whom he regarded as false to the cause of progress, lost him his seat at the general election in Aug., 1837. He regained it in June, 1841, but was again defeated at the general election in Aug., 1847, and from May, 1849, till 1868, he represented Sheffield.

Mr. Roebuck was a bold and unsparing orator, and he particularly distinguished himself in his replies to Mr. Disraeli. In January, 1855, he brought forward in the House of Commons a motion for enquiry into the conduct of the war, known to history as "the Sebastopol Committee." The Aberdeen Government, resisting the enquiry, was beaten on a division by a majority of 157, and compelled to resign. Mr. Roebuck had no place in the new Cabinet, but acted as Chairman of the Committee appointed through his exertions. In December, 1855, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Chairmanship of the Metropolitan Board of Works, at a salary of £1,500, standing third on the list at the close of the poll. In 1856 he accepted the Chairmanship of the Administrative Reform Association, from which great things were expected, though, after publishing a luminous programme, the society became extinct. Mr. Roebuck wrote "Plan for Government of our English Colonies," published in 1849, and "History of the Whig Ministry of 1830," in 1852, a work of great ability. Towards the end of his life his Radicalism almost disappeared. In 1868 he lost his seat at Sheffield in consequence of his denunciation of the tyrannical proceedings of Trades Unions, but he was returned at the head of the poll at the general election of February, 1874. He was sworn of the Privy Council on August 14, 1878, and died in the following year. He took an active part in helping the Canadian Radicals of 1837, and his *Portfolio* published in London in 1838 contained some powerful arguments for their cause. So with his speeches in the House of Commons.

Joseph Hume, M.P., was the son of the master of a coasting vessel, and was born at Montrose, Scotland, in 1777. He studied medicine, and, having completed his medical course at the Edinburgh University, he sailed in 1797 for India, as surgeon to a regiment, and there his business talents and knowledge of the native language soon procured for him the posts of interpreter and commissary-general. He served in the army in India during Lord Lake's Mahratta war, and then, in 1808, on the restoration of peace, he returned to England with a moderate fortune. Having travelled about in England and on the Continent in 1810-11, he was, in 1812, returned to Parliament as Member for Weymouth and Melcombe-Regis, but was soon compelled to retire, when it was found that he had the audacity to talk of reform. He remained six years out of Parliament, during which time he became acquainted with James Mill, whose doctrines he imbibed as well as those of Bentham. He joined a body of philanthropists who were employed in relieving and improving the condition of the working classes, labouring especially to establish schools for them on the Lancaster system, and promoting the formation of savings

banks. In 1818 he was again returned to Parliament for the Aberdeen burghs, and subsequently sat for Middlesex, Kilkenny, and for the Montrose burghs. In the House he was a prominent reformer, became the self-elected guardian of the public purse, and in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties laboured hard to reduce the burden of taxation under which the country groaned. Among his other labours and schemes may be mentioned his successful protests against laws which hampered workmen and favoured masters; the repeal of the laws prohibiting the export of machinery; his warfare against flogging in the army, the impressment of sailors, and imprisonment for debt, etc. At first he was very unpopular for his tenacity of purpose in carrying out his reforms, but in the end he gained universal respect and was acknowledged to be one of the most useful members in the House. He died in 1855 and will be remembered in Canadian history for his active sympathy with Mackenzie, his hatred of "Toryism," and his advocacy of Canadian constitutional reform in the Imperial Parliament.

Archibald Acheson, 2nd Earl of Gosford, G.C.B., was born in England in 1776. He was so far unknown in political life that in modern biographical works his name does not appear. He was, however, a nobleman with many qualifications which commanded respect. Lord Gosford was the second Earl of this name in the Irish peerage, and was called to the British peerage as Lord Worlingham in June, 1835. He was Governor-General of Canada for two years and a-half (August, 1835, to February, 1838). His appointment was one of enquiry into Canadian affairs with a view to conciliation and the adjustment of the grievances which were disturbing the Lower Canadian people. The failure of his mission is a matter of history. The pacific attitude he manifested in attempting to restore harmony and good government failed of success, and he consequently informed the Imperial Government of the necessity of employing a sterner policy. He accompanied his Report with an offer of resignation. This was accepted by Her Majesty's Ministers, who, while agreeing with what Lord Gosford had done, thought it wise to sanction his return. He was therefore recalled and Lieutenant-General Sir John Colborne was instructed to assume the Government until a successor was appointed. The attempt of Lord Gosford to carry out his instructions to form a new Administration in Quebec out of the most moderate men of both parties seems to have failed largely because of insincere politicians who had personal aims in view. Lord Gosford held no other public post and died in England on March 29th, 1849.

The Rt. Hon. Charles Grant, 1st Lord Glenelg, was born at Kidderpore, Bengal, India, October 26th, 1778. He was educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge, England, graduating B.A. in 1801 and M.A. in 1804. He received from the University the Honourary degree of LL.D. in 1819. In 1807 he was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, but, literary pursuits having more charm for him, he did not practise law. He represented different burghs in Parliament from 1811 to 1818. In the latter year he succeeded his father for Inverness, and continued to represent that burgh until 1835, when he was raised to the peerage. In 1812-13 his speeches in the House on important questions gave him considerable notoriety, and before the close of the latter year he was made a Lord of the Treasury. In 1819 he became Chief Secretary for Ireland and a member of the Privy Council. The former office he retained for four years. His policy was conciliatory, and he endeavoured to do justice to Protestants and Catholics alike. In 1823 he became Vice-President and in 1827 President, of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy. These offices he held until June, 1828, when he resigned. Under Earl Grey he presided over the Board of Control from 1830 till 1834. While holding this responsible office, he succeeded in getting through Parliament some important legislation regulating the affairs of the East India Company.

In April, 1835, he took the office of Colonial Secretary in Lord Melbourne's Ministry, and in the following month was elevated to the peerage as Baron Glenelg. While he was in office West Indian slavery was abolished, but his policy elsewhere did not have quite such favourable results. His action in connection with the negotiations growing out of the Kaffir War, which terminated

in 1835, was severely criticized, and resulted in considerable ill-feeling. In Canada he had, of course, great difficulties to encounter. According to Dr. Kingsford, his vacillation led to general discontent amongst political parties, and met with the displeasure of the King. His theory was "the extreme conciliation of what he considered to be Canadian sentiment, but without making any constitutional concession." He acted as if he conceived that the House would be satisfied by such deferential proceedings on the part of the Governor-General.

In Lord Melbourne's papers, pp. 349-50, an interesting reference is found. "The King wrote to Lord Melbourne, 7th June, 1836: That after a long conversation with Lord Glenelg on the subject of an additional despatch to the Earl of Gosford, to which he had refused his consent, and being informed that it was the intention on the morrow to enter on the subject of Canada, the moment had come to explain that the King would never permit any change in the appointment of the King's Councils to be entertained." Sir William Molesworth on the 7th of March had moved "that he (Lord Glenelg) did not enjoy the confidence of the House or country"—a motion withdrawn when Lord Sandon from the opposite benches traced the difficulties in Canada to the "ambiguous, dilatory, and irresolute course of the Ministry." The debates arising from Lord Durham's return and policy, and Lord Glenelg's abandonment of him, led Lord John Russell to insist on the latter's retirement. Lord John, writing to Lord Melbourne on the 25th of October, 1838, described a despatch of Lord Glenelg's as "mere verbiage, proposing nothing, asking nothing, directing nothing, but only leaving the question of Durham's retirement in some open manner." He resigned in February, 1839, and was given the non-political office of Land Tax Commissioner and a retiring pension of £2,000 per annum. His last appearance in the House of Lords was when he took part in a debate on life peerages in 1856. His later life was spent in travel, books and society. Owing to feeble health he was obliged to stay much of his time abroad, and his last days were spent with Lord Brougham at Cannes, where he died April 23rd, 1866.

Major General the Rt. Hon. Sir George Arthur, Bart., K.C.H., D.C.L., Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada at the close of the Rebellion and in succession to Sir F. Bond Head, was born on June 21st, 1784. In August, 1804, he joined the 91st Argyleshire Highlanders, and two years later went with Sir James Craig's expedition to Italy as Lieutenant in the 35th Foot. In 1807 he was in Egypt with General Fraser, was severely wounded at Rosetta, and during the following year served in Sicily under Sir James Kempt. In 1809 he was in command of a Company in the expedition to Walcheren, and during the attack on Flushing displayed great gallantry, was thanked in general orders and was made Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General. When he returned to England he received the freedom of the city of London and a sword, and his own town of Plymouth gave him a similar distinction. He subsequently served Sir George Don, Governor of Jersey, in the capacity of Military Secretary, and in 1812 became Assistant Quartermaster-General of the forces of the Island. In 1814 he was appointed Lieut.-Governor of British Honduras and held the office until 1822. During his tenure of this office he suppressed a formidable revolt of the slave population of Honduras and his despatches on the subject of West India slavery attracted much attention.

In 1823 he received a similar appointment to the penal Colony of Van Diemen's Land, where he remained for twelve years. His administration was conducted in a way which gave him the respect of the Colonists and of the Government in England. In March, 1837, he returned to England, when he was honored by the Hanoverian Order, and at the close of that year was made Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada with the military rank of Major-General. At this juncture both of the Canadian Provinces were recovering from the troubles of the Rebellion and Sir George in Upper Canada had to face many difficulties—especially such as were connected with the tempering of justice to the loyalists with mercy to the rebels. Upon the Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1841 under Lord Sydenham as Governor-General, Sir George Arthur, by special request of the former, continued for a time as Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada.

Shortly after his return to England, later in the year, he received a Baronetcy for his services in Canada, and in 1842 became Governor of the Indian Presidency of Bombay. The difficulties of this office were very great owing to severe friction between the supreme and local administrations, but Sir George managed to pass successfully through the task of winning and retaining the esteem of the Court of Directors, and of his own colleagues in the Bombay Government. During his term of office he was instrumental in effecting several internal measures of much importance to the country, chief amongst them being an improved land survey and better means of irrigation. He also continued and extended a railway from Bombay to Callian. The improvement in drainage and sanitary matters, the manufacture of salt, the reclamation of a large portion of the shore of Bombay Island, and the marked improvement in the promotion of native education, go to prove the deep interest taken by Sir George Arthur in the prosperity of British India. He retired from the Bombay Government in 1846, and upon reaching England was made a Privy Councillor and received from Oxford University the Honourary degree of D.C.L. In 1853 he was made Colonel of the Queen's Own 50th Regiment, and died in 1854. Sir George Arthur's life and work were remarkable. In his early manhood he gained a reputation for sound judgment and courage. Without solicitation on his part he was advanced from one post of honour to another until it was officially recognized that he was the man best qualified to become Governor-General of India at a time of the greatest difficulty and danger. However, failing health prevented him from filling this honourable, but unenviable, position. In private as in public life he was free from selfishness and universally respected for his purity of motive and unquestionable integrity.

The Hon. Denis Benjamin Viger was born on August 19th, 1774, and was one of the most prominent figures in the political history of Canada during the first half of the 19th century. In 1792 he attended St. Raphael College at Montreal, and four years later, when but twenty-two years of age, was elected to the Parliament of Lower Canada. In 1808 he represented Montreal City and in 1827 sat in the Assembly for the then County of Kent. M. Viger was a lawyer of good standing and a staunch friend and adviser of M. Papineau during the stormy times preceding the Rebellion of 1837. Prior to this he went to England twice, commissioned to lay the alleged grievances of the people before the Imperial Government. At the breaking out of the insurrection he was arrested on Nov. 4th, 1838, charged with sedition, and remained imprisoned for nineteen months. After regaining his liberty he was returned in 1841 to the first Parliament of United Canada for Richelieu, and to the second for Three Rivers. He was in the Government from 12th December, 1843, to 1st September, 1844, and from May 1st to August 5th, 1845. His death took place on Feb. 13th, 1861, in the 87th year of his age. M. Viger's interment was attended by an immense concourse of people and he was laid to rest in a manner which, while void of pomp and display, gave strong evidence of the popular esteem in which he was held.

The Hon. Augustin Norbert Morin was born at St. Michel, in the District of Quebec in 1803. He was educated at the Seminary of Quebec, studied law in the office of the Hon. D. B. Viger and was admitted to the Bar at Montreal in 1828. In common with most Canadian lawyers of that time young Morin had an ambition to enter Parliament, to which he was elected in 1830, being then only twenty-seven years of age. He soon made his mark in the House and was subsequently selected to follow the Hon. Mr. Viger to England to assist him in a fuller representation of the affairs of the Province. Being a man of great determination and energy he gave a good account of himself on this commission. He became Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Lafontaine-Baldwin Ministry of Oct. 13th, 1842, and continued in that position for a little more than one year. In 1844 and again in 1848 he represented Bellechasse County, and in the latter year became Speaker of the House, which office he retained until 1851 when the celebrated Hincks-Morin Government was formed in which he became Provincial Secretary, having been elected for Terrebonne County. He was Com-

missioner of Crown Lands, 1853 to 1855, when he became a Judge of the Superior Court of Lower Canada. In 1859 he was appointed on a Commission for codifying the laws of the Province. In this undertaking he reflected much credit on himself and gave valuable service to Lower Canada. Lord Metcalfe bears the highest testimony to the character and ability of this French-Canadian politician who seems as a whole to have been patriotic, unselfish and ambitious only for the good of his country. He died near St. Hyacinthe in June, 1865.

The Hon. John Rolph, M.D., LL.D., was born at Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England, March 4th, 1793. Some time before the War of 1812 he came to Canada, and during the early part of that conflict served as a volunteer, and for a time acted as Paymaster in the Militia. Later on he was taken prisoner, and detained at Batavia, in New York State, until an exchange of prisoners gave him his liberty. Soon after this, he returned to England, where he took a College course, studied Law, and was subsequently called to the Bar of the Inner Temple. Then he studied Medicine under Sir Astley Cooper, and became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons. Some time after this he made Canada his objective point, and located in what is now the county of Norfolk in Ontario. In 1821 he was called to the Bar of Upper Canada, and for a considerable time practised his two professions concurrently. Politically, Dr. Rolph vehemently opposed the policy of the Tory party. He was also greatly aroused by the prosecutions of Robert Gourlay, and expressed himself freely on the subject. About this period he settled in Dundas, and, at the general elections of 1824, he and Captain John Matthews were elected by the Reformers of Middlesex. He was soon a commanding figure in the Assembly—young, of fine presence and splendid address. Possessed of an attractive voice, when he spoke (which was not frequently during his early Parliamentary life), there were but few empty seats if it was known that he was addressing the House.

His connection with the Rebellion of 1837 gives him a prominent place in Canadian history. At a secret meeting of the insurgents, amongst whom were Rolph, Mackenzie and other leaders, held Nov. 18th, 1837, it was decided to capture the city of Toronto on December 7th following, call a great Convention, and submit a new constitution. In this arrangement Dr. Rolph was to be the sole executive and head, and William Lyon Mackenzie to be master of details. It appears that Rolph fancied that the Government had learned of the rebel plans and therefore assumed the responsibility of changing the date of attack from the 7th to the 4th of December. This so affected the plans of Mackenzie that the attempted capture of Toronto was an utter failure. During the time of the impending attack on the city Dr. Rolph accompanied Robert Baldwin and one or two other loyal men to the insurgent camp, bearing a flag of truce from Sir Francis Bond Head and a demand to know their intentions. After this Dr. Rolph made a hasty exit to the United States and settled in Rochester, N.Y., where he remained until 1843, when an amnesty to the rebels being granted he returned to Toronto and resumed his Medical practice. About this time he established a Medical School which he supported for years mainly by his lectures. This School did much valuable work and pupils from it were not only scattered over various parts of America, but have been found in remote parts of Europe. Dr. Rolph continued teaching in this way until about two years before his death. He left his professional duties for a time to join forces with Mr. Malcolm Cameron against the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government of 1848-50. He took office in the Hincks Ministry, Oct. 28th, 1851, as Commissioner of Crown Lands, and retained the position until August 30th, 1853. He was President of the Executive Council from August 17th, 1853, to September 10th, 1854. At this latter date he retired from public life. He died at Mitchell, Perth County, Oct. 19th, 1870. He was emphatically an extraordinary man. He possessed a clear and keen intellect, great powers of oratory and a wide personal influence. Yet he failed to inspire the confidence of the country or to become a great leader.

Imperial Officials and Works of Reference. During the years immediately surrounding the

Rebellion the Imperial Governors of the various Colonies, and the Colonial Ministers were frequently changed, and the following statement will therefore be useful.

The Governors-General of British America in this period included the Earl of Dalhousie from June 19th, 1820, to September 7th, 1828; Lord Aylmer from February 4th, 1831, to August 23rd, 1835; the Earl of Gosford from August 24th, 1835, to February 26th, 1838; the Earl of Durham from May 29th, 1838, to October 31, 1838; Sir John Colborne from January 17th, 1839, to October 18th, 1839. During this period Sir F. N. Burton administered the Government from June 7th, 1824, to September 16th, 1825; Sir James Kempt from September 8th, 1828, to October 19th, 1830; Lord Aylmer from October 20th, 1830, to February 3rd, 1831; and Sir John Colborne from February 27th to May 28th, 1838, and from November 1st, 1838, to January 16th, 1839.

Meanwhile the following were Colonial Secretaries (and also Secretaries-at-War):

Name.	Appointed.
Viscount Goderich (Earl of Ripon)	April 30, 1827
William Huskisson	Aug. 17, 1827
Sir George Murray	May 30, 1828
Edward G.S.Stanley (Earl of Derby)	Mar. 28, 1833
Thomas Spring Rice (Lord Monteagle)	June 5, 1834
Earl of Aberdeen	Dec. 20, 1834
Charles Grant (Lord Glenelg)	Apr. 18, 1835
Marquess of Normanby	Feb. 20, 1839
Lord John Russell	Aug. 30, 1839

The Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada were as follows:

Sir Peregrine Maitland	appointed	1818
Sir John Colborne	"	1828
Sir Francis Bond Head	"	1836
Sir George Arthur	"	1838

The Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada from 1808 to 1832 was Sir Francis Nathaniel Burton.

The principal Canadian works dealing with this period are the Histories of Canada by Garneau, Christie, J. M. McMullen, W. H. Smith, Dr. W. H. Withrow, C. R. Tuttle, H. H. Miles and William Kingsford. Of course, the value of these authorities varies greatly. Christie's work is chiefly important for its documents. Garneau deals with the French-Canadian popular side of the subject, while Dr. Kingsford may be said to give the British view. Charles Lindsay's "Life of W. L. Mackenzie" is essential to the student, but is certainly not impartial. J. C. Dent's "History of the Rebellion" is a careful and valuable work, but, as with the references contained in nearly every Canadian History—including Rattray's "Scot in British North America"—he sees the subject only in the light of to-day and the conditions existing near the end of the century instead of those which environed the men of fifty or sixty years before. "The Rolph-Mackenzie Controversy" is a useful controversial pamphlet by John King, Q.C., while "Les Evenements de 1837-8" by L. N. Carrier, and Sulte's "Histoire des Canadiens-Francais" should be consulted by all who wish to study the French point of view. Dent's Canadian Portrait Gallery contains valuable biographical matter, as does Morgan's "Celebrated Canadians," though the latter is very incomplete in details. Dr. Canniff's "History of the Settlement of Upper Canada," the brief "History of the Rebellion," by D. B. Read, Q.C., and the one-volume Histories of Canada by Charles G. D. Roberts and Sir John George Bourinot should also be consulted.

SECTION II.

THE SEIGNEURIAL TENURE AND CLERGY RESERVE QUESTIONS

THE SEIGNEURIAL TENURE IN LOWER CANADA

BY

BENJAMIN SULTE, F.R.S.C.

IT is not an uncommon thing to meet a person who asks why the first settlers in Canada devised the plan of colonization known as the *Seigneurial Tenure*, and what advantage they expected to derive from it? It may be answered to this, that in the first place the scheme did not originate in the will of the settlers proper, but was the result of external action, and that secondly, those who framed such a constitution were completely devoid of practical knowledge of the new country and so only succeeded in devising a dreamy and impracticable scheme of colonization. This is well proven by the fact that it resulted in continual misfortunes, and only produced a weak colony quite unable to sustain itself. Nevertheless we must take it as it was and try to introduce light into the component parts of its earlier mechanism.

Surely the intention of Richelieu was to create a New France in America! But how can we reconcile this desire with the organization of a feudal power by the hand of the same statesman who had crushed the very heads of the old feudal system in his own country; and furthermore what kind of Barons could he expect to get for the ruling of a territory where no inhabitants had yet settled—except the industrious beaver and the lazy Indian?

When the Franks conquered Gaul, when William the Norman entered England, when Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro took possession of Cuba, Mexico, and Peru, there was found in each country a people largely agricultural and having its own industries. Therefore, all the conquerors had to do was to substitute themselves for the lords of the land and thus enjoy the position of their predecessors. No such condition existed in Canada, consequently the creation of landlords of large estate seems somewhat out of place. It amounted to building castles in the air.

It may be said on this particular point that some English noblemen, Lord Baltimore for instance, were the grantees of vast concessions in the American wilderness and that their enterprise was a success. Let us see. Baltimore spent any amount of money to start his colony; no French Seigneur had the means at his disposal to invest any respectable sum of money on his domain. Baltimore did not establish a feudal regime and could not have maintained one, because the settlers modified his influence when they became numerous enough to act by themselves; the Canadian Seigneur remained a Seigneur in name, it is true, but his colony was empty and amounted to next to nothing. The comparison in the case serves to show a direct contrast and is against the French method. Richelieu imagined that the proprietors of the Canadian seigneuries would attend to the clearing of the forest and take settlers out at their own expense, but few of these individuals had any intention of conforming to such conditions, and as no attempt was ever made to compel them to do so, the result naturally failed to attain the purpose of the original plan.

It is rather hard to understand the manner in which Richelieu expected to see the application of his own principles in this scheme of colonization. He caused the King of France to practically deliver a large part of Canada into the hands of a few enterprising fur traders and seigneurs. The Seigneurial system thus founded operated as follows: There were few seigneuries actually settled by the landlords, and the whole system at first consisted practically in drawing beaver skins from the forests. This lasted from 1627 until 1663. It was repeated afterwards. In order to blind the people in France who might show some spirit of investigation, sixty seigneuries were granted to the merchants during those thirty-six years, but they remained on paper, save four or

five in the neighborhood of Quebec and Three Rivers, where about sixty families began to till the soil. These families had come out gradually, by groups of two or three together, year after year, at their own expense, with the hope that many others would follow them, but the merchants, who did not oppose their coming, practically paralysed their action as colonists by attracting and hiring their young men as *coureurs de bois*—hunters and trappers in the wild regions of the interior.

One of the main conditions imposed upon the

Benjamin Sulte.

merchants had been the keeping of a properly armed force to protect the colony against the Iroquois, but for many reasons little was really done by them or by the government in France, and we thus have the record of a lamentable and shameful series of Indian massacres. A change, however, took place in 1663, and from the moment of its occurrence we may fairly enter into the examination of the Seigneurial Tenure, for whatever was done before that date can hardly be called a colonization system at all. Louis XIV abolished the privileges of the Hundred Partners, and that of the syndicate which had existed in Canada under their patronage. He maintained the Seigneurial system, that is to say, the principle of that system. No doubt both he and Colbert meant well by their action, but the feudal system is unfortunately foreign to colonization, and was chiefly useful in governing people already settled, and living by their own industry. To this blunder they added the imposition of the *Coutume de Paris*, in other words a civil code, framed for the largest city of the kingdom, whilst French Canada was emphatically destined to be an agricultural country. France had a variety of codes, some exactly suitable for rural districts; yet the Parisian Code was applied to the wild regions of the St. Lawrence valley and, whether it suited the requirements of the future population or not, was made the code of the colony.

The King having eventually sent troops to hold in check the Iroquois, peace reigned from Montreal to Quebec during 1665 and the twenty years which followed. The trade of New France passed meanwhile from the control of the Hundred Partners (1663) into that of the King, who gave it to La Compagnie des Indies (1665), thereby again allowing the fur merchants to obtain a dominant influence in the new community. The land being the nominal property of the Crown however, preparations were now made by Colbert to recruit the colony by sending from France as many rural families as could be induced to emigrate, and from 1663 to 1672 he managed to send about four thousand individuals of that category, including women and children. In 1673, when the King found that the census of Lower Canada gave 6,705 souls, he put a full stop to further measures for procuring settlers, declaring that the colony ought to be able to paddle its own canoe.

From year to year after this, however, some twenty to thirty soldiers, who wished to do service in our little forts previous to settling down as *habitants*, were sent out at the expense of the public chest. No regiment was kept in early French Canada. The whole of the Royal troops, formed as a rule merely a detachment under the command of an infantry captain. The 6,705 souls of 1673 must however have still received, in this way, some additions, because the census of

1681 shows 9,677 souls. Thirty-three years later that population had doubled its figure, and twenty-seven years after that it had again doubled itself, until in 1760, the French Canadians exceeded 60,000 in number. Anyone conversant with the middle-age feudal system can here interject a number of questions as to the various privileges pertaining to the landlords, some of them rather delicate in nature and difficult to answer definitely. In reply to that class of queries, I will ask the reader to consider that in the 16th and 17th centuries many old time abuses had ceased to exist in France. They had been abolished in some cases as early as 1480 by Louis XI. Besides, the existence of such strong personal rights could only be properly coupled with large fortune, extensive power, and a sort of local sovereignty, whilst in New France everything was upon such a comparatively small basis that the application of the same system is very hard to deal with.

How then did the Seigneurial Tenure operate amongst this handful of people? The Seigneurs continued in the main to devote their attention to fur trading and fighting, or became public servants, and the settlers were left to do very much as they pleased. In 1681 there were one hundred seigneuries on paper. Actually, the population of the whole colony did not exceed that of an ordinary parish of the present time. The census of this year only mentions sixty seigneuries, because the forty others were still in their primitive state of nature. The total amount of cultivated land was 24,827 arpents, giving about 400 arpents for each seigneury. At four or five *sous* per arpent, which is a very fair calculation, we have a total revenue of 100,000 *sous* ($8,300) to be distributed amongst the Seigneurs—or $138 per year for each seigneur.

Many of these landlords, such as LeMoine de Longueuil, Robineau de Bécancour, Chartier de Lotbinière, Juchereau de Maure, Fleury d' Eschambault, Tarien de Lanaudière, Couillard de Beaumont, Morel de la Durantaye, Deschamps de la Bouteillerie, Berthier de Villemure, Marganne de Lavalterie, and Le Gardeur de Tilly were careful enough to clear fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five arpents of their domain under their own names in order to show that they were actual occupants of the soil. Others did not take so much trouble and were deprived of the grant of land they had received. The seigneurs also could in turn cancel any patent of that kind they had issued in favour of any intended settler who had neglected to make a clearance on his lot and to reside there. Colonization, after the system thus adopted in French Canada, was a building four stories high on paper. The King, at the top, thought he had better not have too pronounced a share in the work, and he therefore passed it on to the Hundred Partners, who in turn transferred the responsibility to the Seigneurs. The latter slipped the whole of it on the shoulder of the censitaires, so that the lower story only sprung out of the soil, and the *habitants* became the real founders of New France.

We have, however, several cases of landlords mentioned by various historians as being noticeable for their aggressive spirit of colonization, although they did not accomplish very much in fact. These were Cavelier de la Salle, LeMoine de Longueuil, Robineau de Bécancour, Hertel de Lafrenierè, Godefroy de Lintot, Leneuf de la Poterie, Chartier de Lotbinière, and Deschamps de la Bouteillerie. Let us look at their record! La Salle gave up his seigneury of Lachine before doing very much for it; he took Cataraconi, and in his last years had three or four settlers on it. LeMoine was an officer of the government and a fur dealer; his sons managed to do something for Longueuil. Robineau went to Bécancour to trade with the Indians; he induced a certain number of Abenakis from Maine to come and form a village near him in order to facilate his transactions, and, as he said, to await the time when the neighboring seigneuries would become occupied by regular inhabitants. Hertel, Godefroy, Leneuf, dealt chiefly with their commerce, and spent little money or time on their domains. Chartier was a judge in Quebec, and also did very little. Deschamps lived on his pay as a military officer.

After referring to these facts, it must be added that the lands of these six or seven gentlemen were not without settlers by the end of the seventeenth century, but this happened on account of the particular facilities they offered to those willing to open up farms for themselves, as in the cases of LeMoine and Robineau. I do not speak here of the landlords whose lands never received

any censitaires until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The names of the Seigneurs who had the largest number of settlers on their land in 1681, and who had also the largest farms of their own, were as follows: Seminary of St. Sulpice and Repentigny, Boucher, Varennes, Contrecœur, St. Ours, Villerai, Giffard. Personally each of these had cleared from 80 to 150 arpents, thereby obtaining for seven or eight localities advantage over the fifty others which had been started. The settlers were at liberty to select the piece of ground they preferred, and the seigneur had to deliver them a title to it. As I have stated elsewhere, the seigneur was supposed to help the settler in other ways, but it was understood that his private means usually did not allow him to do so. The censitaires, seeing this, arranged amongst themselves the opening of roads, the erection of mills, etc., and for that purpose generally combined together the resources of seven or eight neighboring families in order to procure for their sons the same number of farming lots alongside of each other, thus enabling them all to work in community when required. Provided they paid the seigneur the three or four *sous* per arpent for their clearance all was right. It is sometimes asked why they were all censitaires or holders under feudal tenure, and not farmers renting the soil. This was due to the fact that a farmer gets the land in a state of cultivation from the landlord, and divides the profit with him, but no seigneur had yet gone so far as to clear a farm for himself, and consequently could not rent what he did not possess. The simple system of granting a portion of the forest with land underneath to the settler and saying to him "do as you please" suited the seigneurs best. I have observed that before 1673 all the settlers went to the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, and that after that date their sons migrated to the south shore and to River Chambly. This explains why the seigneuries of the south shore were so slow in their progress. Surely, if any landlord from Laprairie to Kamouraska had possessed the means of recruiting men in France, he would have brought them out to his domain instead of waiting for the coming of the people from the other side of the river.

The reader may wish to know the origin of the information embodied in this paper. It is an easy matter to indicate it. The following documents are to be found in public libraries and elsewhere: the Charter of the Hundred Partners, 1627; the grant of all the Seigneuries from 1627 to 1760; the Edicts and Ordinances regulating the Seigneurial Tenure; the notarial acts made between the landlords and the censitaries; the decisions of high and inferior Courts of Justice in regard to conflicting interests of the Seigneurial regime; the nominal census of the population from 1666 to 1750; the official statements called *aveux et dénombrement;* also *Foi et Hommages;* the cadastrale map of 1709; the bulky correspondence sent to the French Minister of the Colonies by the Governors-General and the Intendants. All these contain far more than we might expect on the subject of such a small community as French Canada was before 1760.

Anyone who has studied this abundance of documents must be surprised at the meagre information furnished by the writers of the seventeenth century concerning the whole of the Seigneurial system, or particular portions of it. It is evident that they paid little attention to what had remained practically a dead letter. Some, like La Hontan and LaPotherie, see nothing in the administration of New France but the fur trade, the Jesuit relations, Marie de l'Incarnation, and the Hospitalers of Quebec. Leclercq and Charlevoix do not go beyond the conversion of the Indians and the fur trade, and when they speak of the *habitants* it is without a word as to how they came here or their manner of settlement, apart from the clergy and the merchants. Charlevoix makes an exception in one case when he says plainly that for want of pecuniary means, neither the seigneurs nor the military officers were able to properly colonize the country. This was in 1720.

It has never been definitely ascertained who was the author of the peculiar division of land, so universally adopted in Lower Canada—that is to say the oblong square with its narrow frontage on the river. I believe it originated in the brain of Jean Bourdon, the first surveyor-general. He made the seigneuries six miles on the river, by six or ten miles deep, and the seigneurs following that method, divided each lot by two, three, or four

arpents at the front, with forty or eighty deep, thus causing the houses to be erected close to each other on the frontage, and leaving the public road between them and the river. It facilitated communication, especially during the winter, but rather favoured the Iroquois in their depredations. An attempt was made by the Intendant Talon, as early as 1670, to form villages after the practice of France, but the *habitants* did not accept his scheme, and the long, narrow farms spread from Quebec to Montreal on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. In 1720, sleighs or carts could travel the 180 miles of that distance through a sort of street lined all the way with houses, standing every half mile or so for the incidental comfort of the travellers.

By the time the population of Quebec, or French Canada, had increased to 18,000 souls, say at the death of Louis XIV, in 1715, a number of the original Seigneurs had already sold their rights to the sons of well-to-do *habitants*, and when we come nearer the period of the conquest many of these Seigneurs were of the *habitant* stock, the latter having acquired wealth by their industry and economy.

Let us make a recapitulation. The scheme conceived by Richelieu and the resurrection of the same by Louis XIV, might have created a colony of a milllon souls and more, had it not been given into the too uncontrolled hands of seigneurs and merchants. As a matter of fact, if we deduct the contingent of settlers, procured by Colbert and the King from 1663 to 1672, it is a question whether Canada was ever properly recognizable as an agricultural colony under the French regime. It was a fur trade concern first of all. Later, as we have seen, it did develop into a small farming community. The Seigneurial Tenure acts were introduced for its social organization and development by Richelieu and Louis XIV, but these written instruments, unsuited, as they were to our peculiar circumstances, proved an ultimate failure, and are to-day a legislative monument of good intentions without any practical value.

Charles Le Moyne, 2nd Baron de Longueuil.

THE ABOLITION OF THE SEIGNEURIAL TENURE

BY

THE HON. ALPHONSE DESJARDINS, ex-M.P.

THE following Resolutions were adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the United Canadas on the 26th of June, 1850, on motion of the Hon. L. H. (afterwards Sir Louis) Lafontaine :

"First. That Seigneurial Tenure in Lower Canada has become a matter of public interest which it is the duty of this Legislature to consider, and more so since the question has aroused public interest to a high degree: that consequently it is important that this Tenure should at the earliest possible date be converted into a free tenure, while protecting and regulating equitably all the interests concerned. Second. That the said commutation of tenure can take place only by granting an adequate indemnity to those who shall suffer loss of their just rights by its operation."

This marks the first decisive step taken by Parliament towards enacting legislation which finally effected a revolution in the civil institutions and economic condition of the Province of Quebec, and in fact pointed out the road which was followed in framing the Abolition Act of 1854. The question of Seigneurial Tenure has long since become a subject of purely historical interest to the people of Quebec, but for many years it was the principal issue in violent political contests. During a quarter of a century the question constantly came to the top as a subject of "irrepressible conflict" at the hustings and in the press, until Parliament itself could no longer ignore it. But even then there were many obstacles in the way of a speedy and satisfactory solution. As in every great political conflict, the men who were seriously desirous of achieving a reform which they recognized to be just and necessary had to contend against the prejudices and exorbitant expectations aroused amongst the masses by demagogues who cared for nothing but popularity. Then, again, the country was passing through a period of agitation and of general re-organization which demanded a great deal from the wisdom of legislators whose attention was continuously engrossed by various cares. The Rebellion of 1837-38 and the political changes which followed for several years made it impossible to think of taking up the question, while the state of excitement amongst the people and the hatred existing between the various factions would have prevented the acceptance of any statesmanlike measure of reform.

After the Union of 1841, the first care of the new Legislature was to define its own powers and to obtain the recognition of the rights and influence which it claimed as its just share of the Government. Then it had to settle that thorny question of the indemnity to the victims of the rebellion which threatened at one time to be the cause of a much more serious uprising than the one which had been the primary cause of the trouble. As it was, a riot occurred in the streets of Montreal, and the violence of the agitation only decreased gradually after the burning of the Parliament buildings in that city. But this latter event, with the consequent change in the capital and removal of the Departments, caused considerable delay in legislation. Nevertheless, amidst all these troubles of a political character, the country had developed rapidly, and this in turn created demands of a pressing nature. Important changes were made in the customs tariff, canals were opened to connect the great lakes with the navigable waters of the St. Lawrence, railways were encouraged, the interests of education, so long neglected, at last received attention, the judiciary was reformed and colonization was encouraged. But all this took up much of the time of Parliament.

Finally, while Lower Canada demanded the abolition of the Seigneurial Tenure, Upper Can-

ada was violently agitated over the question of the Clergy Reserves. Although there was no connection whatever between these two questions, each served to delay the settlement of the other, though each ultimately helped the other in obtaining a final solution. While the people of one Province were making every possible effort to find a solution of the problem which particularly interested them they for a long time paid no attention to the demands of the other Province for a reform which did not concern them directly. Thus it was that despite numerous petitions and a pronounced agitation, the Legislature did not take action on the question of the Seigneurial Tenure until the date above mentioned. After the adoption of the two resolutions quoted, however, it set to work earnestly. A Special Committee of the House was immediately appointed to study the ways and means of accomplishing the desired object. Although this Committee met without delay, it was not able to make its report until the following session of 1851.

The Report assumed the form of drafts of two bills. The first of these bills defined the respective rights of the seigneurs and of the *censitaires*, the other, which was the sequel of the first, authorized the redemption of the seigneurial obligations, and converted the Seigneurial Tenure into a free tenure. The Hon. L. T. Drummond submitted the two bills to the Legislature, with the approval of Mr. Lafontaine, the Government leader. But the latter considered that the principles and interests involved in this legislation were of so serious a nature that, despite his desire to put an end to the agitation, he refused to press the adoption of the bills, so as to give time for more mature consideration of every detail. Such was the degree of impatience which public opinion had reached, however, that Mr. Lafontaine's own friends blamed him for the new delay, and refused to accept the explanations of one who had up to then been their trusted leader. The premature retirement of Mr. Lafontaine from public life which followed has been ascribed in fact to this difference of opinion between himself and his followers.

However that may be, at the Session of 1853 Mr. Drummond again submitted his bills to the Legislative Assembly. The time for the supreme struggle had arrived. The debate was long and heated. The Seigneurs were given the privilege of pleading their case at the bar of the House, and Mr. Dunkin, one of the foremost advocates of the time, appeared for them. But all his eloquence was wasted upon the majority of the Members of the House, who passed the bills, although with a difference of opinion on certain matters of detail. Yet the fight was not over. The members of the Legislative Council refused by a large majority to approve the bills, under the pretense that they were not sufficiently informed as to the consequences which might result. As the Council had previously been charged with being systematically opposed to everything which favoured the people of Lower Canada, it became immediately after this last vote the object of violent attacks. The agitation which had been going on for some time to secure the election of the Councillors by the people became general, and was finally successful. A measure making the Council elective was presented by the Hon. J. E. Cauchon in

The Hon. J. E. Cauchon.

1855, passed in 1856, and remained in force until Confederation.

When the Legislature met again in 1854 an agreement was reached between the representatives of Upper and Lower Canada which assured the settlement of the two burning questions which had so long agitated the two Provinces. The Hon. John A. Macdonald, then Attorney-General for Upper Canada, presented the measure abolishing the Clergy Reserves, and the Hon. Mr. Drummond, Attorney-General for Lower Canada, again submitted the Bill abolishing Seigneurial Tenure. With the exception of a few unimportant changes, it was identical with the Bill passed at the previous session and thrown out by the Council. But this time the Councillors resolved to pursue a policy of conciliation, and they were satisfied with making several amendments to the Bill. These were accepted by the Assembly, and, in fact, really improved the measure. The preamble of the Act as adopted read as follows:

"Whereas it is expedient to abolish all feudal rights and dues in Lower Canada, whether bearing on the *censitaire* or the seigneur, and to provide for compensation to the latter for all profitable rights to which he is at present legally entitled and of which he shall be deprived by said abolition; and whereas in consideration of the great advantages which must be derived by the Province from the abolition of the said feudal rights and dues and the substitution of a free tenure to that under which the properties subject thereto have heretofore been held, it is expedient to assist the *censitaire* to redeem the said obligations, more particularly as to those which, while they bear heavily on industry and the spirit of enterprise, cannot, owing to their nature, be rendered redeemable otherwise, without oppression and injustice in many cases; therefore be it enacted, etc."

The work of reform, however, did not end with the enactment of this measure. After having decreed that the Seigneurial Tenure was abolished, there yet remained the very complicated task of ascertaining what were the rights which it had been intended to suppress and to distinguish them from certain practices profitable to the seigneur, but which had been introduced without the sanction of law and which really constituted the abuses which had brought about the suppression of the whole system. The abuses were to be summarily suppressed without compensation, while an indemnity had to be given for legitimate rights. To carry out this investigation and to decide the cases, Parliament created a special court comprising the judges of the Court of Appeal and of the Superior Court, all of whom ranked high in public esteem. Among them were Sir Louis Hypolite Lafontaine, who presided, and Judges Bowen, Aylwin, Duval, Caron, Day, Smith, Vanfelson, Mondelet, Meredith, Short, Morin and Badgley. The names of these men were sufficient to insure the highest authority to the new tribunal. As soon as they were announced the people felt that justice would be rendered, and the efforts of a small band of demagogues to continue the agitation were from that moment fruitless.

The Seigneurial Court met for the first time on the 4th of September, 1855, and it rendered its judgment in the month of May following. The remarks of Sir Louis Lafontaine and the arguments of the lawyers who appeared before the Court are interesting and important. One of the latter, Mr. Angers, speaking of the system of Seigneurial Tenure, declared that: "While this regime, which was far more oppressive and tyrannical in France than it ever was in this country, disappeared in our old motherland only after a great political and social upheaval; here, modified, softened, and shorn of the odium of *antique servage*, it has been easily and peacefully abolished by legislation and the Courts."

It may truly be said that the feudal regimé was introduced in Canada by the first groups of settlers who came from France. The commission of the Sieur de la Roche, Lieutenant-General and Governor "es pays du Canada, Hochelaga, Terres-Neuves, Labrador, Rivière de la Grande Baie," etc., dated January, 1598, gave him power to concede lands and to create Seigneuries, etc. The second concession is dated the 27th of February, 1626, and is that made to Louis Hebert, who has been known as the first Canadian farmer. The patent was issued by the Duc de Ventadour, then Viceroy of New France, and authorized him to possess his domain *en fief noble* for himself and his heirs. But the first introduction of the Seigneurial system on a large scale came through the creation of the Compagnie des Cent Associés. The charter of the Company was prepared by

Richelieu, and when the domain thus conceded reverted to the Crown in 1663 the regime was continued by Louis XIV. Indeed, the territorial and social conditions created by the system were closely akin to those existing in old France; but the circumstances were such that its object and character became very different. Here, the lands conceded had not been conquered from an agricultural people, and the grants were not made to repay services rendered. The land then covered with forests was given as compensation for charges imposed on those receiving them, and

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foremost amongst these obligations was that of clearing and colonizing the conceded territory. The feudal system was adopted, not because there was a desire to create privileges, but because it was considered the best means of promoting settlement. It gave to each group of intending settlers a leader, who became interested in attracting others by offering the most favourable conditions. To distinguish the difference in the object pursued it is sufficient to note the obligations imposed on the Canadian seigneurs as compared with the privileges which the old French nobility enjoyed.

The seigneur was a vassal of the King from whom he had received his free grant, and to whom he owed fealty. He was bound to clear his lands within a stated time. He could not sell without having fulfilled his obligations; but he was bound to rent his land for a very small sum, and the *censitaire* was in turn obliged to carry out the conditions of settlement. For the benefit of the settlers the seigneur had to erect a mill, but he was conceded the right of *banalité* in return. The sort of tax imposed on transfers of property was intended to retain the settler on his farm rather than for the benefit of the seigneur. If the transfer was in direct line there was no tax. In this respect the seigneur himself was subject to a much heavier burden, since in case of sale one-fifth of his land reverted to the Crown. In many cases these regulations had the desired effect. Pecuniary reason being in accord with the natural family pride, the descendants retained the property which had belonged to their forefathers. Many farms in the Province are still in the hands of men who pride themselves upon being the lineal descendants of the first occupants of the grant.

But with changing conditions the Seigneurial dues became an increasing burden. They came to be considered as a tax upon improvements; and that was the principal reason for the abolition of the whole system, since the burden tended to paralyse the enterprise of the owners of lands. Can it be said, withal, that the feudal regime, as introduced in Canada, was so radically bad as one might be led to believe by the violence of the attacks directed against it during the years which preceded its abolition? The best authorities agree that it was not. Sir Louis H. Lafontaine sums up the opinion of many historians when he says: "The feudal regime introduced in Canada by the Kings of France, and modified afterwards by special law to adapt it to the conditions of a country newly acquired by the Crown—a country covered with boundless forests, inhabited only by savage tribes—has been considered by impartial writers as well fitted to promote settlement at the beginning. Indeed, under the conditions which prevailed when New France was founded it could

not be expected that the majority of settlers, who sooner or later were to become the owners of the soil, could bring with them any other means than their energy and their labour as contribution in the work of creating a new nation."

"Transferred to the new colony, the feudal *régime*," says M. Le Tourneux, "lost while crossing the sea all the evil characteristics which it possessed in France. It lost its spirit of domination and oppression. It was no longer harsh and cruel, but mild and easy, protective and specially adapted to the clearing and cultivation of the land." "We shall only observe," says M. Rameau, "that this institution was the only one through which individual initiative could make up for Royal inactivity; and to it is due a large share of the small amount of good accomplished in the country. If at the same time a healthy municipal system had been established, if freedom of trade had been given and if the settlers had been taught to follow the practice of Americans, who, wherever they go, have the useful habit of meeting together to discuss their common interests, it is probable that despite the scant assistance of the mother-country, the difference between the two colonies would have been far less noticeable."

M. Sulte has also quoted a fact upon one occasion which proves that in 1830 the Seigneurial system was still so popular that the British settlers who opened the Eastern Townships asked to be put under that regime. As to the Seigneurs this is how that talented though generally antagonistic writer expresses his views: "The whole of the Seigneur's life was taken up by the most humble occupations—and some have had the wit to compare them to the courtiers of Versailles! On the contrary we look upon them as pioneers, workers, patriots. The history of the seventeenth century is filled with the deeds of these devoted men; they clear the forest, they create permanent settlements, and, in a word, do everything that the King never could accomplish and that the chartered companies should have done, as they were bound to do."

Such was the part played by the Canadian Seigneur under the French regime and such it continued to be under English rule until the time came for the abolition of a feudal system called for by changing economical conditions and the contrast between the old and the new institutions which had been created. The French Canadians asked for the change, but they have never ceased to respect and to esteem the representatives of the old Seigneurial families. Many of the descendants of those families, who imitated the public spirit of their forefathers, have been elected by the people to the highest offices in the land. The names of De Boucherville, Masson, Joly de Lotbiniere, Harwood, De la Terriére, Tessier and many others, suggest fit proof of this assertion. There could be no better conclusion to this sketch than the following words of Sir L. H. Lafontaine:

"While I am one of those who, appreciating history with impartiality, believe that Seigneurial Tenure, until a comparatively recent date, has given the results that were expected of it, I am also one of those, who, viewing calmly the changes which have taken place since in the circumstances, the needs and the opinions of the Canadian people, have arrived at the conclusion that the laws which regulated this tenure and the consequent relations between seigneurs and *censitaires* have ceased to be in accord with the ideas of the community."

THE SEIGNEURIAL TENURE IN QUEBEC—EDITOR'S NOTES.

French Landed Tenures before 1837. A valuable description of the Seigneurial system and its operation in the first quarter of the century is contained in a somewhat rare work—Martin's History of the Colonies—published in London in 1843. The following may be quoted here:

"When the country was first settled by the French, the feudal tenure was in full vigour on the continent of Europe, and naturally transplanted by the colonizers to the New World. The King of France, as feudal lord, granted to nobles and respectable families, or to officers of the army, large tracts of land, termed seigneuries, the proprietors of which are termed Seigneurs. These possessions are held immediately from the King, *en fief*, or *en roture*, on condition of the proprietor rendering fealty and homage on accession to the seigneurial property; and in the event of a transfer by sale, or gift, or otherwise (except in hereditary succession), the seigneury was subject to the payment of a *quint*, or fifth part of the whole purchase money—which, if paid by the purchaser immediately, entitled him to the *rabat* or a reduction of two-thirds of the *quint*. This custom still prevails; the Kings of Great Britain having succeeded to the claims of the King of France.

Estimating the number of acres of land under culture in Lower Canada at 4,000,000 and the seigneurial grants of good and bad land at 10,000,000 acres, it will be perceived that a large portion of territory is embraced under the seigneuries. On this account it will be necessary to give some explanation of the different terms used in relation to this property. *Quints* are a fifth part of the purchase money of an estate held *en fief*, which must be paid by the purchaser to the feudal lord, that is, the King. If the feudal lord believes the *fief* to be sold under value, he can take the estate to himself, by paying the purchaser the price he gave for it, together with all reasonable expenses. *Reliefe* is the rent or revenue of one year for mutation fine, when an estate is inherited only by collateral descent. *Lods et ventes* are fines of alienation of one-twelfth part of the purchase money, paid to the Seigneur by the purchaser on the transfer of property, in the same manner as *quints* are paid to the King on the mutation of *fief*; and are held *en roture*, which is an estate to which heirs succeed equally. *Franc alue noble* is a *fief*, or freehold estate, held subject to no seigneurial rights or duties, and acknowledging no lord but the King. The succession to *fiefs* is different from that of property held *en roture* or by *villenage*. The eldest son, by right, takes the chateau and the yard adjoining it, also an arpent of the garden adjoining the manor-house, and the mills, ovens, or presses within the seigneury belonging to him; but the profit arising from these is to be divided amongst the other heirs. Females have no precedence of right, and when there are only daughters, the *fief* is equally divided among them. When there are only two sons, the eldest takes two-thirds of the lands, besides the chateau, mill, etc., and the younger one-third. When there are several sons the elder claims half the lands, and the rest have the other half divided among them. *Censive* is an estate held in the feudal manner subject to the seigneurial fines or dues.

All the Canadian *habitants*, small farmers, are *censitaires*. Property, according to the laws of Canada, is either *propre*, that is, held by descent, or *acquits*, which expresses being acquired by industry or other means. *Communite du bien* is partnership in property by marriage; for the wife, by this law, becomes an equal partner in whatever the husband possessed before, and acquires after marriage, and the husband is placed in the same position in respect to the wife's dowry. This law might operate as well as most general laws do if both husband and wife died on the same day; but very unhappy consequences have arisen when one has predeceased the other. For instance, when the wife dies before the husband, the children may claim half of the father's property, as heirs to the mother; and the mother's relations have often persuaded, and sometimes compelled them so to do. It has been justly observed, that it would have been almost impossible to have formed a law more fruitful of family discord, or more destructive of that affection which ought to subsist between parents and children. So fully

sensible, in fact, are the most simple *habitants* of the unhappy operation of this law, that scarcely any of them marry without an ante-nuptial contract, which bars the *communite du bien*.

The *dot*, or dowry, is the property which the wife puts into the *communite du bien;* movable or immovable property, falling to her by descent, is a *propre*, and does not merge in the *communite*. Dower in Canada is either customary or stipulate. The first consists of half the property which the husband was possessed of at the time of marriage, and half of all the property which he may inherit or acquire; of this the wife has the use for life, and the children may claim it at her death. If they be not of age, the wife's relations, as guardians of the children, can take it out of the father's hands, and may compel him to sell his property and make a division. Stipulated dower is a portion which the husband gives instead of the customary dower. Those farmers who hold land from the Seigneur *en roture* and who may be termed *tenanciers* or *censitaires*, are subject to certain conditions, viz.: a small annual rent, from 2s. 6d. to 5s. (or perhaps more of late years) for each arpent in front; to this are added some articles of provision annually, such as a pig or goose, or a few fowls, or a bushel of wheat, according to the means of the farmer who is also bound to grind his corn at the *moulin banal*, or the Seigneur's mill, when one-fourteenth is taken for the lord's use, as *mouture*, or payment for grinding. The *lods et ventes* forms another part of the Seigneur's revenue. It consists of a right to one-twelfth part of the purchase money of every estate within the seigneury that changes its owner by sale, or other means equivalent to sale, this twelfth to be paid by the purchaser, and is exclusive of the sum agreed on between the latter and the seller, and if promptly paid, a reduction of one-fourth is usually made, in the same manner as two-thirds of the *quints* due to the Crown are deducted on prompt payment. On such an occasion, a privilege remains with the Seigneur, but is seldom exercised, called the *droit de retrait*, which confers the right of pre-emption at the highest price offered, within forty days after the sale has taken place.

All the fisheries within seigneuries contribute also to the lord's income, as he receives a share of the fish caught, or an equivalent in money; the Seigneur is privileged to fell timber anywhere within his seigneury, for the purpose of erecting mills, constructing new or repairing old roads, or for other work of public and general utility. In addition to the foregoing burdens on the farmer, he is, if a Roman Catholic, bound to pay to his curate one twenty-sixth part of all grain produced, and to have occasional assessments levied on him for building and repairing churches, parsonages, houses, etc. The duties of the Seigneur to his tenants are also strictly defined. He is bound in some instances to open roads to the remote parts of his *fief*, and to provide mills for the grinding of the feudal tenant's corn; he cannot dispose by sale of forest lands, but he is bound to concede them; and upon his refusal to do so, the applicant may obtain from the Crown the concession he requires, under the usual seigneurial stipulations, in which case the rents and dues appertain to the King." The position and extent of the Seigneurial grants were given by Mr. Montgomery Martin (1835) as follows:

Territorial Divisions.	No. of Seigneuries.	Extent of Seigneurial Grants.		Almost unfit for cultivation in the Seigneuries and *Fiefs*.
		Arpents.	Acres.	
Quebec, including Anticosti and other Isles	79	5,639,319	5,656,699	2,600,000
Montreal and Islands	63	3,269,966	2,786,011	500,000
Three Rivers & St. Francis.	25	1,220,308	1,039,707	400,000
Gaspé and Isles	1	1,547,086	1,318,117	600,000
Total	168	11,676,679	10,800,534	4,100,000

The Hon. Louis Thomas Drummond, Q.C., was born in Coleraine, Ireland, in 1813. He came to Canada in 1825 and entered upon a collegiate course at St. Nicolet College. Having graduated, he entered a Law office in Montreal in 1832 and was called to the Bar in 1836. He rose at once to a prominent position in his profession through being retained to defend the participants in the Rebellion of 1837-8. In this difficult position he showed distinguished ability. Having turned his attention to politics he was first returned to Parliament as the Liberal member for Portneuf in 1844. He sat for Shefford from 1847 to 1858, during which time he was in the Ministry as Solicitor-General for Lower Canada from 1848 to 1851, and as At-

torney-General from 1851 to 1856. He was also Attorney-General from the 2nd till the 6th of August, 1858. He represented Lotbinière in Parliament from 1858 to 1861, and Rouville from 1861 to 1863, when he was defeated at the general elections and retired from political life upon being elevated to the Bench in 1864 as Puisne Judge of the Court of Queen's Bench. He resigned his Judicial duties in 1873 owing to an illness which culminated in his death in 1882 in Montreal. The prominent part which he took in connection with the Seigneurial Tenure question is a well-known page of Canadian history.

Nature and Operation of the System. Dr. William Kingsford has written the following authoritative description of the nature and operation of the Seigneurial Tenure system—Volume VII., page 300, of his History of Canada:

"The question of land tenure came before the Council in 1790, a Committee having been named to report upon the comparative advantage of the Seigneurial Tenure as established by French law and that of the British tenure of free and common soccage.* The Committee reported that the settlement of the Province had made slow progress and was confined to the lands of the St. Lawrence and its principal tributary rivers, and that, generally, the land a short distance from the main river remained uncultivated and in the condition of the original forest. This backward condition was attributed to the ancient tenure, the continuance of which must retard all improvement; and the introduction of the British tenure of free and common soccage was advocated as essential to the increase, prosperity and security of the country. It was contended that the change would be beneficial to the Seigneurs themselves, for settlement would then be accelerated and the land in their possession would generally rise in value.

The conclusion of the Report was to the effect that a measure of this character could be enacted only by Royal consent; and as an absolute and universal change, although eventually leading to satisfactory results would be a matter of doubtful policy, a permissive Act, which should accord the new tenure to those desiring it, would be more advantageous. Consequent upon these proceedings, an ordinance in accordance with this recommendation was introduced into the Council. It was immediately met by a protest on the part of several of the Seigneurs, as threatening the fundamental principle on which their property was held, with the further objection that it would likewise be prejudicial to the labouring population. Amid this general opposition, one Seigneur only, M. Charles de Lanaudière, advocated the measure. The majority contended that it would not merely alter the tenure of land, but would affect the entire law of property and succession. M. de Lanaudiere wrote, in no measured language, of the depressing influence of the French system. He was the fourth possessor in succession of thirty-five square leagues, thinly settled. The Province, he argued, was in its infancy and required population. Was it to be hoped that foreign immigrants would accept a system which they had been taught to detest at home? For his part, he desired that the Government would resume the possession of his seigneury and re-grant it to him on the tenure of free and common soccage.

No further steps were taken, but the proceeding is worthy of notice, as being the first measure proposed for the abolition of the Seigneurial Tenure, which was only effected in 1854. The Tenure was introduced with the design of creating a population kept in check by the controlling influence of a superior class. It has been argued that it led to a more equal division of land, in itself conducive to the general happiness, by the establishment of a well-ordered agricultural community; and that to no small extent we may trace to the system the good manners and invariable politeness which distinguish the inhabitants of the Quebec parishes. On the other hand, it has been asserted that not only the *censitaire* was bound and fettered, but the whole community was enclosed within 'hinged doors from earth to heaven,' that improvement was paralyzed and the operations of the capitalist fettered so that manufactures and advance in the economy of life were made almost impossible.

The Seigneur himself was bound to concede land when called upon, and was without power to

*Service to the State (fealty and obedience) or the payment of a small and nominal rental.

alienate validly by sale any part of the seigneury, cultivated or uncultivated. The party to whom a concession was made agreed to pay a rent charge, known as '*cens et rentes*,' owing to which he was called the *censitaire*. Ordinarily, it consisted of an annual payment of about two sols (sous) the arpent;* being limited by no law—legally this amount became a matter of contract. Even during French rule the Seigneurs frequently inserted conditions in the deed of concession in excess of the rights possessed by them. Many exacted exorbitant *cens et rentes;* in some cases there was a refusal to concede; in others a premium was demanded for the grant. The irregularities in this respect led to the intervention of the French Government, which by an Edict in 1711, enforced, when applied for, the grant of land on condition of payment of ground rent. This provision was confirmed in 1732. It was also provided, that seigneuries, after two years' possession, might be confiscated if proper steps to assure settlement had not been taken. The Edict likewise forbade the Seigneurs to increase the ground rents, and prohibited their selling the land, under penalty of the contract being declared null and void.

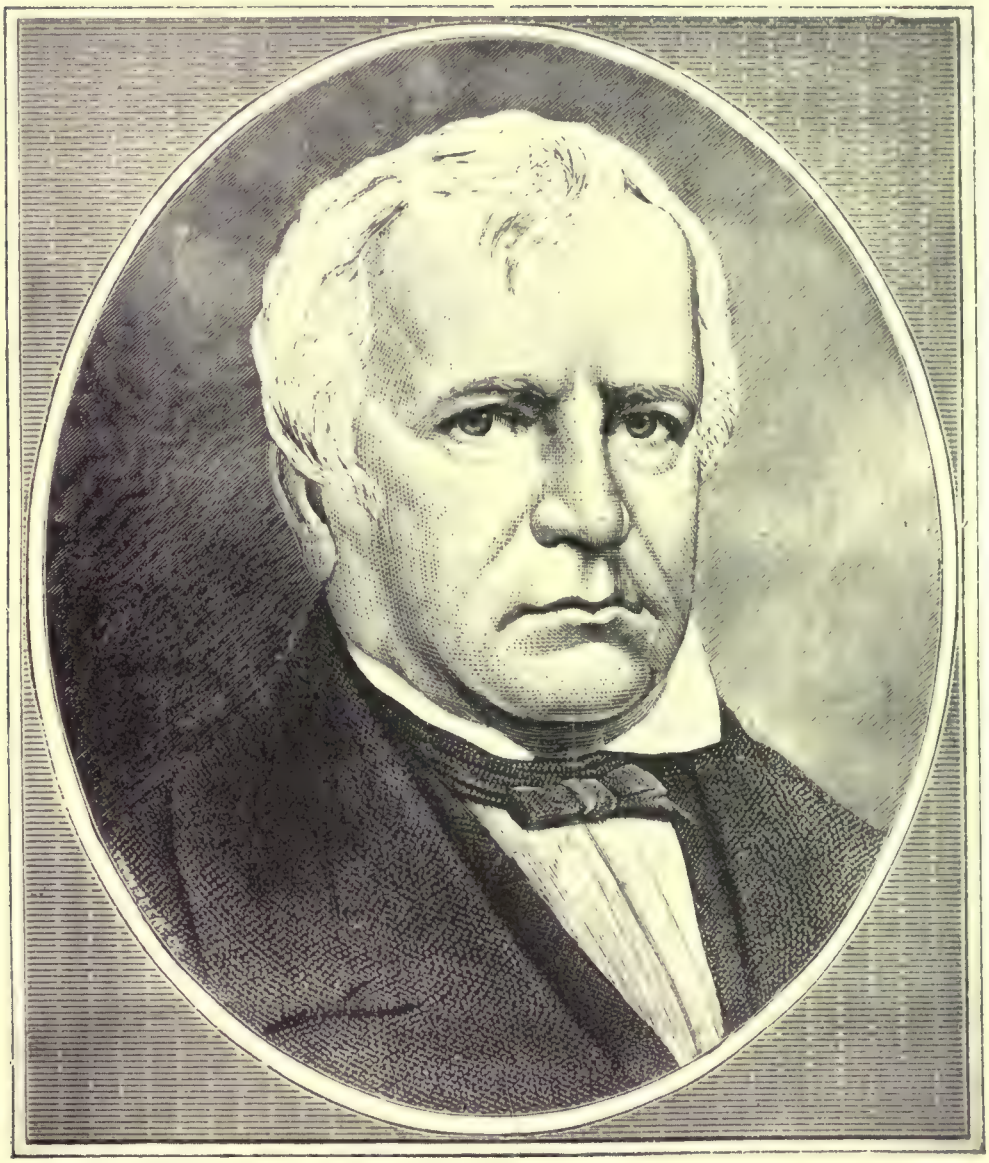
The charge which weighed most heavily on the *censitaire* and impeded the progress of the country was the *lods et ventes*. The system operated most injuriously in the cities and larger villages, in the latter often preventing the sale of property and stopping all improvements; and the *droit de retrait* was an impediment to a proprietor's selling his property at a lower price to a relative or to anyone he desired to serve. The Seigneur possessed the right of the banal mill, at which alone all the grain grown on the seigneury might be ground; he receiving as his perquisite one-fourteenth part of the grain sent to the mill.

The Seigneur, on his part, was bound by certain obligations to the Crown; he had to render *foy et homage* and to pay the *quint*, the fifth part of the price on any mutation of title. He never possessed any of the ancient feudal rights as they had existed in France. The system had mainly in view the creation of a class of obedient, well-ordered Colonists, on the principle that the Seigneur did not hold the land for himself, but, consistently with the public welfare, as the trustee for those who were willing to work it. It had indeed grown out of the circumstances by which the country had been placed. In 1627, the Company of the Hundred Associates was formed under Richelieu's guidance; in 1663 the Company abandoned its rights. In 1664, Louis XIV. established the Company des Indes Occidentales. In 1674 this Company remitted its charter to the King.

It would appear by the seigneurial title deeds extant that until 1672 the grant to the Seigneurs was made by the Intendant on the authority of the Companies. We read in the conditions that the reservation of the mines, ores and minerals is made in favour of the King, or the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales. The last of these grants are dated in October and November, 1672; they bear the signature of Talon, whose efforts to develop the fortunes of Canada were so able and constant. After this time, the grant was made by the Governor-General, direct from the Crown, and the reservation is made in favour of the King only, without allusion to the Company. De Frontenac at this period held the office of Governor-General, and there is a grant from him of this character on the 5th of August, 1672. The rule was followed until 1674, and was continued until the conquest, the Seigneur deriving his right directly from the Crown, through the Governor-General.

The abuses which had arisen under French rule continued after the conquest. The possession of a seigneury had become to some extent a matter of commercial speculation; high rents, with onerous conditions, were often exacted; reserves were made on the part of the Seigneur of the timber on the land fit for building purposes; the stone quarries were held to be his property, for his own or for the public use; many Seigneurs claimed a right over the river shore, and a portion of the catch of fish; pretensions were likewise advanced to the exclusive use of the unnavigable streams running through the property, on the ground that the Seigneur alone possessed the right of constructing mills and carrying on manufactories. One effect of the *lods et ventes* was that if a *habitant* made any improvement on his lot and after his death the family disposed of the

* Five-sixths of an English acre.



THE HON. SIR LOUIS HYPOLITE LAFONTAINE, BART.

property, they had to pay the Seigneur one-twelfth of the additional value caused by these improvements.

In 1845 an Act was passed permitting commutation when demanded, but it failed to have any effect. It was only by the Act of 1854 that the Tenure was abolished. This Act released the land from the charges with which it was burdened, while respect was paid to the rights of the Seigneur. The *habitant* was freed from all charge upon his land, except the small annual rent which, as the right of redemption was given, obtained the character of a light, privileged mortgage. The Seigneur received payment for all his other lucrative rights recognized by law, and the unconceded land became his property, to be held under the French law in *franc aleu roturier*.

Thus it was not until sixty-four years after the first attempt to remedy the defects in the Seigneurial Tenure, that the system was abolished. The course followed by Parliament on that occasion furnishes one of the most pleasing chapters in Canadian history. This legislation effected a peaceful revolution in a portion of the agricultural population, and its influence and tendency, even now, are but imperfectly developed.

Commissioners were appointed to make *cadastres* of the several seigneuries, but before any direct step was taken a tribunal was constituted of the Judges of the Court of Appeal and Judges of the Supreme Court, to determine what were the undisputed rights of the Seigneurs and what obligations the *censitares* were called upon to redeem. Judgment was rendered in May, 1856. The Seigneurs were declared bound to concede lands to *censitaires* when applied for, and to have had no power to alienate by sale the uncultivated land; no law had established the rate of the *cens et rentes*, which was, therefore, a matter of contract; and such *corvees* and *servitudes* as had been agreed upon as a part of the duty of the *censitaire* were recognized.

The *censitaires* were declared the owners of the unnavigable streams running through their properties—an important decision in view of the claim of the Seigneurs that they alone had the right of erecting mills and of establishing manufactories. The legality of the *lods et ventes* was beyond dispute. The Legislature undertook to indemnify the Seigneur in money for the rights declared to have been his. The cost was made a national charge; an amount approximately equal was granted to the Upper Canada municipalities, and a proportionate grant was likewise made to the townships in Lower Canada, where the Seigneural Tenure had never been introduced. The total charge to the Province of the measure was about ten million dollars. The Seigneur was thus indemnified for the *lods et ventes*, the *banalite* and all other lawful charges imposed upon the *censitaire*, excepting the *cens et rentes*, which were left as they were. The amount of the *cens et rentes* on each separate lot in a seigneury was fixed in the cadastre and made a privileged charge, redeemable by payment of the sum the interest of which at six per cent. would equal the annual rent recorded. The Seigneur received interest at the rate of six per cent. on the estimated value of his rights until paid, the estimated value of the rights of the Crown being first deducted. The unconceded lands were granted to him in *franc aleu roturier*."

HISTORY OF THE CLERGY RESERVES

BY

THE VEN. ALEXANDER DIXON, B.A., D.C.L., Archdeacon of Niagara.

THE controversies concerning the disposition of the lands in Upper Canada, which have been called the Clergy Reserves, were conducted for nearly half a century with much zeal and ability, characterized, however, by an intense bitterness of party spirit. But whatever may have been thought or said in defence, or in condemnation, of the principle of religious endowments, there can be no doubt that King, Lords, and Commons deemed it a just and righteous act under the circumstances Upper Canada was placed in at that time, to give permanence to the Protestant Church, and provide for its maintenance, extension, and support.

After the cession of Canada the greatest respect was shown by the victors to public and private property, and this was extended to the Roman Catholic religious institutions and their widespread ecclesiastical possessions. In the articles of the Capitulation of Quebec, signed on Sept. 20th, 1759, by General Townsend and the French commanding officer, De Ramezay, it was expressly declared in Clause 6 "That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion shall be preserved, that safe-guards shall be given to the houses of the clergy, to the monasteries, and to the convents, and especially to His Lordship the Bishop of Quebec to exercise all the functions of his episcopal authority," etc.

The Capitulation of Montreal took place on the 8th of September, 1760, and the Articles were signed by General Amherst. Still further privileges were accorded and rights to property secured to various communities. A claim binding the British Government to collect the tithes for the Church was struck out, and so also was one giving the nomination of bishops to the French sovereign. With these slight exceptions the Roman Catholic Church succeeded in retaining all the rights and privileges granted to it by the French Kings. And all the guarantees primarily secured by the articles of capitulation were solemnly confirmed by an Act of the British Parliament called the "Quebec Act," which was passed in 1774 (14 Geo. 3rd c. 83) in order to make more effectual provisions for the government of the Province of Quebec. The great privileges given to the Roman Catholic Church in that Province, amounting in fact to its establishment by the terms of capitulation, were vigourously condemned by the New England and other American Colonists. Their protests, however, do not appear to have attracted much public attention in England, though to them may be ascribed the insertion of an important clause in the Quebec Act. Clause 5 declares that "His Majesty's subjects, professing the religion of the Church of Rome, may have, hold, and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons only as shall profess the said religion." Then follows the wholly new Clause, No. 6, just alluded to. "It shall be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs or successors, to make such provision out of the said accustomed dues and rights for the encouragement of the Protestant religion, and for the maintenance and support of a Protestant Clergy within the said Province, as he or they shall, from time to time, consider necessary and expedient.

This Act, however, though it excited some interest among leading members of the English Church, was passed just at the time when the American colonists were preparing to revolt from British authority and declare their independence of the parent state. The war commenced in July, 1775, and the attempt to conquer Canada was one of the first acts of the insurgents. In this, however, they signally failed. The unhappy struggle with the Mother Country continued until 1782, when the independence of the thirteen United States was acknowledged by Great Bri-

tain. During these trying years the public mind of England was so fully engrossed with the details of the fierce struggles which were proceeding not only in America, but with France and Spain, that there was no time to consider the ecclesiastical condition of Quebec. At the close, however, of the war a great number of the Americans who through the struggle had remained faithful to the flag of their ancestors, now that they were beaten determined to abandon their homes, to give up all the comforts of life they had accumulated around them, their beautiful farms and gardens, and go forth through manifold perils to seek new homes in a new land where they could enjoy freedom and protection under the flag they loved.

Accompanying these refugees were several clergymen, who afterwards rose to distinguished positions in the English Church. Officers and disbanded soldiers swelled their number, and emigrants from Great Britain began to arrive—200 acres being allotted on very easy terms to *bona-fide* settlers who wished to make homes for themselves and families. The majority of these new settlers were well educated, generally Protestants, and fully sensible of their rights and privileges as British subjects. They wanted absolute free-hold tenure of their property, wholly untrammelled by seigneurial or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and protested against the "Custom of Paris," being the law of Canada. Great dissatisfaction sprang up, and complaints were made that they were treated with harsh injustice and denied the rights of British subjects. The English Government at once sought to remedy the bad feelings growing out of differences of race, creed and language. Committees were appointed to consider the alleged grievances and suggest the best means for their removal. As the result of these enquiries the Parliament of Great Britain introduced a bill giving Canada a new constitution, based on the division of Quebec into two Provinces, Upper and Lower Canada—the dividing line being the Ottawa River.

The main object of the new constitution, as explained by the great statesman, William Pitt, when introducing the Bill, was to "put an end to the rivalry between the two races, the disputes and uncertainties respecting law and other matters, which it was hoped would exist no longer." In view of the privileges secured to the Roman Catholic Church by the Quebec Act it was also suggested to the British conscience that something by way of compensation should be given the Protestants for the establishment and support of religion among the devoted United Empire Loyalists and other English-speaking settlers in Upper Canada, of whom a large proportion were at that time members of the English Church. It was comparatively a wilderness, the inhabitants in poor circumstances, and no private or public right or privilege could there be interfered with by such grants. In accordance with this feeling clauses were inserted in the Act which gave force and definiteness to Clause 6 of the Quebec Act.

In "The Constitutional Act" 31 George 3rd, 1791, Clause 36, we find the following: "And whereas His Majesty has been graciously pleased by message to both Houses of Parliament to express his Royal desire to be enabled to make a permanent appropriation of lands in the said Province for the support and maintenance of a Protestant Clergy within the same in proportion to such lands as have been already granted within the same by His Majesty. And whereas His Majesty has been graciously pleased by his said message further to signify his Royal desire that such provision may be made with respect to all future grants of land within the said Provinces respectively as may best conduce to the due and sufficient support and maintenance of the Protestant Clergy within the said Provinces; therefore for the purpose of more effectually fulfilling His Majesty's gracious intentions be it enacted, etc."

The lands so appropriated were to be as nearly as could be estimated at the time of making the grant equal in value to the seventh part of the lands granted to the Loyalists. Clause 37 adds: "And be it further enacted, That all and every the rents, profits or emoluments which may at any time arise from such lands so allotted and appropriated as aforesaid, shall be applicable solely to the maintenance and support of a Protestant Clergy within the Province in which the same shall be situated, and to no other use or purpose whatever." Clause 38 refers to the appropriation of portions of these lands to the

erection of Rectories. "It is and may be lawful for His Majesty, his heirs or successors, to construct or erect within every Township or Parish one or more parsonage or rectory, or parsonages or rectories according to the establishment of, and from time to time by an instrument under the great seal of such Province, to endow every such parsonage or rectory with so much or such a part of the lands within such township or parish which shall have been granted subsequent to the commencement of this Act, as such Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall with the advice of such Executive Council deem to be expedient."

The Ven. Archdeacon Dixon.

At the period when these Acts were passed, there was no doubt that the terms Protestant Church and Protestant Clergy referred exclusively to the Church of England and her clergy. At the close of the American Revolution the same word was adopted by the branch of the English Church in the States, to which was added the word "Episcopal." It is a term, however, not used in Church of England formularies, save in the Coronation service. It was questioned for the first time in 1818, when it was affirmed that the Church of Scotland being established in parts of the Empire, the term Protestant Clergy should include the members of that communion. This was zealously asserted and as zealously denied. The question was referred to the Home Government and the Ministry submitted it to the Law Officers of the Crown, who gave their opinion on 15th November, 1819, that the Scotch Church had a claim for a share of the rents and profits, but no claim for parochial endowments; while other religious bodies had no claim whatever. This decision led to much bitter controversy, and Earl Bathurst, Colonial Secretary, announced in July, 1825, that His Majesty's Government could not depart from the natural and constitutional constructions of the Act of 1791. He also urged the Lieutenant-Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, to constitute such Rectories as were required, and to appropriate portions of the Clergy Reserve lands for support of the same. On November 21, 1825, the Executive Council reported in favour of the establishment of the Rectories. Two years before, the Legislature of Upper Canada, to allay doubts that had arisen, passed an Act declaring that tithes could not be claimed or received by any Rector or Vicar of the Protestant Church. The Report of Council on the Rectories was laid before the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, but as party spirit ran very high he deemed it unadvisable at that time to assume the responsibility, and at the close of 1828 he was transferred to Nova Scotia as Lieutenant-Governor.

Nothing of importance with respect to the proposed Rectories took place until the year 1836, though it appears that Lord Goderich, Colonial Secretary, had pressed the question on Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne four years previously. The following is an extract from the minute of Council adopted on 15th January, 1836: "Pursuant to the views of Lord Goderich that a moderate portion of land should be assigned to each Township or Parish for ensuring the future comfort if not the complete maintenance of the Rectories; it is respectfully recommended that no time be lost in authorizing the Attorney-General to secure to the incumbents named in schedules, and their successors, the lots of land

there enumerated as having been respectively set apart for Glebes." In accordance with this Minute about 400 acres were assigned to each of the parishes thus set apart as the so-called fifty-seven Rectories. It happened, however, that the endowment was only completed in forty-four cases, so that thirteen were excluded from the intended benefit. Sir John Colborne was virulently attacked, but very unjustly, as he was merely carrying out the orders of the Imperial Government, twice repeated, and endorsed by his Executive Council. Several attempts were made to render void the patents, but the several courts of law to which the question was submitted established their validity beyond a doubt. An objectionable feature in these Rectories was that the Governor had the appointment of the incumbents in his hands.

The usual custom was, however, for the Bishop to nominate to the Governor, who accepted his nominee. By Act, Vic. 14-15, 1852, the power of appointment was transferred to the Church Society of the Church of England Diocese. By the Acts of 1866 and 1876, power was given to Synods to sell Rectory lands, the interest of proceeds to be applied to the income of the Rectors. But to return to the Clergy Reserves. In 1839 a Bill was passed by the local Legislature calling for the re-investment of this property in the Crown, but it was not favourably received by the Imperial Government, on the ground that no settlement could be satisfactory that was not made within the Colony. On the 6th of January, 1840, a message was sent down by the Governor-General, Lord Sydenham, proposing a Bill for the final settlement of the vexed question. The leading feature of this Bill was that the Reserves should be sold and all the proceeds, including past sales, vested in the Executive Government to pay from the interest derived from such investments the stipends of the Clergy of the Churches of England and Scotland or any other bodies of Christians amongst whom the residue should be divided. After a severe struggle the Bill was carried both in the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, and the Governor-General congratulated Parliament on passing a measure which he considered would forever allay the strife which had convulsed Upper Canadian society. A few weeks later the question was taken up by the Imperial Parliament, and the House of Lords proposed as questions to the judges, whether the words "Protestant Clergy" included the Church of Scotland. They also declared that the Act just passed by the Legislative Council and Assembly of Upper Canada to sell the Reserves and distribute the proceeds, exceeded their authority.

It was felt, however, that this ever-recurring and burning question must be settled for all time. The Bishops and leading members of the Lords and Commons united in framing a Bill, and on the 7th of August, 1840, an Act was passed providing for the sale of the Clergy Reserves and distribution of the proceeds. It provided that the moneys invested in England from the sale of one-fourth of the Reserves, authorized in 1827, should be divided between the Churches of England and Scotland, two-thirds to the former and one-third to the latter, and that the unappropriated lands should be sold, amounting to 1,800,000 acres, and the proceeds be divided, one half to be given to the Churches of England and Scotland in the proportions above mentioned, and the other half for public worship and religious instruction. This Act was generally hailed with joy as the close of a long protracted warfare, and those most interested in it determined to assist as far as possible in making it helpful to the objects intended.

For a few years there was peace. It was, however, only the lull that at times prevails before the outburst of a storm. In the spring of 1846 the English Church in Canada petitioned the Provincial Government for authority to manage her own share of the Reserves on account of the low rates at which the lands were sacrificed. On the 29th of April in the same year a Special Committee reported that the Imperial Parliament considered the question as finally settled, that this view was accepted by the people of Canada, and that no change could be made. This application, however, was the spark that lay smouldering for a time and then burst forth into a raging flame. In 1851, the war cry again rang through the land, and resolutions introduced by the Government demanding the appropriation of what was left of the Reserves for secular purposes were carried by two of a majority.

In the following year the Hon. Francis Hincks, on behalf of the Canadian Government, appealed to the Crown, urging the passage of an Imperial Act authorizing the Legislature of Canada to take the control of the whole property. The demand and the protests against it led to a widespread agitation amongst the friends of the English Church in Parliament. On the 3rd of December, 1852, Sir William Molesworth asked Sir John Pakington, Secretary for the Colonies, what the intention of the Government was with respect to the Canadian Reserves? His answer was, that considering it as an Upper Canada question on which the representatives were nearly equally divided and that the majority which carried the resolutions consisted of a large proportion of Roman Catholic members from Quebec, whose religion had been amply and munificently endowed, and that the Act of 1840 was part of the arrangement made by the Act of Union of the two Provinces, it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce any Bill on the subject.

In December, 1852, Lord Derby's Administration was overthrown and a coalition Government under Lord Aberdeen succeeded. One of the early acts of the new Government was to declare that while willing to do what they could for the Church they felt it their duty to yield to the Legislature of Canada the unrestricted disposal of the Reserves. On the 16th of February, 1854, a dispatch from the new Secretary for the Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle, to the Earl of Elgin, Governor-General, was published at Quebec, announcing the change of policy. A few weeks later a Bill was passed by the Imperial Parliament authorizing the Canadian Legislature to settle the question as it deemed best, provided that it should not be lawful for the said Legislature to amend, suspend, or reduce any of the annual stipends which had been given to the Churches of England and Scotland or any other religious bodies and to which the faith of the Crown was pledged, during the natural lives of the parties then receiving them. This Act was passed on the 9th of May, 1853. From an examination of the debates in the Imperial Parliament it appears that few if any either in Lords or Commons contemplated secularization, but that this was the object of the opponents of the Reserves in Canada was the burden of the vigourous protests sent by Bishop Strachan and others to the Colonial Secretary, and it was an argument used forcibly against the proposed measure.

Lord Elgin strongly deprecated this idea in a speech he made at a great dinner that was given him in London before the Bill was introduced. His Lordship said that he had often warned his Canadian friends against anything that might lead the British people to suspect that they were capable of abusing the powers confided to them, and pointed out that if they did not pay the same scrupulous regard to the rights of property as the people of England, they could not prosper. He thought, however, under the new system of responsible government that a more temperate tone would prevail among Canadian politicians. In the debate in the Lords, the Duke of Newcastle maintained that if the measure was passed the Clergy Reserves would stand precisely on the same footing as the Roman Catholic endowments. He opposed the idea of secularization. Lord St. Leonards followed in a similar line of argument, protesting against the rights of the Protestant Clergy being destroyed while those of the Roman Catholics were preserved. The Bishop of Oxford voted for the Bill, but declared that if the question was one of voting for secularization, no voice would be more distinct, no vote more emphatic than the negative he should give.

The Duke of Argyll was in favour of the Bill, but as the endowments in Lower Canada were as accessible to the Colonial Legislature as the Reserves, he thought they would unite with the Protestants in resisting secularization. This was the general feeling in the Commons as well, and many of the supporters of the Bill protested against any confiscation of the Church property. In 1854 there was a general election in Canada and a coalition Ministry was formed under the Presidency of Sir Allan McNab, with Mr. Morin as his co-adjutor. The Reserves question was at once dealt with, and Bishop Strachan sent a forcibly written protest to Mr. Morin against the threatened secularization embodied in the proposed measure. After a heated discussion in both Houses of the Legislature it was carried, however, by large majorities on 19th December, 1854 (18 Vic. Cap. 3, C.S.) By the guarantee

specially provided in the Imperial Act, the stipends of all clergymen and clergymen's widows, hitherto charged on the Reserves' fund, were to be paid, the Government being responsible for the meeting of each claim. It was obvious, however, to Bishop Strachan and others interested in the question that there were many objections to the clergy becoming stipendiaries of the Government during their lives, with all the chances of change and loss which might occur. As a substitute the idea of commutation of life interest was pressed upon the Government, each life being valued

Sir Allan Napier McNab, Bart.

according to the assurance tables as compiled by Life Assurance Companies.

By great exertion the commutation clause passed the Lower House, but a large majority in the Legislative Council had determined to reject it. Dr. McMurray, of Niagara, had been sent when the struggle commenced to Quebec to do what was possible in the interests of the Church. For several months he remained in that city, and to his marvellous tact and persuasive eloquence may be ascribed the final approval of the important clause. Soon after, the sum of £184,342 sterling was paid over to the Church Society of Toronto. In response to the Bishop's appeal the clergy who commuted gave up their claim on the capital, receiving a bond guaranteeing them their full incomes for life. By judicious management the interest on capital almost covered the claims, and the S.P.G. Society in England, with their usual generosity, paid in the sum of £7,500 sterling to meet any unforeseen contingency. This is the origin of what is called the Commutation Trust Fund, which has proved to be of such incalculable benefit to the English Church in Ontario.

At the Diocesan Synod in Toronto, in 1856, the lay delegates passed an unanimous resolution expressive of the admiration and gratitude with which they had witnessed the unbounded liberality and devotion of the Clergy in surrendering to the Church the commutation money then lately received by them from the Government. Bishop Strachan spoke with enthusiasm on the same subject and declared that "By this noble and disinterested act the Clergy have merited the gratitude of the Church in Canada, and won for themselves the cordial approbation of all true Churchmen throughout the world." With respect to the Church of Scotland, Mr. James Croil, Treasurer of their Temporalities Fund, in a Report dated December 1st, 1867, states that each of the ministers in the year previous to the Commutation Bill had been in receipt of £150 per annum, and there were sixty-seven members entitled to commutation. The sum of £127,448 sterling was therefore placed in the hands of trustees for their benefit. After the passing of the Imperial Act and before the Canadian Act of 1854, eleven ministers had been added to the roll. They were refused commutation, and the sixty-seven surrendered £37 10s each so that the "privileged ministers" might receive at least £100 per annum. The Roman Catholics who received £1,500 per annum, of which £500 was paid to Bishop Phelan as Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Kingston, received as Commutation £20,932 currency—being the value of the income for twenty years at six per cent. interest. All the remaining land and money was divided among the municipalities for various improvements.

HISTORY OF THE CLERGY RESERVES—EDITOR'S NOTES.

Origin and Objects of the Reserves. A number of important letters dealing with the origin and history of the Clergy Reserves were read in the Legislative Council of Upper Canada during a debate upon the Clergy Reserves Bill on Jan. 17th, 1840, by the Hon. P. B. De Blaquière. The following are extracts from those which throw special light upon the subject.

I. Major-General J. Graves Simcoe, Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada wrote to Archbishop Moore of Canterbury on December 30th, 1790, as follows:

"Agreeable to the offer which I made to Your Grace, when I had the honour of some conversation with you relative to the establishment of Episcopacy in Upper Canada, I take this opportunity of laying before you, as concisely as possible, my opinions on this very important subject. I must beg leave to premise, that I am decisively of opinion that a regular Episcopal Establishment, subordinate to the primacy of Great Britain, is absolutely necessary in any extensive Colony which this country means to preserve, and in particular if the advantages which she aims at are expected to be derived and increased proportionably to its degree of population. But in regard to a Colony in Upper Canada which is to be blessed with the laws, and the upright administration of them, which distinguishes and ennobles this country, and which Colony is peculiarly situated amongst a variety of republics, every establishment of Church and State that upholds the distinction of ranks and lessens the undue weight of the democratic influence, must be indispensably introduced, and will, no doubt, in the hands of Great Britain, hold out a purer model of government, in a practical form, than has been expatiated upon in all the theoretic reveries of self-named philosophers.

The neglect of this principle of overturning republicanism in former periods by giving support and assistance to those causes which are perpetually offering themselves to effect so necessary an object, is much to be lamented; but it is my duty to be as solicitous as possible that they may now have their due influence, if I wish the proposed government to be a permanent one; and I am happy to feel the utmost conviction that the best mode of population and the best line of connection with the United States is combined in giving due support to that Church Establishment which I consider as necessary to promote the national religion (of which I am a sincere and humble believer) and to maintain the true and venerable constitution of my country."

II. The Right Hon. Henry Dundas (afterwards Viscount Melville), Secretary of State for Home Affairs and the Colonies, wrote to Lord Dorchester on the 16th of September, 1791, in the following terms:

"As there does not, at present, appear to be sufficient provision for the support of the Protestant clergy either in Upper or Lower Canada, the collection of tithes has, under the Act of the present year, been suffered to continue. . . . But Your Lordship will understand that it is not wished to continue this burden longer than is necessary for the competent provision of the clergy. If, therefore, the proprietors of lands, liable to the payment of tithes, shall be induced to concur with Your Lordship's recommendation, in providing a sufficient fund for clearing the reserved lands and for building parsonage houses on the several parsonages which may be endowed under the Act of the last Session of Parliament, and at the same time provide an intermediate fund for the maintenance of the clergy during the period that will be required for the purpose of so clearing these reserved lands, the obligation of the tithes may then cease. I have thought it necessary to explain this subject minutely to Your Lordship, that by making it understood among the proprietors of these lands, they may perceive the means which are in their own power to relieve themselves from a burthen which is naturally irksome to them."

III. Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe expressed the following important views in a despatch to Mr. Secretary Dundas in November, 1792:

"I have no reason to alter those opinions on this subject which I humbly submitted to the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers previous

to my leaving Europe. I need not, I am sure, Sir, observe, that the best security that all just government has for its existence, is founded on the morality of the people, and that such morality has no true basis but when placed upon religious principles. It is, therefore, that I have always been extremely anxious, both from political as well as more worthy motives, that the Church of England should be essentially established in Upper Canada; and I must be permitted to say, Sir, that I have received the greatest satisfaction from your expression, 'that you did not think that Government complete without a Protestant Bishop.' As I conceived such an institution necessary to the support of the experiment that is now making, whether the British Government cannot support itself by its own superiority in this distant part of the world, I beg, Sir, to observe to you, that the sources whence a Protestant clergy shall arise seem totally to be prevented by the want of the Episcopal function in this Province.

On the one hand, the distance and situation of Nova Scotia render it less practicable that any candidates for ordination should have recourse to the Bishop of that Diocese, than to those of England or Ireland; and on the other, those who have been ordained by the Bishops in the United States are, by an Act of Parliament, incapacitated from performing any duty in Upper Canada; but did the situation of the Province, in this respect, degrading as it would be to the Church of England, stand merely in the deprivation of its offices and benefits, it might not be of such infinite political importance, as the room that is hereby made for the introduction of every kind of sectaries, many of whom are hostile and uncongenial to the British constitution. I am perfectly aware of the great necessity that there is of guarding against any unnecessary expense in the further establishment of this country, yet I cannot but consider that it would be the worst and most disabling of all economy to lose the great opportunity that is now open of forming the character, temper and manners of the people of this infant Colony to British habits and to British principles, and this I think may be done comparatively at little expense. The great body of Puritans in America, however misrepresented, draw their origin from the Church of England, and are nearer to it in their religious belief and customs than they are to any other sects or religious descriptions.

The state of poverty in which they must, for some time, remain after their emigration, will naturally prevent them from the possibility of supporting their ministers by public subscriptions; in the meanwhile the Government has in its power immediately to provide for any Protestant clergyman, in the separate townships, by giving him a reasonable landed property in perpetuity for himself and family, and entrusting him with the care of that seventh which is to be reserved for the Protestant clergy. Under these circumstances, it is probable that the sons of respectable settlers would offer themselves for ordination, and though they might not, in the first instance, have the learning of the European clergy, their habits and morals might as essentially promote the interests of the community. It is by these means, Sir, that the influence of the Protestant clergy may extend and increase with the rapid growth and value of those lands which are reserved for their maintenance, and which, without a due attention being paid in this respect, will naturally be considered, by the people at large, as detrimental to the Colony, and may, at no very distant period of time, become a temptation to those who shall be hostile to the Union of Upper Canada with Great Britain."

IV. The Duke of Portland (afterwards Prime Minister), who succeeded Mr. Henry Dundas in charge of the Colonies at Downing Street, wrote to Dr. Jacob Mountain, Bishop of Quebec, as follows, on the 14th of November, 1794:

"I have received Your Lordship's letter to Mr. Secretary Dundas, of 15th September last, giving an account of the completion of Your Lordship's first Visitation of your Diocese; and I beg leave to express my approbation both of the early and earnest attention paid by Your Lordship to the duties of your important station. The state of the churches in Upper Canada should certainly receive every degree of attention which may enable them to proceed hand in hand with the regular and progressive improvement of a Province which at this moment can only be looked upon as in its infancy. . . In consequence

of Your Lordship's representations, I shall certainly solicit His Majesty's commands that a sum not exceeding £500 (which may be extended as occasion shall require) may be proposed to be added to the estimates of Upper Canada for the ensuing year, towards enabling His Majesty's subjects in that Province to erect such churches as may be necessary for Divine worship. In doing this, I shall trust with the most perfect confidence to Your Lordship's exertions and to the good disposition of those in favour of whom the grant is proposed, that they will render the same as effectual as possible by adding their personal aid and assistance to the utmost of their power and ability. It will be for Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe and Your Lordship, upon communication with each other, to determine where the want of a church is the most urgent, and consequently, where the first is to be erected. In doing this, Your Lordship will of course take care not to incur any expense in parts without the treaty line, our possession of which may depend on circumstances.

This consideration, Your Lordship observes, will render some of the expenses you propose unnecessary. I should likewise be induced to recommend that in the erection of the churches, the immediate exigencies of the case should, for the present, only be consulted; everything beyond that should be left to the future prosperity and wealth of the Province to execute. I am very sorry to observe that the dearness of the necessaries of life in Upper Canada seem to require a greater income than would certainly otherwise be necessary for an incumbent. At the same time, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt relative to the construction of the Canada Act which annexes to rectories and parsonages erected under the name, the enjoyment of all the rights, profits and emoluments belonging to a parsonage or rectory in England, which must necessarily include tithes. Under these circumstances, it is unnecessary for me to add anything further than that, with the existing provisions made by the abovementioned Act for the Church of England in both the Canadas, I trust that a small temporary salary from Government, with such allowances as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel may be induced to grant, would be sufficient for the comfortable maintenance of such incumbents as it may be requisite to send from hence for the due performance of the ecclesiastical duties of the Province of Upper Canada."

V. The Duke of Portland, on June 22nd, 1796, after a considerable intermission, again wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, and, it will be noticed, referred to the finally decided abandonment of tithes as making some further step absolutely essential:

"After what I have urged to you in my despatch upon the subject of a suitable provision being made by the Colony for the maintenance of its own clergy, it is scarcely necessary for me to remind you that the allowances given by the Government of this country must only be considered to be temporary, and as aids and inducements to the several parishes to devise some means of providing for their own clergy until such times as the Church lands shall become sufficiently productive for that purpose; but as it has been determined to abandon every idea of any payment in the nature of tithes, I cannot too often repeat to you that it appears to me of the most extreme importance that no time should be lost in fixing upon some mode of securing a suitable maintenance for the officiating clergy of the Province, in the case above specified."

Disposition and Early Values of the Reserves. When the Imperial Government under authority of the Act of 1791 directed the local authorities of Upper and Lower Canada to commence reserving one-seventh of the lands for the support of a Protestant clergy, they gave instructions that the lands so to be reserved were to be intermixed with those to be granted to individuals; the intention being to have them chequered over every township in the proportion of one-seventh of the whole. It was found difficult to comply with this requirement, as nearly all the lands in the Niagara District, as well as several townships on the St. Lawrence, had been already granted. Reserves were therefore made in blocks in the nearest ungranted townships. As a general rule, each township, except those bordering on lakes and rivers, contained 66,000 acres; of which one-seventh, the proportion of the Clergy Reserves, was 9,428 acres. The original proposed distribu-

tion of the Reserves in Upper Canada, according to figures given in Mr. Charles Lindsay's valuable pamphlet upon the question, was as follows:

Eastern District	104,791
Ottawa. do.	97,327
Johnstown do.	141,646
Bathurst do.	151,283
Prince Edward do.	26,200
Midland. do.	248,856
Newcastle do.	273,660
Home do.	418,333
Gore. do.	146,960
Niagara do.	25,450
Talbot do.	52,400
London do.	238,019
Western do.	211,240
Reservation for the Six Nation Indians in the Gore District	96,400
Huron Tract do.	157,142
Total No. of acres in Upper Canada...	2,389,707

In Lower Canada no Reserves were made till 1796. They amounted in that Province to 934,052 acres; a little over one-third of the quantity of those in Upper Canada. These reservations kept pace with the grants for other purposes; according to the ratio fixed by law. They continued to be made, in various quantities, every year, with the single exception of 1813, till 1838. The legal prohibition against making more Reserves came into existence with the passing of the Imperial Act of 1840. The greatest number of acres reserved in Lower Canada, in any one year, was 75,525, and the smallest 252 acres. In that Province no Reserves were made in respect of any lands that had been granted prior to the year 1791; while in Upper Canada no such restriction was made—a quantity equal to one-seventh of all the granted lands being reserved. To the different modes of proceeding, in the two Provinces, is partly ascribable the circumstances that, in Upper Canada, the quantity of Reserves so far exceeded that in Lower Canada.

Between the passing of the Act of 1791 and the year 1827 not an acre of the Reserves was sold. During that period the leasing system was exclusively in operation—the term of the leases being twenty-one years. Under the original regulations the following were the rates of rent per annum:

1st 7 years for Lot of 200 acres or less...	10s.
2nd " " " " ...	20s.
3rd " " " " ...	30s.

As settlement increased, the value of the lands naturally increased also until in 1811, the following augmented rates per annum were adopted:

1st 7 years for Lot of 200 acres or less....	£1 15s.
2nd " " " ...	3 10s.
3rd " " " ...	5 5s.

In 1819 still higher rates were adopted. The great number of free grants to the Loyalists of the American Revolution had thrown into market at very low rates an amount of land nearly equal to the demands of the settlers. "The natural result," says Mr. Charles Lindsay, "was that leases were but slowly effected. So late as 1824 the whole amount due for rent was only £1,200; and of this it was estimated that not more than one-third could be collected without having recourse to legal process."

Constitutional Legality of the Reserves. The following opinion expressed by the Law Officers of the Crown in England is an important statement along constitutional lines, and was submitted to Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, on November 15th, 1819, and by him duly transmitted to the Canadian authorities:

"My Lord,—We are honoured with Your Lordship's commands of the 14th September last, stating that doubts have arisen how far under the construction of the Act passed in the 31st year of His present Majesty (c. 31) the dissenting Protestant ministers resident in Canada have a legal claim to participate in the lands by that Act directed to be reserved as a provision for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy.

And Your Lordship was pleased to request that we would take the same into consideration and report to Your Lordship, for the information of the Prince Regent, our opinion, whether the Governor of the Provinces is either required by the Act, or would be justified in applying the proceeds of said lands to the maintenance of

any other than the clergy of the Church of England resident in the Province; and in the event of our being of opinion that the ministers of dissenting Protestant congregations have a concurrent claim with those of the Church of England, further desiring our opinion whether in applying the reserved lands to the endowment of rectories and parsonages as required by the 38th clause, it is incumbent on His Majesty to retain a proportion of those lands for the maintenance of the dissenting clergy, and as to the proportion in which, under such a construction, the provision is to be assigned to the different classes of Dissenters established within the Province.

We are of opinion that though the provisions made by 31, George III., c. 31, ss. 36 and 42, for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy, are not confined solely to the clergy of the Church of England, but may be extended also to the clergy of the Church of Scotland, if there be any such settled in Canada (as appears to have been admitted in the debate upon the passing of the Act), yet they do not extend to the dissenting ministers, since we think the terms 'Protestant clergy' can apply only to Protestant clergy recognised and established by law.

The 37th Section which directs, 'That the rents and profits of the lands, &c., shall be applicable solely to the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy,' does not specify by what authority the rents and profits are to be so applied. Supposing the Governor to be duly authorized by the Act to make such application, we think that he will be justified in applying such rents and profits to the maintenance and support of the clergy of the Church of Scotland, as well as those of the Church of England, but not to the support of ministers of dissenting Protestant congregations.

With respect to the second question, the 38th Clause, which empowers His Majesty to authorize the Governor to constitute and erect parsonages or rectories according to the establishment of the Church of England, provides also 'that he may endow every such parsonage or rectory with so much of the lands allotted and appropriated, in respect to any land within such townships or parish which shall have been granted, as the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, shall judge to be expedient.' Under these terms he may endow any particular parsonage or rectory with the whole lands allotted and appropriated in that township or parish. It would be inconsistent with this discretionary power, that any proportion of such lands should be absolutely retained for any other clergy than those mentioned in that Clause, and we think it is not incumbent on His Majesty so to retain any proportion of such lands.

We have the honour to be, my lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servants,

(Signed) CHRIST. ROBINSON,
R GIFFORD,
J. S. COPLEY."

It may be mentioned that the last-named signer of this legal opinion afterwards became Lord Lyndhurst, one of the most famous of England's Lord Chancellors.

Establishment of the Rectories. The definite Imperial instructions as to the establishment of the Rectories were given in a despatch written by Lord Bathurst, Colonial Secretary, to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland of Upper Canada, on July 22nd, 1825, as follows:

Sir,—I have received His Majesty's commands to direct that you do from time to time, with the advice of the Executive Council for the affairs of the Province of Upper Canada, constitute and erect within every township or parish which now is, or hereafter may be formed, constituted or erected within the said Province, one parsonage or rectory, or parsonages or rectories, according to the establishment of the Church of England; and that you do from time to time, by an instrument under the great seal of the Province, endow every such rectory or parsonage with so much, or such parts of the land so allotted and appropriated as aforesaid in respect of any lands within such township or parish, which shall have been granted subsequently to the commencement of a certain Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, passed in the thirty-first year of the reign of His late Majesty, King George III. entituled, etc., etc., or of such lands as may have been allotted and appropriated for the same purpose by, or in virtue of, any instruction which may have been given by His said late Majesty before the commencement of the said Act, as you shall, with the advice of the said Executive Council, judge to be expedient under the existing circumstances of such township or parish. You shall also present to every such parsonage or rectory an incumbent or minister

of the Church of England, who shall have been duly ordained according to the rites of the said Church, and supply from time to time such vacancies as may happen therein.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) BATHURST."

Changes in Imperial Policy. Up to 1830 the views and statements of the Colonial Officials and Ministers in London were almost uniformly favourable to the Clergy Reserves and to the principle of an Established Church in Canada. After that date these opinons fluctuated somewhat and depended in great measure upon whether the Whigs or Tories were in power. Under Lord Grey's Administration and in the stirring days of the Reform Bill a despatch was sent to the Canadian Governor-General, by Lord Goderich, dated November 21st, 1831, which clearly illustrates this fluctuation in opinion and of which the following is the most important section:

"I cannot entertain a doubt that an end should immediately be put to the system of reserving a seventh of the waste lands in Canada for the support of a Protestant clergy. That which would be an objectionable mode of raising a revenue for any public purpose is still more strongly to be condemned as a provision for the ministers of religion, since it must have a direct tendency to render odious to the inhabitants those to whom their good-will and affection are so peculiarly needful. Such are the considerations by which His Majesty's Government have been influenced in coming to the conclusion that the retention of the Clergy Reserves in their present state is inexpedient. It is scarcely necessary to protest against this conclusion being construed into an acquiescence in the opinion expressed in a petition upon this subject signed by a considerable number of the inhabitants of the Province: 'that any kind of Church establishment, circumstanced as Upper Canada is, is essentially anti-Christian and baneful to every interest of humanity.' I am convinced that this is a sentiment which the great majority of those by whom the petition was signed would not seriously mean to adopt, and that, in their eagerness to get rid of a practical grievance, they have incautiously sanctioned speculative opinions, which I have no doubt that upon mature reflection they would disavow. Believing this to be the case, I decline to enter into any argument for the purpose of refuting an assertion, the justice of which I so entirely deny. It is sufficient to repeat that His Majesty's Government have advised the abandonment of the Reserves, for the simple reason that after an experience of forty years they have been found not to answer the expectations entertained at the time the system was established, but have entailed a heavy burden upon the Province without producing any corresponding advantage."

Lord Sydenham and the Province in 1840. In a private letter written early in 1840, while his important measure settling the Clergy Reserves question—as was hoped—still lingered in the Legislative Council, Mr. Poulett Thomson, Governor-General of Canada, and shortly afterwards created Lord Sydenham, declared in emphatic words that:

"The Clergy Reserves have been, and are the great overwhelming grievance; the root of all the troubles of the Province; the cause of the rebellion; the never failing watchword at the hustings; the perpetual source of discord, hatred, and strife. Not a man of any party but has told me that the greatest boon which could be conferred on the country would be that they should be swept into the Atlantic; and that nobody should get them; for after all there is little to divide—there will be nothing, after deducting the charges, for the next ten or twelve years; but the difficulty lay in the settlement. And when to this never failing source of excitement here you add the consideration that by the Union, if you left the question unsettled, you would throw the agitation of it into the Lower Province, where, amongst all its ills, the greatest of all, religious dissension is hitherto unknown, the necessity for a settlement becomes doubly great. Thank God, I shall achieve it. My Bill, of which I sent you a copy, has gone through the Assembly by a considerable majority, thirty to twenty, and I feel confident that I can get it through the Council without the change of a word. If it is really carried it is the greatest work that has ever been done in this country, and will be of more solid advantage to it than all the loans and all the troops you can make or send. It is worth ten Unions, and was ten times more difficult."*

* See Scrope's Life of Lord Sydenham.

While the Governor-General was thus endeavouring to settle this most troublesome question, the religious population of Upper Canada was—according to the Census of 1839—as follows:

Church of England	79,754
Methodists of all Denominations	61,088
Presbyterians do do	78,383
Roman Catholics	43,029
Baptists of all Denominations	12,968
Miscellaneous	22,806
No Profession	34,766
Total	332,794
Deficiency as compared with the entire population	67,558
	400,352

From the aggregate number of Presbyterians, the section which had no connection with the Church of Scotland and which always refused pecuniary assistance from the State, should be deducted and would leave the numbers of the Churches of England and Scotland combined at a total of 130,000, or one-third of the entire population. To those two Churches the Act of 1840 assigned the interest on the proceeds of all the Reserves sold previous to that date—about one-fourth of the whole—and one-half of the interest on the proceeds of those sold after 1840; in other words, they received nearly three-fourths of the Clergy Reserves' revenue.

The figures for 1850 are similar in the general proportions:

Methodists	147,758
Baptists	31,195
Church of Scotland	63,792
Free Church and Secession	97,224
Church of Rome	130,156
Church of England	182,623
Miscellaneous	45,542
Jews	262
No Fixed Religion	43,251
Unaccounted for	58,043
Total	799,846

The Churches of England and Scotland, taken together, numbered only 246,415, or less than one-third of the whole population, while they received nearly three-fourths of all the Reserves' revenue.

Lord Elgin's Review of the Subject. Sir Francis Hincks published a pamphlet in 1869 entitled, "Religious Endowments in Canada," reviewing the history of the agitation and the negotiations which passed between the Imperial and Canadian Governments during a long term of years. He contends that under the conditions surrounding the renewed and acute conflict of 1850-4, the question was incapable of solution until the Imperial Parliament had repealed the Act of 1840. It was with this feeling, indeed, that the Hon. J. Harvey Price, a member of the Government at that time, moved an Address to the Crown in 1850, which was passed and transmitted by Lord Elgin in an important despatch to Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary. This latter document was as follows:

"Government House, Toronto, July 19, 1850, My Lord,—I have the honour to transmit herewith, in compliance with the request of the Legislative Assembly, to be laid at the foot of the Throne, an Address from that House to Her Majesty on the subject of the Clergy Reserves.

1. After recapitulating the proceedings of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada before the Union of the Provinces in connection with this question, it concludes with the prayer that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to recommend to Parliament a measure for the repeal of the Imperial Act, 3 and 4 Vict., chap. 78, and for enabling the Canadian Parliament to dispose of the Clergy Reserves, subject to the condition of securing the stipends or allowances assigned from this fund to the clergy of the Churches of England or Scotland or to any other religious bodies or Denominations of Christians, to the parties now receiving them during their natural lives or incumbencies. It was finally carried by a majority of forty-six votes to twenty-three, some of the minority voting against it in consequence of this reservation.

2. It may be proper, however, to observe, that a much closer division took place on the passage of the 29th in the series of resolutions on which the Address was founded, and which was thus worded: 'Resolved—That this House is of opin-

ion that, when all the circumstances connected with this question are taken into consideration, no religious Denomination can be held to have such vested interest in the revenues derived from the proceeds of the said Clergy Reserves as should prevent further legislation with reference to the disposal of them; but this House is nevertheless of opinion, that the claims of existing incumbents should be treated in the most liberal manner.' This resolution was opposed by three classes of persons. First, by those who desire the existing settlement to be maintained. Second, by those who, though they object to the Imperial Act of 1840, and seek its repeal, admit nevertheless certain claims on the part of the Protestant clergy under the Constitutional Act of 1791. And lastly, by those who are unwilling to recognize even the claims of existing incumbents. It was carried on a division by a majority of 2 only; the numbers being 36 for, and 34 against it.

3. I deeply regret the revival of agitation on this subject of which Lord Sydenham truly observed, that it had been in Upper Canada the one all-absorbing and engrossing topic of interest and for years the principal cause of the discontent and disturbance which had arisen, and under which the Province had laboured. The intervention of the Imperial Parliament in 1840 was doubtless prompted by a desire to settle on terms which should be equitable and generally satisfactory, a question which had for so many years disturbed the peace of the Colony. While the principle, however, of an Establishment was abandoned by the Imperial Act 3 & 4 Vict., chap. 78, which admitted all Denominations to share in the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves, advantages were given by it to the Established Churches of England and Scotland in the distribution of the funds which will render them still objects of envy. This feeling has been increased, as regards the Church of Scotland, by the large secessions from its ranks which the Free Church movement has occasioned. I much fear that the result will justify the disinclination which Lord John Russell appears, from the first, to have entertained to any legislation by the Imperial Parliament upon this question. It is an evil of no small magnitude on a subject of this nature that, while the more violent and unscrupulous of the opponents of the existing settlement are enabled to create a prejudice against it, by representing it to be the result of Imperial interference in a matter of Provincial concern, its friends are tempted rather to endeavour to influence opinion in England than to resort to measures which may strengthen their position in the Colony. I have, etc.

(Signed) ELGIN AND KINCARDINE."

Legislative History of the Reserves. The Canadian Assembly's Address to Her Majesty the Queen, dated January 19th, 1850, gives a concise and most valuable *resumè* of the question from a Legislative and opposing standpoint and was as follows:

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada in Provincial Parliament assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty for the purpose of representing:

That the reservation of a large portion of the public domain of the Province for the support of a Protestant clergy, by an Act passed in the 31st year of the reign of Your Majesty's Royal predecessor, King George the Third, has been for many years a source of intense dissatisfaction to the great majority of Your Majesty's subjects in Upper Canada. That it appears, by the last census taken in Upper Canada, that the population of that Province was in the year 1848, 723,332, of which 239,651 are returned as in connection with the Churches of England and Scotland, the only Churches receiving any benefit from the Clergy Reserve endowment. That it appears, by the last census taken in Lower Canada, that the population of that section of the Province was in the year 1844, 678,490, of which only 70,229 are returned as in connection with the Churches of England and Scotland. That the power given by the 41st clause of the above-mentioned Act to the Provincial Legislature, 'to vary or repeal' the provisions respecting the allotment and appropriation of lands for the support of a Protestant clergy, affords sufficient evidence that in the opinion of the Imperial Parliament the question was one that ought to be settled with reference to the state of public opinion in the Colony rather than to that in the Mother-Country.

That in the early settlement of the Province the Reserve lands were of little value, and as no

sales had been authorized by the Imperial Parliament, the question attracted but a slight share of public attention. That, so soon as the intention of the Government to dispose of the land reserved in Upper Canada became known, the representatives of the people of that Province took the whole subject into their most serious consideration, and, with an unanimity that prevailed on no other question, endeavoured to remove a grievance universally complained of by the people, save and except by those interested in the maintenance of Church Establishments.

That in the year 1827 a Bill to authorize the sale of Clergy Reserves and the application of the proceeds thereof to the purposes of general education was passed through the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, the division on the second reading having been twenty-two to six; that this Bill was rejected by the Legislative Council. That, a dissolution having taken place soon afterwards, the tenth Parliament of Upper Canada met in the year 1829, when a Bill for the sale of the Clergy Reserves and the application of the proceeds to educational purposes passed through the various stages in the House of Assembly without a division, but was again rejected by the Legislative Council.

That in the year 1830, during the second Session of the tenth Parliament, another Bill containing similar provisions to the former ones was passed by the House of Assembly without a division, and was rejected by the Legislative Council. That, a dissolution having taken place, a new Parliament met in the year 1831, when resolutions expressing the same views were adopted by a large majority in the House of Assembly, an amendment proposed by the Solicitor-General having been rejected on a division of twenty-nine to seven. That in the year 1832, during the second Session of the eleventh Parliament, an Address to the Crown praying for the application of the Clergy Reserves to educational purposes was carried by a large majority in the House of Assembly.

That, after the passage of the Address last referred to, a message was sent down to the House by Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne, in which His Excellency stated that he had His Majesty's commands to make a communication to the House of Assembly in reference to the lands set apart for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy; that His Excellency informed the House that the representations made to His Majesty and to his Royal predecessors of the prejudice sustained by his faithful subjects in the Province from the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves, had engaged His Majesty's most attentive consideration; that His Majesty had considered no less anxiously how far such an appropriation of territory was conducive either to the temporal welfare of the ministers of religion in the Province or to their spiritual influence; and that His Majesty invited the House of Assembly of Upper Canada to consider how the power given to the Provincial Legislature by the Constitutional Act, to vary or repeal this part of its provisions, could be called into exercise most advantageously for the spiritual and temporal interests of His Majesty's faithful subjects in the Province.

That, after the reception of the above message, a Bill to re-invest the Clergy Reserves in the Crown, discharged of all trusts whatsoever, was introduced and read a second time on a division of 29 to 7. That in the year 1833, during the third Session of the eleventh Parliament, a Bill having similar provisions with that formerly adopted by the House was read a second time on a division of 26 to 2. That in the year 1834, during the fourth Session of the eleventh Parliament, a Bill of a similar character was passed through its several stages in the House of Assembly by considerable majorities, though opposed with the whole weight of the Government, but was rejected by the Legislative Council.

That in the year 1835, during the first Session of the twelfth Parliament of Upper Canada, a Bill for the sale of the Clergy Reserves and the application of the proceeds to educational purposes was passed by a majority of 40 to 4, but was rejected by the Legislative Council. That, during the same Session, resolutions were sent down to the House of Assembly by the Legislative Council, in which the opinion was expressed that as the Legislature of the Province had been unable to concur in any measure respecting the Clergy Reserves, it was expedient to address His Majesty and both Houses of Parliament, request-

ing that the Imperial Parliament should legislate on the subject.

That the House of Assembly, by a majority of 24 to 12, thereupon resolved, That the House had theretofore repeatedly passed Bills providing for the sale of the Clergy Reserves, and the appropriation of the moneys arising therefrom to the support of education, which Bills have been rejected without amendment by the Legislative Council. That with the same view the House had repeatedly made known, by humble and dutiful addresses to His Majesty, their wishes and opinions, and the wishes and opinions of His Majesty's faithful subjects in the Province on this highly important subject, and that the House took that opportunity of declaring that these wishes and opinions, both on the part of the House and of their constituents,remained entirely unchanged. That, during the second Session of the then last Parliament, His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor by message informed the House that he had received His Majesty's instructions to declare that the representations which had at different times been made to His Majesty and his Royal predecessors, of the prejudice sustained by His Majesty's faithful subjects in the Province from the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves, had engaged His Majesty's most attentive consideration and His Majesty had most graciously been pleased to invite the House to consider how the powers given to the Provincial Legislature by the Constitutional Act, to vary or repeal the provisions which it contains for the allotment and appropriation of the Clergy Reserves might be most advantageously exercised for the spiritual and temporal interests of his faithful subjects in the Province. That the House, in compliance with His Majesty's wishes thus graciously expressed, and with the strong aud well-known desires of His Majesty's faithful subjects in the Province, had passed a Bill during the then present session to provide for the sale of the Clergy Reserves, and to apply the money arising from such sales to the support of education. That the said Legislative Council had not passed the said Bill, had not amended it, and had not passed any other Bill on the subject.

That in the year 1836, during the second Session of the twelfth Parliament, a Bill embodying similar principles to those repeatedly passed by the House of Assembly was again introduced, and was carried on a division by a majority of thirty-five to five. That the said Bill was amended in the Legislative Council by expunging all the enacting clauses, and substituting provisions for investing the Reserves in the Crown, to be applied for the maintenance of public worship and the support of religion. That the House of Assembly adopted, by a majority of twenty-seven to one, certain amendments to the amended Bill sent down by the Legislative Council affirming the principles of their original Bill. That during the same Session a despatch from Lord Glenelg, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Head was communicated to the House of Assembly, in which His Lordship treated the question as one to be settled by the Provincial Legislature, and declined to interfere with the deliberations of the Legislature by offering any suggestions of his own.

That, the twelfth Parliament having been dissolved by Sir Francis Head, a general election was held at a period of great excitement, and the question of the disposal of the Clergy Reserves appears to have been lost sight of during the political struggle which ensued. That, during the first three Sessions of the thirteenth Parliament, various efforts were made to settle the question, but without any satisfactory results. That at length in the course of the third Session a Bill, which had passed the Legislative Council, providing for the re-investment of the said Reserves in the Imperial Parliament, was concurred in by a majority of 22 to 21.

That in the year 1839, during the fifth and last Session of the last Parliament of Upper Canada, a Message was sent down to the House by the Governor-General, the Right Hon. C. P. Thomson, by which the House was informed that the Bill passed during the previous Session had not received the Royal Assent, there being an insuperable objection to it on a point of form. That His Excellency stated, moreover, that in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Provincial Legislature would bring to the decision of the question an extent of accurate information as to the wants and general opinion of society in

this country in which the Imperial Parliament was unavoidably deficient.

That another attempt at settlement was made during the last Session of the last Parliament of Upper Canada, when a Bill passed both Houses providing for the sale and disposal of the Clergy Reserves, which Bill having been reserved for the Royal Assent was not assented to by Your Majesty. That on Your Majesty's decision to withhold the Royal Assent from the said Bill, Your Majesty's Government submitted to the Imperial Parliament a Bill providing for the sale and distribution of the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves, which, so far from settling this long-agitated question, has left it to be the subject of renewed and increased public discontent.

And we humbly beg leave further to represent to Your Majesty, that apart from the objections entertained by the great majority of Your Majesty's subjects in Canada to religious endowments by which certain favoured Denominations of Christians are kept in connection with the State, and thereby placed in a position of superiority over others, the present disposition of the revenue derived from the Clergy Reserves' investments is manifestly unjust. That the entire revenue derived from the investments made before the passing of the Imperial Act 3 and 4 Victoria, chapter 78, has been thereby assigned to the Churches of England and Scotland, to the exclusion of the Wesleyan, Episcopal, and New Connexion Methodists, the Free Presbyterian Church, the Baptists, Congregationalists, and other religious bodies whose pastors have an equal claim to the designation of a Protestant clergy with those of the clergy of the Churches of England and Scotland.

That it appears from the facts above stated, that during a long period of years, and in nine successive Sessions of the Provincial Parliament, the representatives of the people of Upper Canada, with an unanimity seldom exhibited in a deliberative body, declared their opposition to religious endowments of the character above referred to. That the wishes of the people were thwarted by the Legislative Council, a body containing a majority avowedly favourable to the ascendancy of the Church of England. That the Imperial Government from time to time invited the Provincial Parliament to legislate on the subject of these Reserves, disclaiming on the part of the Crown any desire for the superiority of one or more particular Churches. That Your Majesty's Government, in declining to advise the Royal Assent being given to a Bill, passed by a majority of one, for investing the power of disposing of the Reserves in the Imperial Parliament, admitted that, from its accurate information as to the wants and general opinions of society (in which the Imperial Parliament was unavoidably deficient), the question would be more satisfactorily settled by the Provincial Legislature. That, subsequently to the withholding of the Royal Assent from the last-mentioned Bill, the Imperial Parliament passed an Act disposing of the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves in a manner entirely contrary to the formerly repeatedly expressed wishes of the Upper Canadian people as declared through their representatives, and acknowledged as such in a message sent to the Provincial Parliament by command of Your Majesty's Royal predecessor.

That we are humbly of opinion that the legal or constitutional impediments which stood in the way of Provincial legislation on this subject, should have been removed by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, but that the appropriation of revenues derived from the investment of the proceeds of the public lands of Canada, by the Imperial Parliament, will never cease to be a source of discontent to Your Majesty's loyal subjects in this Province; and that, when all the circumstances connected with this question are taken into consideration, no religious Denomination can be held to have such vested interest in the revenue derived from the proceeds of the said Clergy Reserves, as should prevent further legislation with reference to the disposal of them; but we are nevertheless of opinion that the claims of existing incumbents should be treated in the most liberal manner, and that the most liberal and equitable mode of settling this long-agitated question would be for the Imperial Parliament to pass an Act providing that the stipends and allowances heretofore assigned and given to the clergy of the Churches of England and Scotland, or to any other religious bodies or Denominations of Christians in Canada, and to which the faith of the Crown is pledged, shall be secured during

the natural lives or incumbencies of the parties now receiving the same, on the same principle that was adopted in the third section of an Act passed in the third and fourth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter 78; subject to which provision the Provincial Parliament should be authorized to appropriate, as in its wisdom it may think proper, all revenues derived from the present investments, or from those to be made hereafter, whether from the proceeds of future sales or from instalments on those already made.

We therefore humbly pray that Your Majesty will be graciously pleased to recommend to Parliament a measure for the repeal of the Imperial Act, 3 and 4 Vic., chap. 78, and for enabling the Canadian Legislature to dispose of the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves, subject to the conditions above mentioned."

Imperial Authority and the Reserves. Upon the question of general Imperial jurisdiction in the settlement of the question Lord Glenelg, then Colonial Secretary, wrote a most convincing despatch in December, 1851, to the Governor-General, of which the following is the chief portion:

"Your predecessor and the Council agree in the opinion that it is vain to expect the concurrence of the two branches of the local Legislature in any adjustment of this question, and they therefore invoke the interposition of Parliament, which interposition the Assembly on the other hand, deprecate with equal earnestness. The chief practical question, then, which at present demands consideration, is whether His Majesty should be advised to recommend to Parliament the assumption to itself of the office of deciding on the future appropriation of these lands. There are two distinct reasons, both of which appear to me conclusively to forbid that course of proceeding.

First: Parliamentary legislation on any subject of exclusively internal concern, in any British Colony possessing a representative Assembly, is as a general rule unconstitutional. It is a right of which the exercise is reserved for extreme cases—in which necessity at once creates and justifies the exception. But important as is the question of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada, yet I cannot find in the actual state of the question any such exigency as would vindicate the Imperial Legislature in transferring to themselves the settlement of this controversy. The conflict of opinion between the two Houses upon this subject, much as it is to be lamented, yet involves no urgent danger to the peace of society, and presents no insuperable impediment to the ordinary administration of public affairs. Although a great evil, it is not such as to exclude every hope of mitigation by the natural progress of discussion, and by the influence of that spirit which, in public affairs, not seldom suggests to parties alike solicitous for the general good, some mutual surrender of extreme views and some compromise on either side of differences which at first sight might have appeared irreconcilable. Until every prospect of adjusting this dispute within the Province itself shall have been distinctly exhausted, the time for the interposition of Parliament will not have arrived, unless, indeed, both Houses shall concur in soliciting that interposition; in which event there would of course be an end to the constitutional objections already noticed.

The second ground, on which I think myself bound to abstain from advising Her Majesty from referring this question immediately to Parliament, is that the authors of the Constitutional Act have declared this to be one of those subjects in regard to which the initiative is expressly reserved and recognized as falling within the peculiar province and the special cognizance of the local Legislature, although its ultimate completion is no less distinctly made to depend, in addition to the ordinary submission to Her Majesty, on the acquiescence of the Imperial Parliament.

It is not difficult to perceive the reasons which induced Parliament in 1791 to connect with a reservation of land for ecclesiastical purposes the special delegation to the Council and Assembly of the right to vary that provision by any Bill, which, being reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, should be communicated in both Houses of Parliament for six weeks before that decision was pronounced. Remembering it should seem how fertile a source of controversy ecclesiastical endowments had supplied throughout a large part of the Christian world, and how impossible it was to foretell with precision what

might be the prevailing opinions and feelings of the Canadians on this subject at a future period, Parliament at once secured the means of making a systematic provision for a Protestant clergy, and took full precaution against the eventual inaptitude of that system to the more advanced stages of a society then in its infant state, and of which no human foresight could divine the more mature and settled judgment.

In the controversy, therefore, respecting ecclesiastical endowments, which at present divides the Canadian Legislature, I find no unexpected element of agitation, the discovery of which demands a departure from the fixed principles of the constitution, but merely the fulfilment of the anticipations of Parliament in 1791, in the exhibition of that conflict of opinion for which the Statute of that year may be said to have made a deliberate preparation. In referring the subject to the future Canadian Legislature the authors of the Constitutional Act must be supposed to have contemplated the crisis at which we have now arrived—the era of warm and protracted debate which in a free government may be said to be a necessary precursor to the settlement of any great principle of national policy. We must now have recourse to an extreme remedy, merely to avoid the embarrassment which is a present, though temporary, result of our own deliberate legislation.

I think, therefore, that to withdraw from the Canadian to the Imperial Legislature the question respecting the Clergy Reserves would be an infringement of that cardinal principle of Colonial government which forbids Parliamentary interference except in submission to an evident and well-established necessity."

Statistical Record of the Question. The following tables show the annual sums paid out of the Clergy Reserve Fund a few years before the abolition of the system, together with the distribution amongst the Denominations:

	1841. £ s. d.	1842. £ s. d.	1843. £ s. d.	1844. £ s. d.	1845. £ s. d.
Church of England, Canada West	8,941 1 0	8,189 5 1	7,912 9 11	7,724 14 3	8,728 17 8
Church of England, Canada East	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Church of Scotland, Canada West	1,711 2 2	1,599 14 5	1,345 16 8	1,063 8 1	6,008 3 2
Presbyterian Minister at Perth, C. W	111 2 2	111 2 2	111 2 2	111 2 2	111 2 2
United Synod Presbytery, C.W	777 15 2	707 1 4	777 15 2	656 14 10	636 7 0
Roman Catholic Church, C.W	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wesleyan Methodist, C.W	1,666 13 2	1,666 13 2	1,666 13 2	1,666 13 2	1,666 13 2
Synod Presbyterian Church, C.W	777 15 6	719 8 10	662 2 2	662 2 2	607 15 6
Church of Scotland, Canada East	555 11 0	555 11 0	555 11 0	452 0 0	330 13 7
Total currency	£14,541 0 2	£13,548 16 0	£13,031 10 3	£12,336 14 8	£18,089 12 3

	1846. £ s. d.	1847. £ s. d.	1848. £ s. d.	1849. £ s. d.	1850. £ s. d.
Church of England, Canada West	12,066 11 0	17,940 14 6	9,765 10 6	23.712 4 8	14,729 16 4
Church of England, Canada West	7,197 16 0	2,079 13 7	2,016 10 8	2,018 17 9	2,498 18 5
Church of Scotland, Canada West	1,268 6 8	9,276 1 6	8,050 18 11	6,633 18 7	7,561 8 9
Presbyterian Minister at Perth. C.W	111 2 2	111 2 2	111 2 2	.....	.....
United Synod Presbytery, C.W	636 7 0	565 13 0	565 13 0	565 13 0	565 13 4
Synod Presbyterian Church, C W	....	50 0 0	.....	....	.....
Roman Catholic Church, C.W	1,666 13 2	1,666 13 2	1,666 13 2	1,666 13 4	1,666 13 4
Wesleyan Methodist, Canada West	607 15 6	607 15 6	607 15 6	1,739 8 10	574 0 10
Church of Scotland, Canada East	317 9 2	522 4 6	1,008 5 4	1,009 8 11	1,249 9 3
Total currency	£23,872 1 6	£32,819 17 11	£23,792 9 3	£37,346 5 1	£28,846 0 3

According to figures collected from public sources by Mr. Charles Lindsay, the total amount paid the various Churches under this system between 1814 and 1850 was $2,181,319. Of this amount the Church of England in Upper Canada received £200,716 10s. 0¼d. sterling; the same Church in Lower Canada received £108,766 2s. 11d.; the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in Upper Can-

ada £58,213 3s. 1d., and in Lower Canada £10,139 6s. 3d.; the Presbyterian Synod of Upper Canada £22,539 10s. 10d.; the Roman Catholics in Upper Canada £29,750 15s. 1d., and in Lower Canada £9,385; the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper Canada £21,855 2s. 0d. sterling.

The Hon. William Morris, M.L.C., who led the Scotch Presbyterians in Upper Canada throughout the prolonged struggle over the Clergy Reserves, was a most determined and persevering advocate of the right of the Church of Scotland to share in the special privileges of the Church of England. He was born in Paisley, Scotland, in 1786, and at the age of fifteen came to Montreal with his parents, who afterwards, however, removed to Brockville in Upper Canada. Young Morris served through the War of 1812-14. Two years after its conclusion he established a mercantile business in Perth, and in 1820 was elected a member of the Provincial Legislature where he at once moved an Address to the King in connection with the Clergy Reserves. In 1835 he was elected for the sixth consecutive time as member for Lanark, but in the following year was appointed to the Legislative Council. He bore a petition to the King in 1837 from the Scotch inhabitants of the Canadas, and during the rebellion of that year served as senior Colonel of his county. In 1844 he became Receiver-General, and proved himself during two years a most able administrator of the finances. In 1846 he assumed the Presidency of the Executive Council, resigned two years later, and died in 1853.

The Presbyterians and the Clergy Reserves. Presbyterian view of, and share in, the Clergy Reserves question was only second in importance to the opinions and position of the Church of England. The Rev. Dr. Gregg in his able historical work upon Presbyterianism in Canada deals with the subject at length, and the following extracts are of interest and value to all who wish to understand the different sides of a complicated problem:

"In this month (June 1831) the United Presbytery was organized as a Synod, which assumed the name of the United Synod of Upper Canada; and in the same month the ministers of the Church of Scotland in both Provinces were also organized as a Synod, which assumed the name of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. The organization of both Synods at this particular time was connected with efforts which were made to settle the controversy respecting the Clergy Reserves which had been set apart for the support of a Protestant clergy. This controversy was carried on for many years, sometimes with great bitterness, between rival Churches and rival political parties. The chief parties in the controversy were the clergy and adherents of the Church of England, who claimed an exclusive right to the Clergy Reserves; the clergy and people of the Church of Scotland, who claimed equal rights with the Church of England; and the clergy and people of the United Presbytery and Synod, who also considered themselves entitled to share in the provision made for a Protestant clergy. The Methodist and other Churches also took part in the conflict. Among politicians the battle was keenly waged; the Tories siding with the Church of England in its exclusive claims, while the Reformers favoured a more liberal policy. Opposite sides also were taken by the Legislative Council, which was appointed by the Crown, and the Legislative Assembly, which was elected by the people; the Council adopting the exclusive and the Assembly the Liberal views. Before the era of Responsible Government the influence of the Lieutenant-Governors was generally, and sometimes very decidedly, exercised in favour of the exclusive claims of the Church of England."

Up to the year 1819 little or nothing seems to have been done by the Presbyterians to secure their interests in the Clergy Reserves. "But on the 17th May, 1819, the Presbyterian inhabitants of the town of Niagara presented a petition to Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, representing that their church had been burned by the American army during the late war; that they had again erected a temporary place of worship; that they were now destitute of a stated minister, and were anxious to obtain one from the Established Church of Scotland if possible; and that having suffered many losses they were unable to pay an adequate stipend. They therefore prayed that His Excellency

would take their peculiar case into consideration and grant them the annual sum of £100 in aid, 'out of the funds arising from Clergy Reserves, or any other fund at His Excellency's disposal.' In transmitting the petition to Earl Bathurst, the Lieutenant-Governor informs him that the actual product of the Clergy Reserves is about £700 per annum, and adds: 'This petition involves a question on which, I perceive, there is a difference of opinion, namely, whether the Act intends to extend the benefit of the Reserves for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy to all Denominations,

The Right Hon. Henry, 3rd Earl Bathurst.

or only to those of the Church of England.' The question was submitted by Earl Bathurst without delay to His Majesty's Law Officers in England for their opinion, which was given on the 15th of November, 1819, and which contains the following clause: 'We are of opinion that though the provisions made by 31 George III., c. 31, ss. 36 and 42, for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy, are not confined solely to the clergy of the Church of England, but may be extended also to the clergy of the Church of Scotland, if there be any such settlement in Canada (as appears to have been admitted in the debate upon the passing of the Act), yet they do not extend to the Dissenting ministers, since, we think, the term "Protestant clergy" can apply only to the Protestant clergy recognized and established by law.'

It was thus clearly the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown that the clergy of the Church of Scotland were entitled to a share in the Clergy Reserves. It may here be mentioned with reference to the Act of 1791, which was introduced by Mr. Pitt, that the Earl of Harrowby stated in the House of Lords in 1828 that he had repeated conversations with Lord Grenville who had requested him, if an opportunity should offer, to state 'that both his own and Mr. Pitt's decision was that the provisions of 31 George III. were not intended for the exclusive support of the Church of England, but for the maintenance of the clergy generally of the Protestant Church.' Viscount Sandon also testified, in 1828, before a Committee of the House of Commons, that he understood Lord Grenville to say 'that the distinction of a Protestant clergy, which is frequently repeated in the Act of 1791, was meant to provide for any clergy that was not Roman Catholic.' This testimony he gave in order to rectify a reported conversation with him, given by Dr. Strachan, Rector of York, in a speech delivered in the Legislative Council in Canada in 1828.

On the 6th May, 1820, Earl Bathurst wrote to Sir P. Maitland informing him that His Majesty's Law Officers were of opinion that though the provisions of the Act of 1791 were not confined solely to the clergy of the Church of England, but might be extended also to the clergy of the Church of Scotland, yet that they did not extend to all Dissenting ministers. The knowledge of this opinion, and of its transmission to the Colonial Governor, seems to have been withheld or concealed from the public for years. The Hon. William Morris, who took a deep interest and active part in the Clergy Reserves' controversy, referring to what took place in 1826, says: 'Little did I dream, at the period alluded to, that an opinion in support of the rights of the Church of Scotland had previously been

furnished to Earl Bathurst by His Majesty's legal advisers'; and so late as 1838 Mr. Morris was unaware that this opinion had been transmitted to the Government of the Colony. At all events, the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown was practically disregarded by Sir P. Maitland and his advisers, as will afterwards appear.

On the 16th of December, 1823, a series of resolutions was introduced into the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada by the Hon. William Morris. These were designed to counteract the exclusive policy of the Clergy Corporation and protect the interests of the Church of Scotland, whose claim to an equality of rights in the benefits of the Clergy Reserves was founded on the Articles of Union between England and Scotland. The resolutions were adopted by the Assembly. The following is a copy of them:

'Resolved, That when the Kingdoms of England and Scotland were united the subjects of both were placed upon a footing of reciprocity, and were to enjoy a full communication of every right, privilege and advantage, and that neither the Church of the one nor of the other thereby gained an ascendency; on the contrary, that both were established by law as national Protestant Churches within their respective Kingdoms, and consequently the clergy of both are equally entitled to a participation in all the advantages which have resulted, or may hereafter result, from the said Union.

Resolved, That the Provinces of Canada were wrested from the Dominion of France by the united exertions of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the Churches of England and Scotland had at the conquest thereof an equal claim to enjoy the advantages which might be derived from the said conquest.

Resolved, That by the Act of the British Parliament passed in the 31st year of Her Majesty's reign, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government of this Province was authorized to set apart a portion of one-seventh of the land for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy.

Resolved, That if His Majesty, when he graciously authorised an appropriation of land to the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy in this Province, did not contemplate a provision for the clergy of the Church of Scotland, that they ought now to come under His Majesty's most favourable consideration by being otherwise provided for.

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, formed on the foregoing resolutions, praying that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct such measures as will secure to the clergy of the Church of Scotland residing, or who may hereafter reside, in this Province such support and countenance as His Majesty shall think proper.'

An Address was accordingly prepared, and in due time transmitted for presentation to His Majesty. It was not concurred in by the Legislative Council, five members of that body voting for it and six against it. Mr. Morris attributes its failure to receive the support of the Council to the fact that the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown was still unknown by the public. 'I am firmly persuaded (he says) that it would have received the assent of both branches had the fact been known to the public that the Law Officers of the Crown had recently given an opinion in accordance with the view taken of the law by the Assembly.' Before transmitting the address of the Assembly, Governor Maitland wrote a long despatch to Earl Bathurst, dated 27th December, 1823, in which he echoes the opinions of the Clergy Corporation, strenuously endeavouring to establish the exclusive claim of the Church of England to the Clergy Reserves, and setting forth the evil results to be apprehended from conceding the claims of the Church of Scotland. It would seem from this despatch that Governor Maitland had completely forgotten, or had not the slightest regard for, the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown in favour of the Church of Scotland, which Earl Bathurst had transmitted in 1820. It was felt, however, by the Imperial Government that something should be done for other Churches, than that of England, but from other sources than the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves. From the funds, therefore, arising from the sales to the Canada Company, allowances of £750 each were made to the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church, as appears from the following despatch, dated 6th October, 1826, from Earl Bathurst to Sir P. Maitland:

'Sir: You will receive instructions from the Treasury for the payment of £750 per annum for the salaries of the Presbyterian ministers, and a similar sum for the support of Roman Catholic priests. I deem it advisable that the allowances which may be granted to ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion in Upper Canada should be limited to persons who are natural born British subjects, who are in full communion with, and who are acknowledged by, the Kirk of Scotland, by whom they should be recommended to the Lieutenant-Governor for their appointments. With respect to the Roman Catholic priests who are to receive an allowance from the Government they will be recommended to you by Bishop Macdonell, who will be considered responsible for their good conduct; and the Bishop himself, the Presbyterian ministers, and also the priests, should be required to produce your certificate that they have been in the active discharge of their duty for the period for which the salary is claimed, and that you have no objection to the payment being made.'

Payments to the ministers of the Church of Scotland in Upper Canada were first made in 1837. No provision was made at this time for the ministers of the United Presbytery, whose numbers were greater, and the most of whom had laboured longer in the Province than the ministers of the Church of Scotland, and who, therefore, felt that an unjust discrimination had been made. In the year 1826, the subject of the Clergy Reserves was again brought before the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada and earnestly debated. The result was that on the 22nd December a series of resolutions was adopted by an overwhelming majority, declaring that the exclusive 'claim of the Protestant Episcopal Church is contrary to the spirit and meaning of the 31st Geo. III., and most injurious to the interests and wishes of the Province'; that but a comparatively small proportion of the inhabitants of Upper Canada are members of the Church of England, and ought not, therefore, to desire for their clergy the sole enjoyment of the Reserve lands to the exclusion of their fellow-subjects, who were equally loyal to His Majesty's Government and the Constitution; that it is the opinion of a great proportion of the people of the Province that the Clergy lands, in place of being enjoyed by the clergy of an inconsiderable part of the population, ought to be disposed of and the proceeds of their sale applied to increase the Provincial allowance for the support of district and common schools and the endowment of a Provincial seminary for learning, and in aid of erecting places of worship for all Denominations of Christians. A Bill founded on these resolutions was passed by the Assembly in January, 1827, by a large majority, but it failed to obtain the assent of the Legislative Council.

Hitherto the claims of the ministers of the United Presbytery of Upper Canada, most of whom had come from the Irish and Scottish Secession Churches, had been very much disregarded, and they felt aggrieved that nothing had been granted or promised to them from public sources. They, therefore, in September, 1829, presented a petition to Sir John Colborne, who had succeeded Sir P. Maitland as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, in which they urge their claims. They represent in their petition that they adhered to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of Scotland as contained in the Confession of Faith; that in Canada there were

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no real causes of separation between them and the Church of Scotland, with whom they were willing to unite; that, although not united with that Church they had equal claims to public support; they were twelve in number, had laboured in the Province, some of them for thirty years, endeavouring to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people, inculcating piety to God, loyalty to the King and obedience to the laws; some of them preached in four or five different places, from twenty to thirty miles distant from each other; they had been educated in well-equipped seminaries of learning, and most of them had received degrees from the College of Glasgow. They, therefore, deemed themselves worthy to share in any provision which might be made for the support of Presbyterian ministers. This petition was transmitted on the 25th January, 1830, by Governor Colborne to Sir George Murray, then Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, who in reply wrote a despatch in which he said that it was desirable that all the Presbyterian clergy of the Province should form one Synod, and thus be placed on one footing with respect to any assistance the Government might grant for their support.

We have now brought down the history of the Clergy Reserves controversy to the year 1831, and shall add only a few details respecting its future development and final settlement. In 1836, the people of Canada were startled, and great indignation was manifested, by the discovery that in the beginning of the year—the 15th of January—Governor Colborne, in Council, had created forty-four rectories of the Church of England and endowed them with extensive and valuable glebe lands out of the Clergy Reserves. This was done in a clandestine manner without the knowledge and in opposition to the declared policy of the Imperial Government, and also in direct opposition to the frequently repeated resolutions and declarations of the great majority of the representatives of the people of Upper Canada in the Legislative Assembly. This Act of the Governor-in-Council was generally regarded as a breach of public faith, an unwarranted exercise of power, and a daring violation of the rights of the people, and was undoubtedly one of the chief causes of the Rebellion of 1837-8. As the result of continued agitation, the Church of England was deprived in 1840 of an exclusive interest in the Clergy Reserves, while the claims of the Church of Scotland and of other Churches were recognized. The Church of England, however, was permitted to retain a disproportionately large share of the proceeds of the Reserves. According to the Imperial Act of 1840, it was arranged that, while allowances to a limited extent should be made to other Churches, the remaining proceeds of the Clergy Reserve lands, sold or to be sold, should be divided into three parts, of which two were assigned to the Church of England, and one to the Church of Scotland. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, and agitation was renewed. The controversy was finally settled in 1854."

Bishop Strachan's Defence of the System. In Canadian literature and history the Clergy Reserves question seems to have been largely dealt with from the antagonistic point of view and there is danger that future generations of Canadians will obtain their information upon a bitter controversy mainly from the one side. Such a result is to be deprecated in connection with any problem and certainly does not promote the inculcation of historical truth and accuracy. Hence the permanent value of the following extracts from a vigourous defence of the Church of England's position by its most powerful advocate—the Right Rev. Dr. Strachan, Bishop of Toronto. It was written to the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, on March 19th, 1853, after the passage of the Imperial Act relegating the settlement of the matter to the Provincial Parliament. The following are the most important sections or statements:

"What then is the value and importance of the religious endowments in Canada, and the present state of the two Churches of England and Rome? 1st. The Roman Catholic Church in Canada consists of one Archbishop and six Bishops who have, it is said, about 550 clergy under their charge. The strength of this Church lies in the eastern portion of the Province, and comprises all the French settlements and Seigneuries, and has formed from the beginning a regular Establishment, having been divided into parishes—a

process which is still continued as the country is opened. Each parish has had from its first institution an Incumbent supported by tithes and various dues, with a parsonage, glebe, and other endowments, in much the same way as the clergy of the Established Church in England and Ireland. Hence the Romish Church has increased in efficiency, wealth and importance with the growth of the Colony.

The average value of the livings it is not easy to ascertain with minute exactness, but from the best information that can be obtained it may be taken at £250 per annum; and assuming the Parochial clergy at 500—exclusive of those employed in Colleges, Monasteries, and other religious Houses, we have for the revenue of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada £125,000 per annum, a sum which represents a money capital of at least £2,500,000. In Upper Canada the Roman Catholic clergy do not, at present, exceed 100 in number, and the provision for their support is very slender. It depends chiefly on their customary dues and the contributions of their respective flocks, unless, indeed, they receive assistance from the French portion of the Province where the resources of the Romish Church are abundant. In regard to Education, the means at the disposal of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada are not merely ample but munificent, as appears from the following table." (Showing the possession of over 2,000,000 acres of land and quoted in Volume II. of "Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country," Page 549).

"Now, averaging the value of these lands at the very low price of 6s. 8d. per acre, they represent a capital of £700,000. It is true, all these possessions were at one time at the disposal of the Crown, and the Jesuits' Estates are not yet finally appropriated, but who that knows the readiness with which Lord Sydenham gave a title to a few monks of St. Sulpice, covering the whole city and island of Montreal, with the consent of the Imperial Government, received or implied, can expect that these vast possessions will be now kept back. But, independent of the Jesuits' Estates, we have the Seminary of Quebec (after deducting a generous allowance if thought good, for the Archbishop), with a princely endowment of more than half a million acres of land to establish Colleges and Seminaries of a higher order in the districts of Three Rivers and Quebec; and the still richer Seminary of St. Sulpice, worth more than half a million, and believed by many to be worth double that sum, to do the same for the district of Montreal.

2nd. Contrast all this, My Lord Duke, with the United Church of England and Ireland in Canada. We have three Bishops and about 250 clergymen; the latter having very scanty support, and yet scanty as it is, they are much more indebted for it to the unwearied benevolence of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the generous protector of the Colonial Church) than to Government. For although it was the intention of the British Parliament in 1791 to make ample provision for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy in Canada, and to place the National Church on an equal footing in temporalities with that of Rome, that intention has been frustrated by neglect and mismanagement, and at last by the active interference of the Government.

In 1840, the lands set apart for this purpose, including the one-fourth under sale, may be assumed at three millions of acres. Of this quantity seven-twelfths were at once swept away by the 3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 78, leaving only five-twelfths for the support of the Protestant clergy. The Church requested that she might have the management of this small remainder of her property, either to lease or to endow parishes, and so ensure a permanent provision, at least to a limited extent. This was denied her, and the lands were ordered to be sold without reserve under the direction of the Provincial authorities. Now it is believed that under this unscrupulous management the share of the Church, or 1,250,000 acres, will not realize one-third of their value, but assuming that they may on the average realize 6s. 8d. per acre, or, for the whole £420,000, which at the present rate of interest may produce £25,200 per annum, what is this for the support of all the Protestant clergy who will ever be in this vast Province?

Besides the Clergy Reserves, Lord Seaton, towards the close of 1835 and beginning of 1836, while Governor of Upper Canada, established fifty-seven rectories for the benefit of the Church,

but of these only forty-four were completed before his departure. They were endowed with lands amounting to in all 17,368 acres, giving an average of about 400 acres to each rectory. Thirteen, which from some accidental causes were found without Lord Seaton's signature after his resignation of the Government, and which the proper authorities both here and in England have refused to complete, are held void, so that the legal rectories are only forty-four instead of fifty-seven. So much has been said about these rectories in an unfriendly spirit, and so little in their defence, that few possess any correct knowledge respecting them, while the enemies of the Church think them a monstrous evil which ought as soon as possible to be abated—that a few remarks on their orgin and present value may not be unseasonable. For were it generally known that lands, equal in quantity and quality to the whole endowment attached to these rectories, might have been purchased for a very trifling sum even so late as 1818, and that they confer on their Incumbents no power beyond what a lease for life confers on its holder, we may reasonably hope that the prejudices and hostility against them will soon pass away, or become too feeble to produce any renewed agitation.

A considerable portion of the land which forms the endowment of the rectories was set aside at the first settlement of Upper Canada. At that early period the waste lands of the Crown had acquired no money value, and, while bestowed *gratis* on all applicants, they continued at a mere nominal price. In 1798 only ninepence per acre was offered for school lands, and so recently as 1818 lands might have been purchased at about one shilling per acre; thus a quantity of land equal to the whole endowment of the rectories might have been obtained for less than one thousand pounds, and although the Colony has greatly prospered since that period, and lands are much enhanced in price, this sum exceeds in value all that the rectories can with any plea of justice be said to have cost the public.

These rectories are scattered over the whole Diocese, an area of 60,000 square miles. Some have been more than half a century in possession of the Church, are much improved, and have churches and houses built upon them; a few still remain a wilderness, but the greater number have been partially cleared at the expense of the Incumbents and their congregations. By the last returns, the total annual income amounted to £1,721, giving an average of £39 2s. 3d. for each rectory per annum. If it be asked why a matter of so little value and importance could excite so much virulence and obloquy, the answer is that to pull down the true Church of God, the Church of the Sovereign and of the English Nation, appears to be the favourite object of the greater number of Protestant Denominations around us; and while blind to the increasing power of Romanism, they seem to delight in vilifying and destroying the only Church capable of withstanding that of Rome. No matter how pitiful the case may be, if it can in any manner be cherished and worked up into a grievance to damage the Church of England, the acknowledged bulwark of the Protestant faith, they rejoice in its application. And it is to these very persons, who have been for years in possession of the Government of the Province, that it is now proposed to surrender the Clergy Reserves.

To speak of their forbearance is a cruel mockery, for although the rectories have been declared in all respects legal by the Crown Officers in England, and the House of Assembly in 1837 resolved by thirty-eight to twenty: 'That this House regards as inviolable the rights acquired under the patent by which the rectories have been endowed, and cannot therefore invite or sanction any interference with the rights thus established'—yet a Session of the Provincial Parliament never passes without efforts being made to confiscate them. In the summer Session of 1851, a Bill was introduced to repeal the clauses of the Constitutional Act which authorized the creation and endowment of rectories, and during its progress an insidious attempt was made, by dropping the power of presentation, to destroy those already existing, as they become vacant by the death of the Incumbents; this mean trick was discovered, and corrected, but the right of presentation was taken from the Crown and given to the Church Society, which body conferred it on the Bishop of of the Diocese. The Bill in this shape was reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure on the 30th August, 1851, and the Royal

Assent having been given on the 15th of May, it became law, and was proclaimed in Canada on the 9th June, 1852.

Having thus shown the state of religion in Canada and the means by which it is at present supported, I feel encouraged to submit that so far from being merely local and domestic the Clergy Reserves involve a national question of the gravest importance. At the Peace of 1763, the Crown of France ceded all its rights in Canada, not to Canada itself, but to the Crown of England, the title to which is two-fold. 1st. The right of conquest. 2nd. The right of cession. The validity of the latter is acknowledged by France at this very day. The Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of this indisputable right, set apart certain of the lands of the conquered Province, yet ungranted, for the use and support of the Protestant Church of the Colony. This was sanctioned by an Act of the Imperial Parliament in the 31st year of the reign of King George the Third of glorious memory. Subsequently (1840) the Crown and Parliament made and fixed a final distribution of this property, to which the Colony fully assented. In this second Act as well as in the first, it was most distinctly enacted that the property was for the sole use of the Protestant Denominations therein designated, and for no other purpose.

From all this two conclusions are obvious. 1st. That the title to those lands rested with England, and that the Colony could have no claim whatever to them for gift or distribution. The Colony would indeed be defeated in a claim of this sort by a Court of Common Law. 2nd. That the Crown and Parliament having legally and constitutionally granted these lands for religious purposes, cannot, even if disposed, grant them for secular purposes, which the advocates of spoliation avow as their aim and design. And here it may be asked whether the Coronation Oath of Her Majesty, as the Head of the Protestant Church, be consonant with the abandonment of the interests of that Church. We should never forget that Mr. Pitt's great object in 1791 was to preserve in the Colony, if not a Protestant ascendancy, at least an equality; and, as the Roman Catholics were already richly endowed in Lower Canada, he desired that the National Church should have the prospect of a full equivalent in Upper Canada. He was not legislating for the day, but for future ages.

That eminent statesman had become deeply sensible of the unwise policy which up to that time Great Britain had exercised towards her Colonies in regard to religion, and he resolved to attach the tried loyalists of Upper Canada and their descendants to the Mother-Country, by spiritual as well as temporal advantages, and to give them, as had been promised, and as they had a right to expect, the full enjoyment of her noble constitution which had rendered her, as she still continues to be, the great bulwark of the Protestant faith. Hence the appropriation for the support of a Protestant clergy. It was guarded by every conceivable security, that it might never be diverted to any other purpose; and it was highly becoming in the Legislature of Great Britain thus to dedicate to God's holy worship and service a portion of that vast domain which had been acquired through His blessing by the nation in resisting aggression. What was not thus appropriated remained in the Crown for the benefit of the British people; and every individual who might seek an asylum in the Province of Canada, from any part of the United Kingdom and Dependencies, had by his birthright an interest in the conquered lands, and an acknowledged title to such a portion as he might be able to cultivate.

In time many persons, not subjects of the Crown, found their way into the Province, and, although not received on the same terms as the Loyalists, they gradually acquired the rights and privileges of British subjects. Thus a mixed population gradually grew up. And can anything be more ludicrous or absurd, than that this population, which had come into the Colony individually, either from invitation, inclination or suffrance, now somewhat numerous, should turn round upon the Imperial Government, and seize the national domain and dispose of it at their pleasure; nay, assume the power to confiscate grants already made, and divert them from their original purpose, thus trampling upon the rights of their fellow subjects and ignoring the title of the British nation to her own possessions? Yet this is exactly what the ruling party in Canada is urging in no measured language. It seeks to confiscate

the Clergy Reserves, which were devoted to a special and sacred object more than sixty years ago, and to apply them to other purposes. It may indeed be said that the Imperial Government, some years ago, transferred the remainder of the national domain within the Province to the Colonial Legislature; but, although her indiscrete generosity went thus far, it did not extend to the bestowing of any right or authority to subvert grants already made, as the Legislature is attempting. The settlement of the Reserve Question was, and is, an essential part of the Union of Lower and Upper Canada.

The Government in England, on determining upon the Union of Upper and Lower Canada, selected Lord Sydenham, a nobleman of great ability and political sagacity, to carry it into effect. On his arrival in Canada, he found the projected measure unpopular and distasteful to both Provinces, and not to be accomplished without great discretion and the patient and delicate application of the unlimited powers with which he was invested. The greatest impediment in the way was the Clergy Reserves or Church property in Upper Canada, which had already been the cause of much agitation, and had for a long time divided the population into two parties. But while the Provinces remained separate, the destructives, though sometimes successful in the House of Assembly, were unable to prevail. At the mention of the Union, however, serious apprehensions began to be entertained by all the true friends of peace and order, that after its accomplishment the Legislature would certainly fall under the combined influence of Roman Catholic and Dissenting votes, and thus the property of the Church of England would be virtually at the disposal of her religious opponents. Lord Sydenham partook largely in this well-founded apprehension, and determined that the complete settlement of the Reserves question should precede the commencement of the Union.

For this purpose he procured an Act to be passed by the Legislature of Upper Canada, for the sale of the Clergy Reserves, and the distribution of the proceeds thereof. This Act was sent to England, rather to serve as an outline of the measure to be passed by the Imperial Government, than from any desire or expectation that it should be wholly adopted. What Lord Sydenham really wanted was the final settlement of the question. Of his earnestness in this matter there can be no doubt, for in his despatch to Lord John Russell of the 22nd January, 1840, inclosing this Bill, he states:

'That there is no subject of such vital importance to the peace and tranquillity of the Province as the question of the Clergy Reserves; That there is none with reference to the future Union of the two Provinces which it is more necessary to determine without delay; That to leave this question undetermined would be to put an end to all hope of re-establishing tranquillity within the Province, but to establish the Union without the settlement of it, and to transfer the decision to the United Legislature, would be to add to the source of discord which then prevailed in Canada an entirely new element of strife. For among the various evils by which Lower Canada had been visited, one, and one only, perhaps the greatest of all, has been wanting—religious dissension. That he was satisfied that the value of arriving at a settlement could not be overestimated; and that, strong as these feelings might have been, the immense advantage of having the question finally withdrawn from the sources of popular discussion and dispute would reconcile all parties to it; That he most fervently prayed that the settlement agreed on might be final, and that no obstacle might be opposed to its confirmation by Her Majesty; That should it be otherwise, and the question be again thrown back, he could not foresee the consequences, but at least he knew that peace and tranquillity must, in that event, long remain strangers to the Province.'

Such were Lord Sydenham's anxious endeavours for the final settlement of the Clergy Reserves. His discerning eye perceived that unless this was done, the Church of England would be prostrated, and the Church of Rome virtually established in both sections of the Province, and this result he was determined, if possible, to prevent. In this Lord Sydenham identified himself with those who from conscientious motives opposed the Union. They dreaded the ascendancy of the Romish Church and the progress of Socialism, as may be seen in the protests against that measure recorded in the Journals of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada (16 December, 1840, pages 23 to 29).

In consequence of Lord Sydenham's urgent solicitations the 3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 78 was

passed (which is a transcript nearly of the Bill inclosed in the despatch alluded to, and which had been passed at His Lordship's instance by the Legislature of Upper Canada) to provide for the sale of the Clergy Reserves in the Province of Canada, and for the disposition of the proceeds thereof. All the provisions of the Act, as well as the preamble, prove that it was intended by the Imperial Legislature to be final, and as such was accepted by the people of Canada. Never, perhaps, was a Statute passed with greater solemnity and consideration. The twelve Judges were consulted. Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, after protracted negotiations with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops then in London, acting on behalf of the Church, agreed in the spirit of conciliation to a compromise which resulted in the 3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 78. The Church of Scotland was also consulted, and approved of the provisions of the measure before it became law. A reference to the debates and proceedings on this Act in the *Mirror of Parliament* must satisfy every reasonable and honest mind that the object of all parties concerned was to settle the whole question, in the most just and satisfactory manner, then and forever.

This further appears from the pains taken to adapt the provisions of the Act to the new interpretation given to the words 'Protestant clergy,' which according to the opinion of the twelve Judges were held to embrace, since the repeal of the Test Acts, the teachers of all Protestant Denominations and no longer confined to the clergy of the Church of England. Accordingly the 3 and 4 Victoria recognizes all Protestant Denominations as entitled to share in the proceeds of the Clergy Reserves; nor are the Roman Catholics actually excluded, though not distinctly named. From all which it appears that this Act is in truth an integral part of the Union of the two Provinces, and that any infringement of the settlement thus made at the solemn request of Lord Sydenham, does in fact vitiate the said Union.

It is true the Imperial Parliament is deemed omnipotent, but if so, it is to do good, and not to do evil. No power has a right to perpetrate injustice, or to trample on its own solemn acts and engagements. It is clear from his letter to Lord John Russell, that Lord Sydenham never would have attempted to carry the Union, had he not first secured the remainder of her property to the Church of England. Hence in every point of view the 3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 78, cannot be repealed without disturbing the Act of Union. Were anything wanting to establish this view of the subject, it is amply supplied by the 42nd clause of the Union Act (3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 35) by which, having respect to Ecclesiastical and Crown rights, the two Churches of England and Rome in regard to their temporalties are placed on an equal footing, as had already been done in the 14th and 31st Geo. 3rd. So that to touch the property of the one is to endanger both, and thus leave their endowments at the will of the varying majority.

That the 3rd and 4th Victoria was wise, though not a perfect measure, is manifest from the fact that for ten years, that is from 1840 to 1850, the Province was at peace on the question of the Reserves, which were believed to be finally and absolutely settled. It was so declared by the United Legislature in 1846, and a strong recommendation was added that no change or deviation from this settlement ought to be sanctioned by the Legislature. Thus the pledged faith and solemn guarantee of the Imperial and Canadian Governments, and of the two national Churches, had been given to preserve the settlement inviolate. Again, so far as the two national Protestant Churches are concerned, they have been for the last twelve years in the actual possession of their portion of the Reserves, and, therefore, it is not competent for any power whatever to legislate on these portions without their consent and approbation.

The Acts for uniting the Provinces, and finally arranging the Clergy Reserves property, came into operation in 1840. The two national Churches of England and Scotland have been since that time in the enjoyment of their respective shares. The Wesleyan Methodists, the United Synod of Presbyterians and even the Roman Catholics in Upper Canada, have accepted respectively such a portion of the Clergy Reserves Fund annually as the Governor-General-in-Council has thought it just and reasonable to allow.

Assuming then, as we have a right to do, that the five Denominations accepting from the proceeds of the Reserves are not unfriendly to their preservation, and finding from the last Census that the population in Upper Canada is 952,000, and that the aggregate of these five religious bodies is 575,067 accepting assistance, against 376,933 not yet accepting it, we have a majority not unfriendly to the Clergy Reserves over their opponents of 298,130. So much for the correctness of those who assert that a vast majority of the inhabitants of Upper Canada are hostile to the Clergy Reserves.

Moreover, the Free Church of Presbyterians, numbering 65,807, have not yet spoken, but there is nothing in their avowed principles to prevent them from receiving assistance if they so please. On the whole, a reference to the Census proves that nearly two-thirds of the population of Upper Canada avail themselves of the advantages held out by 3 and 4 Victoria, chap. 78, and were the Free Church Presbyterians to claim their right, the proportion would be more than two-thirds. There is also no little significance in the fact that the larger Christian Denominations, so far as I know, have not yet announced in any public and official manner their determination never to avail themselves of the privilege conferred upon them by the Act.

How little the Canadian Legislature is qualified to settle the question of the Clergy Reserves will appear from what has been passed during the last three Sessions. For nearly ten years after the passing of the 3rd and 4th Victoria, chap. 78, the Province of Canada was tranquil, and the subject of the Reserves seemed well-nigh forgotten, when a prominent member of Government, to the utter astonishment of the population, brought it again before the House of Assembly on the 18th June, 1850. It is, indeed, said that the two Attorney-Generals, the acknowledged leaders of the majority, disapproved of their colleague's conduct, and expressed some regret at the commencement of the violent debates which followed; but as a single word from either would have silenced its promoter, their regret must have been very slight and transitory for they voted against the Church, and yet the principal resolution was carried by two votes only. Now, it cannot be supposed that a question, so vexatious and which had in the opinion of all parties been so happily arranged, was thus forced back merely to inflame the public mind, without some special object in view, open or concealed. The most feasible account at the time, and still generally believed, is that the Ministry, finding their popularity rapidly on the decline from the adoption of several damaging measures, especially the Rebellion Losses Payment Act, began to dread the approaching election, and sought to divert the public attention from themselves to some exciting interest. The move was very successful, and yet three principal enemies of the Clergy Reserves were unseated at the general election. Why a greater number were not thrown over may be accounted for by the following among other reasons.

Soon after the Union, what is called Responsible Government was fully recognized, and its downward operation was most rapid and offensive. The influence of the Governor-General had been in a great measure extinguished. The grace of the Queen through her Representative had ceased to be felt. The Legislative Council, named at pleasure by the party in power, is no longer felt to be a check as an Independent Branch, and it is notorious that when any measure passes the Lower House it is considered to be safe. The fountain of Justice is placed in jeopardy by the presence of two Attorney-Generals as effective members of the Executive Council, and thus the Legislative, Executive and Judiciary powers are, to a fearful extent, in the same hands.

All these things have depressed and disgusted the loyal and Conservative party, and had at first such an effect upon some as to drive them to think of Annexation. But from this folly they were speedily reclaimed. If, in addition to all this, the Church be deprived of her property, the last link of attachment to the parent State will be snapt asunder. We feel that we are under a small but reckless junta, who are less than nothing were they not supported by Roman Catholic votes. And we see no hope of return to that wise and salutary Government which we have a right as British subjects to expect. We feel, in truth, as the people of England would do, were extreme Radicals placed at the head of the Government.

Under such depressing circumstances the Conservatives had little heart to appear vigourously at the hustings, and yet, as we have already noticed, they defeated the three principal enemies of the Reserves, and thus secured their safety had there been no interference on the part of the Roman Catholics, who ought never to have voted on this question, since it is entirely Protestant. At first they hesitated and seemed rather inclined to assist in their preservation, but since the Papal Aggression, and Lord John Russell's feeble attempt at a remedy, they are become more bold, and many of them do not conceal their expectation of obtaining a large accession to their endowment by the secularization or redistribution of the Reserves, and some are no-ways unwilling to adopt the policy of the Roman Catholics in Ireland.

Now all this is the more to be deplored because there had been, from the first settlement of Upper Canada till the Union of the two Provinces in 1840, a courteous and uninterrupted interchange of civilities and social intercouse between the members of the Church of England and the Church of Rome. But since the unhappy Union causes of irritation and estrangement have been gradually arising. The Church of England feels, from the sad occurrences of almost every day, that she no longer possesses her just influence in the Legislature, but is thrown on all occasions where her interests are concerned into a hopeless minority. She finds, as was recorded in her protests against the Union, that her ancient opponents, the Dissenters, who were seldom able to refuse her justice are now re-enforced on all occasions where she can be mortified and injured, by Roman Catholic votes.

By this unhallowed combination she lost her University, and when she requested Separate Schools for the education of her own children, her prayer was rejected, while they secured the privilege for themselves. Thus, within a few years our Holy Church has been deprived of the power of educating her children in her own way, and is now threatened with the loss of the remainder of her endowment. The Romanists on the other hand, who have caused all these evils, are in the full and peaceable enjoyment of an endowment infinitely more valuable, and enjoying all the sweets of civil and religious liberty, while Ministers of State and Members of Parliament are talking in utter ignorance of our true position, or with chilling indifference, if they do, about arranging our domestic affairs, and confiscating our small remainder of Church property, though fenced on every side by the most sacred pledges. It might, with good reason, have been expected that the Roman Catholics would have from delicacy, if not from principle, abstained from voting on matters in which our Church was specially interested, but they have not done so.

I feel bitterly, My Lord Duke, on this subject. 'Till I heard of Your Grace's despatch, I had fondly trusted in Mr. Gladstone and his friends, of whom you are one, notwithstanding the present doubtful Administration, and I still argued in my heart, though not without misgivings, that the Church was safe. I have cherished her with my best energies for more than half a century in this distant corner of God's dominion; and after many trials and difficulties I was beholding her with joy enlarging her tent, lengthening her cords, and strengthening her stakes; but now this joy is turned into grief and sorrow, for darkness and tribulation are approaching to arrest her onward progress. Permit me in conclusion, My Lord Duke, to entreat your forgiveness, if in the anguish of my spirit I have been too bold, for it is far from my wish or intention to give personal offence. And of this rest assured, that I would most willingly avert, with the sacrifice of my life, the calamities which the passing of your Bill will bring upon the Church in Canada.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) JOHN TORONTO."

SECTION III.

THE PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS OF CANADA

ONTARIO EDUCATION BEFORE 1867

BY

JOHN MILLAR, B.A., Deputy Minister of Education.

BY the British North America Act each province of the Dominion has practically the right to determine its own system of education. When Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were confederated in 1867, definiteness had already been given to our educational institutions. The history of education in Ontario is largely the history of those social, political and religious forces which have given form to the intellectual and moral, as well as to the material conditions of the people. To give an account of the educational progress made before Confederation, is to enumerate the early struggles incident to a new country, and to describe contests which, though they now appear trifling, had no small part in securing that civil and religious liberty of which Canadians are proud. Political landmarks have their significance in accounting for many features of education in Ontario. For instance the settlement of Canada by the French has made the "French" element since the victory of Wolfe in 1759 a factor in school matters. The declaration of American Independence in 1776, with the establishment of the neighbouring Republic, aided in giving a democratic form to the way in which educational affairs are managed. Again, in framing the constitution of the Dominion the dangers which the United States had just experienced during the civil war were not overlooked. Accordingly the assumed advantage of strengthening the central government is recognized in the "veto" power and in the protection of the rights of minorities. In every part of our educational history there are found evidences of a desire to preserve those features which have marked British institutions, and at the same time to depart from anything merely traditional that might impede educational progress.

Before Upper Canada had become a separate province the educational needs of the people had been pressed upon the attention of the Government. Before the Declaration of Independence settlers from Great Britain and from the older colonies hastened to occupy the territory to the north of the St. Lawrence. When peace was proclaimed the U. E. Loyalists were welcomed by the Provincial Government to Upper Canada, which in 1791 was made a separate province from the old French colony of Lower Canada. So early as 1797 a grant of 500,000 acres of land was made for the purpose of establishing and endowing a University and four Royal Grammar Schools. Already the Governor and the Bishop of Quebec, impressed with the needs of the early settlers, had endeavored to move the Imperial Government to provide for the establishment of schools. Some person competent to direct educational movements appeared to be required, and the Rev. J. Strachan (afterwards Bishop Strachan), who arrived in the country in 1799, occupied no insignificant position in shaping at that time the institutions of Upper Canada.

The efforts to establish a University and a system of secondary schools met with considerable delay, and only at a later period did the needs of the masses of the people receive any recognition. It is worthy of note, however, that the duty of the state to provide elementary education was not fully accepted for some time after considerable attention had been given to higher education. The first Governor of Upper Canada, Lieutenant-General J. Graves Simcoe, was a man of comprehensive views regarding education, and he strongly urged that efforts should be made to give the U. E. Loyalists such school privileges as would prevent them from returning to the United States. In the meantime many private schools were

opened in various parts of the province. So far as can be known the first school of any note was opened in 1785, by the Rev. John Stuart, D.D., an Episcopal clergyman and U. E. Loyalist, born in Virginia. This school, which was termed a "classical" one was held at Cataraqui (Kingston).

Among the other schools established at an early date were those at Adolphustown, Port Rowan, Ancaster, Little York (Toronto), Belleville, Sophiasburg, Fredericksburg and Ernestown. In 1792 one was started at Newark (Niagara), which was then the seat of government. In 1798, Mr. William Cooper opened a school in George St., Little York (Toronto). In 1800, Bishop Strachan opened one at Kingston, and in 1804, one at Cornwall. In 1802, Dr. Baldwin (father of the late Mr. Robert Baldwin) opened a classical school at York, and in 1805 Dr. Strachan held the first "public examination" at the Cornwall School. In this school, and in Dr. Strachan's school at York, were educated many of those gentlemen who subsequently filled high positions in Church and State.

The difficulties to be met were great, owing to the lack of funds; and it was some years before the projects of Governor Simcoe, who had returned to England, were taken up by subsequent authorities. It may be readily assumed that few of the private schools were carried on with efficiency. The mere rudiments of learning were all most children had any chance of securing, and the defective education of the teachers employed rendered the instruction imparted of the crudest kind. Discharged soldiers gave their services for a mere pittance, and it was only in a few places that pupils had the advantage of such persons as those whose names have been mentioned. In many instances the teachers engaged had come from the United States, and the charge of fostering republican sentiments was not unfrequently made. What served to intensify the feeling against the "Yankee" pedagogues was the general use of American text books which continued to have a place in the schools for several years afterwards. Indeed, the older inhabitants often tell of the spirited discussions which were prevalent as late as 1840, between the respective advocates of British and American educational methods. American habits of pronunciation were deplored, and English, Scotch and Irish "accents" were in turn condemned.

It should be admitted, however, that those primitive schools served a useful purpose. In such schools many pupils received that elementary training which subsequently enabled them to take prominent positions in the conduct of public affairs. It may be of interest to quote part of the agreement entered into by a teacher of Hallowell, County of Prince Edward, and bearing date the 26th of October, 1819. It is quite likely that the language was not very different from that which appeared in other agreements of the time. It states, "that the said R—— L—— doth agree to teach a regular school for the term of seven months, from the first day of November next, at the rate of two pounds ten shillings per month, and he further doth agree to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, to keep regular hours, keep good order in school as far as his abilities will allow, and see that the children go orderly from school to their respective homes." It was agreed to pay the teacher as mentioned and also "to find a comfortable house for the school, supply it with wood fitted for the fire, wash, mend, lodge and victual him for the time of keeping said school."

Up to this time books were scarce and it was felt that some effort should be made to supply reading matter for the people. The propriety of establishing "social libraries," as they were termed, was recognized and in 1813 a library of this kind was collected at Kingston. It would appear that Bath had at this time acquired some educational importance, for we find it established a "social library" before 1811. The Legislature also determined to provide for the improvement of its members, and the sum of £800 was expended in establishing a library for the Assembly. Thus we find that before the war of 1812 some attention had been given to elementary, secondary and higher education, and that the inhabitants were beginning to recognize the need of promoting all measures that would advance the intellectual and moral welfare of the people. The foundations were laid and it will be interesting to outline the several steps which enabled Ontario at the time of Confederation to present a system of education with no part neglected.

The early immigrants to Upper Canada were,

in many instances, persons of some college training. The U. E. Loyalists knew something of the fame of Harvard and other American institutions. Those persons holding prominent positions had received a university education before leaving Great Britain or Ireland. The inhabitants of New France experienced the advantages of religious endowments. The first official intimation regarding University education for Upper Canada was in the address to His Majesty George III., which was adopted on the 3rd of July, 1797. "A College or University" was proposed, "where the youth of the country may be enabled to perfect themselves in the different branches of liberal knowledge." It was urged that in the appropriation of 500,000 acres of "waste lands of the Crown" there should be a reservation of at least one-half of the whole grant for purposes of the university. The establishment of this Provincial University had closely connected with it the personal work of the late Bishop Strachan.

Had Governor Simcoe remained in office it is probable the project would have been carried out, and that Dr. Strachan would have filled an important position in the institution as soon as he came to Canada. The delay in the organization of the University turned his attention, for a time, to secondary education, until the Governor's projects assumed shape under the care of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland. Dr. Strachan urged the importance of establishing the University, prepared a curriculum of studies, and indicated the procedure that should be adopted to procure the necessary ways and means. In 1827, the charter for the establishment of King's College was finally secured through the efforts of Dr. Strachan, who, as Bishop of the Diocese, was made *ex-officio* Visitor of the College. Seven professors were to be appointed who were "to sign and subscribe to the thirty-nine articles." Except in the faculty of Divinity, matriculants were not obliged to be members of the English Church.

Soon began the memorable sectarian controversies, in which University matters occupied no insignificant part. Dr. Strachan was a prominent figure in the bitter struggles that ensued. The Hon. Robert Baldwin became a leader in advocacy of an unsectarian University. Those were the days of the "Family Compact" and the result is well known to students of Canadian history. King's College charter was assailed with great hostility. The policy of secularization triumphed, the right of the Provincial Legislature to amend a Royal charter was conceded, and the Legislative Council consented, though reluctantly, to the control of the University by the House of Assembly.

The constitution of the University was little more than one of paper until 1842. In April of that year the corner stone of the new institution was laid by Governor-General Sir Charles Bagot. In 1843 it was opened under the style and title of the "University of King's College," by the Right Rev. John Strachan, D.D., President of the University. Abortive efforts were made in 1845 and in 1847 to "reform" the University. In 1849 a comprehensive measure was passed, by which the institution was re-incorporated under the name of the "University of Toronto," by which it became in reality a provincial seat of learning under the control of the Government and Legislature.

Important amendments were made in 1853; the present handsome building was erected; and since Confederation the changes of 1873 are worthy of note, but more especially those arising from "University Federation." The secularization of what were termed "religious funds" was bitterly opposed by Bishop Strachan, whose name is also identified with Trinity University as its founder. When the English Church lost control of the Provincial University his indomitable energy was fully felt. A new endowment was raised, partly in England and partly in Canada, largely through his untiring efforts. Already Victoria College, Cobourg, had been founded in 1841 by the Rev. Dr. Ryerson, for the Wesleyan Methodists, and Queen's College, Kingston, received its charter in 1840 and was opened in 1842. To these were added Albert College, Belleville, under the management of the Episcopal Methodists, and Ottawa College and Regiopolis College, Kingston, under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. It is hard to say what course would have been taken had the Provincial University been non-denominational when first organized. But the spirit of union between the various denominations was not, during those years, what it is to-day.

McMaster University, Toronto, and the Western University, London, have been established since Confederation.

We have seen that the early classical schools had their struggles before they received public recognition. In 1806-8 Acts were passed establishing a Grammar School in each of the eight districts of the Province, and a grant of £100 per annum was made for the salary of the master, who was to be nominated by trustees appointed by the Governor. In 1819 an additional Grammar School was provided for, and the nine schools were enjoined to hold annual examinations, to report to the Governor, and to educate ten Common School pupils free of charge. If the pupils in attendance numbered less than ten, the grant was to be cut down to £50.

The year 1830 is marked in the educational history of the Province by the opening of Upper Canada College. For many years its management was left largely to the authorities who looked after the affairs of the University. For a long time it continued to be the only secondary school of importance. In the following year the Assembly recommended a grant of £4,000 annually for eleven free Grammar Schools, and £2,000 for the Provincial Seminary at York. The name of the "District Schools" was changed to "Grammar Schools" in 1839, and further steps taken to increase their efficiency. Five trustees for each were to be appointed by the Government, and a part of the University endowment with a grant of 250,000 acres of Crown Lands, were set apart for their support. As King's College was not yet established, half of the revenue set apart for its support was to be granted to Upper Canada College. It was also decided to have a grant of £200 made for the erection of a Grammar School in each district on condition that an equal sum should be raised by the inhabitants. It was also provided that £100 should be given to Grammar Schools not in county towns and having sixty scholars.

The comprehensive School Act of 1853 brought for the first time the grammar schools under the control of the Chief Superintendent of Education. Measures were proposed to provide a more efficient supervision of these schools and to secure funds by local taxation for their support. It was, however, unfortunate that the Legislature showed little sympathy with the secondary schools, and they were crippled on account of the lack of local aid. The Act of 1853 required that any person who was not a graduate in Arts should pass an examination in order to hold the position of head master. The Council of Public Instruction prescribed the course of study for matriculation, as the curriculum upon which candidates for Head Masters' Certificates were to be examined.

In 1858, the Model Grammar School was established at Toronto to serve as a training school for grammar school masters, but it did not meet the objects intended, and was closed five years afterwards. In 1865 an Amendment Act was passed for the grammar schools. The trustees were by this statute required to be elected partly by the county and partly by the town. The grant to be paid was to depend upon the amount to be raised from local sources. Head masters were to be graduates, but it required more time to convince the authorities that something more than scholarship was necessary to teach successfully. It was not until four years after the confederation of the Provinces that the important Act was passed which put real life into our secondary schools. The provisions of the school law of 1871 gave such an impulse to the high schools as, with necessary amendments, to place these institutions in a position not excelled, it is believed, by those in any other land. Their efficiency has affected for good elementary as well as higher education.

To the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, D.D., will always be ascribed the honour of founding our elementary school system. The course of events which led to his appointment fills a memorable part of Canadian history. In 1816 an Act was passed for the establishment of common schools, and a grant of £6,000 annually was set apart for the purpose. Trustees were authorized to appoint teachers, to make regulations, and to select textbooks from a list prepared by a District Board of Education. In 1820, but more especially in 1831, improved action was taken to provide for the wants of the great body of the people. The grants made by the Legislature were increased from time to time until the amount reached, in 1841, the handsome sum of £40,000. Both Prot-

estant and Roman Catholic schools were permitted in this year, as well as in 1843, by the amended Act.

When appointed Chief Superintendent, in 1844, Dr. Ryerson undertook, as a preliminary measure, a thorough examination of European and American systems of education, and in a report which he presented were suggested the principles upon which our system of schools was finally established. The first of November, 1847, marks the opening of the Toronto Normal School, and the beginning of the method of professional training for teachers which has now become one of the most valued features of our system. Acts of some importance were passed in 1847 and 1849, but the comprehensive School Bill of 1850, which was prepared by the Chief Superintendent, became law, and soon led to excellent results.

In 1853 amendments were made which affected Common and Separate Schools, but there was much controversy regarding the latter schools, which was repeated in 1858 and again in 1860 and 1862. In this last year the Separate School Act was given that shape which has formed the basis of the settlement of the question in the British North America Act. During the various discussions and amendments pertaining to educational matters the necessity of well-trained teachers for the schools was urged repeatedly by Dr. Ryerson, but it was not until after Confederation that many of the measures which he advocated were carried out. Some of the more important measures could be carried only when the administration of school affairs was made the work of a responsible Minister.

It is not unworthy of note that the sweeping changes of 1871—four years after Confederation—had been repeatedly advocated by the Chief Superintendent. This is especially so with respect to the appointment of County Inspectors instead of local superintendents for townships. It is also so with respect to the advantages of an uniform system of examining teachers by means of a Provincial Board of Examiners. The principles of free Public Schools and compulsory attendance were also features that had been frequently urged before their adoption in 1871. It should not be forgotten that a wise division of responsibility regarding the administration of school affairs marks the educational system of Ontario. The central authorities prescribe regulations governing the use of text-books, the course of study, the duties of Inspectors, Trustees, and Teachers. Trustees who are directly responsible to the ratepayers have the right to determine the amount to be expended for buildings and for the maintenance of the schools, and to select the Teachers who are to instruct the children. These are characteristics of our system which, though embodied in Statutes and regulations since the Dominion was formed, were advocated many years before the passing of the British North America Act. Stability and progress have since then been the watchwords of both political parties in the preservation and amendment of legislation pertaining to Ontario educational institutions.

EDUCATION IN ONTARIO SINCE CONFEDERATION

BY

THE HON. GEORGE W. ROSS, LL.D, M.P.P., F.R.S.C., Minister of Education.

THOUGH the British North America Act of 1867 revolutionized in many respects the Constitution of Canada, it marks no important epoch in the educational history of Ontario. When Upper and Lower Canada were united in 1841, the Parliament of the United Province was authorized to legislate in any way that pleased it in regard to the educational interests of either of its constituent parts, but it very wisely dealt with them on the Federal principle —having separate laws and maintaining separate administrations for the two Provinces. In this way there was kept up from 1841 to 1867 a continuation of the educational identity of Upper Canada, which had been slowly developing from 1791 to 1841. The really important dates in the history of education in Ontario are 1850 and 1871. In the former of these years a system of elementary public schools was by law established; in the latter that system, previously only partially free, was made entirely so, and the system of secondary schools was greatly improved.*

Revolutionary as the School Act of 1850 was, it fell far short of its author's ideal of free public schools, and compulsory attendance of pupils. It gave to the electors of each locality the privilege of declaring by their votes at each annual school meeting whether a "rate" should be charged for the pupils' tuition or not, and there were no stringent provisions to safeguard the interest of the child by requiring his parent or guardian to permit him to obtain a minimum amount of school training. During an interval of many years after the passing of this Statute, the proportion of rate-paying school districts remained quite large, but after a time it steadily and somewhat rapidly decreased, until, in 1871, Dr. Ryerson found himself warranted in advising the Parliament of Ontario to declare all public schools free, and their maintenance a charge on their respective districts to be met by a municipal assessment. The change which had taken place in public opinion was due in part to the growth of intelligence in the community and the practical difficulties connected with the collection of tuition fees, but it was largely due also to the persistent propaganda kept up by Dr. Ryerson through the medium of reports, circulars and personal tours throughout the Province. So complete had this change become, that when the School Act of 1871 was passed, the free school principle called forth no opposition from any quarter.

The plan adopted in 1850 for the systematic establishment and maintenance of public schools was the division of the township municipality into school districts, in each of which the law might be set in motion by a small number of resident householders. The election of Trustees followed, and precautions were taken to prevent obstruction by tax-payers pecuniarily interested in thwarting the effort to obtain educational facilities for those who could not afford to provide them at their own cost. The theory of the system was that every resident of a locality, whether he had children of his own to educate or not, profited by the education of all the children in the neighbourhood; that ignorance was the fruitful parent of vice, pauperism, and crime; and that it was better for the whole community to maintain schools and teachers than to maintain jails and policemen. This theory was carried in 1850 as far as the sagacious founder of the system thought it could be enforced; it was fully recognized and embodied in the Law of 1871.

From the latter date to the present time there has been no radical change in either the conception of the system, so far as the elementary schools are concerned, or in the means provided

*I desire to express my indebtedness in the preparation of this article to the valued assistance of Mr. William Houston, M.A., late Legislative Librarian of Ontario.

for giving it effect. There have been many changes made from time to time in the law, but they have all been prompted by a desire on the part of the Legislature to make the free schools more efficient, and to make the compulsory provisions more effective. In both directions the joint motive has been the welfare of the individual child and the highest interest of the community of which he is the more or less helpless ward. While it would be too much to say that this ideal has been realized with unqualified success, the statistics of attendance show that great progress has been made. In the following table they are given for groups of five years each, selected from the periods immediately following important changes in the School Law, or drawing near the present time:

Year.	Teachers.	Aggregate Attendance.	Average Attendance.	Salaries Male.	Avg. Female.
1850	3,476	151,891	81,469	208	124
1851	3,277	168,159	84,981	316	207
1852	3,388	179,857	86,756	332	212
1853	3,539	194,736	89,659	280	170
1854	3,589	204,168	92,925	315	193
1871	5,306	425,126	188,294	449	224
1872	5,476	433,256	188,701	460	228
1873	5,642	438,911	192,190	495	241
1874	5,736	441,261	192,898	505	248
1875	6,018	451,568	198,574	526	260
1892	8,480	485,670	253,830	421	297
1893	8,647	481,068	259,426	423	300
1894	8,824	483,203	268,334	421	300
1895	8,913	484,551	271,549	408	298
1896	8,988	481,948	271,354	400	291

Under the Act of 1850, the management of the School system was entrusted to a Chief Superintendent and a Council of Public Protection, the members of the latter being appointed by the Governor-in-Council. No change was made in the organization of the Education Department by the Act of 1871, but three years later an attempt was made to grant to the teachers and inspectors representation in the Council. The result was so little satisfactory, that in 1876 both the Chief Superintendency and the Council were abolished, the former being replaced by a Minister of Education holding a portfolio in the Executive Council of the Province, and the latter by a Committee of that Council, of which the Minister of Education was a member. By this change the administration of the Education Department was made part of the ordinary public service of the Province, with the head of the Department in Parliament to answer for its operations to the representatives of the people. Every Departmental regulation becomes *ipso facto* an order of the Executive Council, and, as such, it has the force of law so long as it deals with matters which have by Statute been put under Departmental

The Hon. Adam Crooks.

jurisdiction. Among the more important of these are the authorization of text-books, the determination of the qualifications of teachers and inspectors, the distribution of the Legislative grants in aid of Education, the preparation of courses of study, the direction of Provincial Examinations, and the control of the pedagogical institutions of the Province. The first Minister of Education was the Hon. Adam Crooks, Q.C., who was succeeded by the present writer, in 1883.

Liberal provision has been made in Ontario for

the professional training of teachers. The latter are arranged in three classes, and no one can enter the third, or lowest, without spending a session in one of the County Model Schools, of which there are nearly sixty, with an aggregate attendance of over 1,500 students. There are two Provincial Normal Schools for the further training of second-class teachers, and the Legislature has resolved to establish a third. The Ontario Normal College has been instituted for the professional training of first-class teachers and also of teachers of secondary schools. In connection with every pedagogical institution there is a School of Observation, in which each student is required to do more or less actual class instruction during his professional course. While teaching, he is expected to attend for two days the yearly meeting of the teachers of the Inspectoral district to which he belongs, the time of these Institutes being largely devoted to the discussion of methods and of other matters of professional interest. For each of these Institute meetings a sum of money is appropriated by the Department and by the County Council, and in many cases a large part of this goes to the maintenance of a professional library.

The School Law of Ontario permits, under certain limitations, the establishment of Separate Schools, which are maintained by taxation levied through the medium of the municipal machinery, and by a share of the Legislative grants. The privilege of establishing such Separate Schools is not taken advantage of to any great extent except by the Roman Catholics, and by them chiefly in cities, towns, and those rural districts in which they form a large proportion of the whole population. Prior to 1863 the obstacles to the successful establishment of Separate Schools were difficult to overcome, but in that year the Parliament of Canada enacted a liberal measure which has been made permanent by the British North America Act, and has been since improved by the Ontario Legislature so as to make it more workable. The following table exhibits the growth of the Roman Catholic Separate School system from 1867 to 1896, inclusive:

Year.	Schools open.	Total Expenditure.	Teachers.	Pupils.
1867.....	161	$42,719	210	18,924
1872.....	171	61,817	254	21,406
1877.....	185	114,806	334	24,952
1882.....	190	154,340	390	26,148
1887.....	229	211,223	491	30,373
1892.....	312	289,838	662	37,466
1893.....	313	270,729	684	38,067
1894.....	328	337,307	714	39,762
1895.....	334	296,655	755	39,773
1896.....	339	303,147	734	40,846

Reference has been made above to the fact that the School Act of 1871 was a turning point in the history of secondary, no less than of elementary, education in Ontario. Prior to that time a persistent effort had been maintained to keep up classical schools, as the epithet "Grammar School" implied. By the Act of 1871 their name was changed to "High Schools," and under its operation whatever premium was once, by the mode of distributing the Legislative grant, put on the study of Latin has been entirely withdrawn. These schools are now in reality what their present name indicates, institutions in which a liberal secondary education may be secured by those who have already, in public or private elementary schools, acquired such a mastery over the ordinary subjects as will enable them to go on profitably with a more advanced English or foreign language course. The programme of studies has been enriched by a liberal infusion of science, taught by the aid of reasonably equipped laboratories. The standard is fixed by the requirements of the Provincial University for martriculation, and the examinations are held, one in each school, by the Educational Council, in the membership of which the various Universities are represented. The programme of studies for University matriculation has been identified closely with that for Public School teachers' certificates, so that the two sets of candidates may now be prepared side by side in the same High School classes.

There are three grades of High School examinations, corresponding to the three grades of certificates and called "primary," "junior leaving," and "senior leaving," to the University first year. The uniformity thus secured has been of immense benefit to the schools, by enabling them to obtain more perfect classification of pupils, and more perfect division of labour among the teachers. The result has

been the development of what may not unfairly be regarded as the most perfect system of secondary schools in any English-speaking country, one of the obvious tests of its excellence being the abundant supply of students always available for the Universities. A country without adequate facilities for higher education labours under serious disabilities. It is evident that these may be enormously increased by the absence of good schools for the preliminary training of students in those subjects which are universally recognized as pre-eminently useful for discipline, and the culture value of which is largely dependent on the fact that they cannot be mastered in a brief space of time. Some idea of the course of development of the High School system may be obtained by a perusal of the following statistics:

Year.	Schools open.	Teachers.	Expenditure.	Pupils.	Cost per Pupil.
1867	103	159	$124,181	5,696	$21 80
1872	104	239	210,005	7,968	26 36
1877	104	280	343,710	9,229	37 24
1882	104	332	343,720	12,348	27 56
1887	112	398	495,612	17,459	28 38
1892	128	522	696,114	22,837	30 48
1893	129	538	823,722	23,055	35 80
1894	129	554	688,532	23,523	29 27
1895	129	570	720,583	24,662	29 22
1896	130	574	749,970	24,567	30 53

While the High Schools have been year by year increasing in efficiency and popularity there has been a marked tendency on the part of the pupils to enter into practical life rather than to go on to a University. In 1896 those who went into mercantile and agricultural pursuits numbered 2,464, as against 959 who entered the Universities and the learned professions. Since 1867 the number of pupils taking the High School commercial course has increased from 23 to 53 per cent., while the number taking Latin has fallen from 90 to 63, and those taking Greek from 15 to 6. Per contra the percentage of pupils taking French has increased from 38 to 55, and German from zero to 18.

The provision made for higher education in Ontario is quite ample for the population of the Province, and is exceptionally efficient, owing partly to the efficiency of the secondary schools. The early history of higher education was marked by prolonged and acrimonious controversies between religious sects. The land endowment set apart in 1797 by the Imperial Government at the request of the Government of Upper Canada was, thirty years later, handed over to the corporation of King's College, which had just received a Royal Charter identifying it with the Established Church of England and Ireland. Important and very disturbing political events postponed till 1843 the opening of King's College to students, and during that interval incessant but fruitless attempts were made to have the institution secularized and the endowment made equally available for all Denominations. This was not effected till 1849, when its name was changed to the University of Toronto, which it still retains. Meanwhile Queen's University, Kingston, had been by Royal Charter in 1840, clothed with power to grant degrees, and like authority was by the Canadian Parliament conferred on Victoria University, Cobourg, in 1841. These institutions were established under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church respectively.

Bishop Strachan, deploring the secularization of King's College, set about establishing one under the control of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada, and with such success that Trinity University, Toronto, was by Royal Charter empowered in 1853 to confer degrees. In 1878 the Western University, of London, was incorporated by the Ontario Legislature with University powers, and in 1887 McMaster University, Toronto, was created by the same body—the former under Anglican and the latter under Baptist auspices. In 1866, Albert College, Belleville, was made a degree-conferring institution at the instance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but it has since been incorporated with Victoria University. In the same year like powers were granted to Regiopolis College, Kingston, and to Ottawa College, both under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1887 provision was made by the Legislature for the federation of other Universities with the University of Toronto, and in 1890, in accordance with a Resolution of the Methodist General Conference, the University powers of Victoria College were allowed to fall into abeyance, and it has

since been engaged in the work of preparing students for the degrees of the Provincial University.

Under the stimulus of competition the aggregate attendance of students at these various seats of learning has increased very rapidly during the past twenty years, while the general standard of higher education has *pari passu* been steadily raised. While the excellence of the secondary schools has made this expansion possible, the efficiency of these schools has been greatly promoted by the more thorough courses of training afforded by the Universities. For nearly thirty years a Degree in Arts from a British or Canadian University has been an indispensable part of the qualification required by Head Masters of High Schools in Ontario, and henceforth only a graduate can be recognized as a specialist teacher in classics, mathematics, modern foreign languages, English history, or physical science, in those higher secondary schools known as Collegiate Institutes.

An interesting phase of higher education in this Province is the throwing open of the Provincial University, and of most of the others, to women on the same terms as to men. This concession began to be made about fifteen years ago. At first and for some time, the attendance of women was small, but it has for a few years past rapidly increased, until it now (1898) amounts to from one-fourth to one-third of the whole. It should be added that in nearly all the Universities the students of both sexes attend the same classes together, thus securing for them a parity of opportunity at a minimum of cost to the institutions, and so far, without any known or perceptible drawback to either the Universities or the students. From present indications it seems not unlikely that under these conditions the attendance of women will in future increase more rapidly than that of men, as the sexes maintain an approach to equality of numbers, while there is a tendency on the part of young men to migrate westward without waiting to complete their University courses.

No account of the educational work of a public character done by the Province would be complete without some mention of the Institute for the Blind at Brantford, that for the Deaf and Dumb at Belleville, the Agricultural College at Guelph, and the School of Practical Science in Toronto. The first two were established before 1871; the third came into existence in 1872 and the fourth was started in 1877. In each of the four an education much more varied and extensive than the name implies is given to the students for whom it is designed, though all are more or less industrial in character. The aim of the Agricultural College, which has an experimental farm attached to it, is to train students scientifically as well as pratically in agricultural pursuits, also to give them a good English education; and the same remark applies *mutatis mutandis*, to the School of Science, which is devoted to engineering of different sorts, and to practical chemistry.

Under the auspices of the Education Department there has grown up during a number of years past a class of work of a somewhat miscellaneous kind, collectively described by the term, "technical education." Recognizing the benefit of better organization and closer supervision the Legislature in 1895 changed the name "Mechanics' Institutes" to that of "Public Libraries," and empowered their former Directors to transfer their libraries and reading rooms to the municipal councils. In this way a great impulse has been given to the establishment of free libraries, the number of which has increased to 368. Under the same head come various branches of Art, which were prosecuted in 55 institutions during 1897, and a few scientific associations, the proceedings of which include the reading and publication of valuable original papers in almost every department of physical and sociological science. Those reported for 1897 are the Canadian Institute, and the Astronomical and Physical Society of Toronto; the Field Naturalists' Club, the Institut Canadien Francais, and the Literary and Scientific Society of Ottawa; and the Hamilton Association.

The systematic effort of the Legislative and Municipal authorities to promote public education in all its grades has been in Ontario liberally supplemented by private enterprise. Attendance of pupils at private elementary schools is recognized as complying with the law regulating compulsory education, though such schools are not subject to any official inspection. They

exist in considerable numbers in all cities and in many towns. Those giving a good secondary education are fewer in number, but they serve a very useful purpose by enabling parents who live remote from High Schools to secure for their children an advanced education, coupled with residence, under the supervision of a teaching faculty. There is no residential school maintained on a public foundation for girls, and there is only one for boys—Upper Canada College—which was founded in 1829 during the *régime*, and at the instance of Sir John Colborne, when he was Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. In the earlier part of its career, and before the Provincial University came into operation, it was allowed to absorb for its maintenance a large part of the University endowment, which was permanently assigned to it by the University Act of 1849. It is now maintained in part on a foundation of private donations. In spite of the number and excellence of the public secondary schools the private residential schools for pupils of each sex are on the increase in numbers, in capacity, and in efficiency. They are not subject to Departmental control, but, when incorporated are exempt from general municipal taxation.

The Normal School, Toronto—Seat of the Education Department of Ontario.

ESTABLISHMENT AND GROWTH OF THE SEPARATE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ONTARIO.

BY

THE HON. RICHARD W. SCOTT, Q.C., LL.D., Senator of Canada and Secretary of State.

THE System of Education prevailing in Upper Canada before the union of that Province with Lower Canada in 1841 was very primitive and incomplete when compared with the high standard to which it has now attained. The system embraced, First, the grammar schools, which were located in the shire towns of the several districts into which the Province was divided; Second, the common schools, which ratepayers were authorized by Statute to establish in every section where a school-house had first been built and where twenty children of school age were to be found. These common schools were under the control of Trustees elected annually by the ratepayers, and the Trustees appointed the teacher, who received $100 a year from the Educational grant. The only condition attached to this grant was an obligation on the part of the Trustees to send in an annual report giving the number of pupils in attendance and showing the general condition of the school. The balance of the teacher's salary was made up by contributions from the patrons of the school. There was no official interference from Inspectors or Superintendents and no supervision of text-books; the teacher was inspired in his methods by the sentiments of the Trustees and supporters of the school; and as the people in the scattered settlements that then prevailed were dependent on each other for daily favours they were naturally tolerant of each other's views—so that very little friction prevailed and mutual good-will existed amongst the different classes in the comparatively small communities.

As the district towns alone enjoyed the advantages of grammar schools, private schools of a higher order than the common schools were usually to be found in the other towns and villages, and were exclusively supported by the monthly fees of the pupils. Such was the condition of education in Upper Canada when the two Provinces were united. In Lower Canada small grants had annually been made to elementary schools, a very large proportion of these being under Catholic influences; the Protestant element established what are still known as Dissentient schools, which also received a share of the grant. A few mixed schools existed in those localities where neither the Catholics nor Protestants were sufficiently numerous to establish separate schools for the benefit of their respective communities.

The subject of Education necessarily claimed the attention of the Legislature at its first session after the Union, and a system of common school education was established for the new Province of Canada. A permanent fund was created to be sustained and maintained out of the sales of lands set apart for that purpose. Provision was also made for the appointment of a Chief Superintendent of Education, for the collection of rates, for the appointment of a Board of Education, and also for other details incidental to the establishment of a more perfect system of common school education. The most important features of the Act as affecting the Protestant minority of Quebec and the Catholic minority of Ontario were the wise and considerate enactments which were intended to give to each body the control of its own schools. By the 11th Section it was enacted:

"That whenever any number of the inhabitants of any township or parish professing a religious faith different from that of the majority of the inhabitants of such township or parish, shall dissent from the regulations, arrangements, or proceedings of the Common School Commissioners, with reference to any common school in such

township or parish, it shall be lawful for the inhabitants so dissenting, collectively, to signify such dissent in writing to the Clerk of the District Council, with the name or names of one or more persons elected by them as their Trustee or Trustees, for the purposes of this Act."

The Trustees had power to establish or maintain one or more common schools and to receive from the district treasurer their due proportion of the moneys appropriated by law, and raised by assessment for the support of the common schools in that district. In cities and towns the Governor of the Province was authorized to appoint not less than six nor more than fourteen persons (one half of whom were in all cases to be Roman Catholics and the other half Protestants) to be a Board of Examiners for each city or town. This Board was divided into two departments—the Roman Catholics having charge over the schools attended by Roman Catholic children, and the other department to consist of Protestants who exercised the same duties in and over the common schools attended by Protestant children only.

The respective departments of the Board were authorized to examine persons recommended as teachers and to grant certificates of qualification; to regulate for each school separately the course of study to be followed in such school and the books to be used therein, and to establish general rules for the conduct of the schools. If a member of the Order of Christian Brothers was appointed a teacher he was not subject to examination. The spirit that animated the representatives of the two Provinces at their first Session in dealing with the subject of education showed a fair and just appreciation of the rights of the minority in each Province. They recognized that the child belonged to the parent and not to the State; that the parent had an inherent right to control the education of his child. This fair and tolerant spirit continued to influence the action of the majority in the Province of Quebec, as from time to time the privileges of the minority in educational matters were enlarged and extended, while the policy in Upper Canada in the years following was to narrow and circumscribe the rights of the minority.

The attempt to administer the school system for the two Provinces under the provisions of the Act of 1841 was not found satisfactory, and in December, 1843, an Act was passed permitting Quebec to take the control of its share of the grant of £50,000, which, by arrangement on a basis of population, was fixed at £30,000. Freed from the influence of Quebec in educational matters the fair and elastic clauses for the protection of the minority contained in the Act of 1841 were repealed in the Session of 1843 by an Act for the establishment and maintenance of common schools in Upper Canada, and in substitution for these clauses a "conscience clause" was adopted, declaring that no child should be required to read or study in, or from, any religious book or to join in any exercise of devotion or religion which was objected to by the parent or guardian. The Act further declared that where the teacher of a school happened to be a Roman Catholic the Protestant inhabitants should be entitled to have a school with a teacher of their own religious persuasion upon the application of ten or more resident freeholders or householders of any school district, or within the limits assigned to any town or city school, and that in like manner where the teacher of a school was a Protestant the Roman Catholic inhabitants should have a separate school with a teacher of their own religious persuasion. The conditions were that the application should be signed with the names of each resident freeholder or householder and addressed and delivered to the township, town, or city Superintendent. The application was to contain the names of three Trustees, and upon the compliance of the Trustees and of the local Superintendents with the requirements of the Act the school was entitled to receive its share of the public appropriation according to the number of children of the religious persuasion attending the school. The share was settled by the local Superintendent, subject to an appeal to the county Superintendent.

In the Session of 1845 improved provision was made for elementary instruction in Lower Canada. Increased facilities were given the minority in that Province to establish Dissentient schools. An average attendance of fifteen children and the keeping open of the school for eight calendar months entitled the school to receive its allowance out of the general or local

school fund. In Upper Canada an important step was taken in the latter part of the year 1844 in the appointment to the office of Assistant Superintendent of Education of the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, D.D., a leading Minister of the Methodist Church. He was shortly afterwards advanced to the position of Chief Superintendent of Schools, and for the next thirty years he practically controlled the Educational Department of the Province.

He was a man possessed of all the mental qualifications for the position and was endowed with diplomatic tact combined with great energy and zeal. In order more thoroughly to fit himself for the office he made repeated visits to the United States and Europe, studying the methods of education that prevailed abroad and borrowing from them such details as he thought valuable in elaborating the system he was building up in the Province. In the second year after his appointment he amended the School Act, enlarging and extending its scope, making provision for Normal and Model schools and investing the Chief Superintendent with large powers of administration. The three clauses affecting the minority contained in the Act of 1843 were retained. The desire of Dr. Ryerson was to build up an ideal system of common schools that would embrace all classes and Denominations. He had taken for his model the schools of Massachusetts and Germany, which did not admit any freedom of action in educational methods. He recognized, however, that at the time of the Union of the two Provinces the principle of conceding to the minorities the privilege of directing the education of their children was admitted, and he was too fair-minded a man to absolutely withdraw the privilege even if he had the power. Yet, having very strong and decided views in favour of a uniform system it was natural that he was averse to giving increased facilities for the establishment of Separate Schools, hoping, possibly, that the Catholic body would tire of the continued struggle to remove the obstacles that impeded the successful working of their schools. Dr. Ryerson himself fully realized the importance of combining religious with secular teaching. In one of his early Reports he says:

"In France, religion formed no part of the elementary education for many years, and in some parts of the United States the example of France has been followed. Time is required fully to develop the consequence of a purely godless system of public instruction. It requires a generation for the seed to germinate, a second or third for the fruit to ripen. The French Government has for many years employed its most strenuous exertions to make religious instruction an essential part of elementary education; and experienced men and the most distinguished Educational writers in the United States speak in strong terms of the deplorable consequences resulting from the absence of religious instruction in their schools, and earnestly insist upon its absolute necessity. The practical indifference which has existed in respect to the Christian character of our own system of popular education is truly lamentable. The omission of Christianity in respect both to schools, and the character and qualifications of teachers, has prevailed to an extent fearful to contemplate. The country is too young yet to witness the full effects of such an omission; such an abuse of that which should be the primary element of education, without which there can be no Christian education; and without a Christian education there will not long be a Christian country."

Entertaining these opinions it seemed inconsistent that Dr. Ryerson, in the earlier years of his Superintendency, should have opposed the extension of denominational schools with such determined earnestness, as the very reasons urged for their existence by the Catholic body were in harmony with the sound principles he had himself laid down in the Report referred to. Catholics, in pressing their claims for the establishment of Separate Schools wherever practicable, were influenced by a conscientious belief in the absolute necessity for combining religious instruction with secular education. The Catholic doctrine on the subject is tersely expressed in the recent Encyclical on the Manitoba School question.*

Armed with large powers by virtue of his office, and possessing a strong and determined will, Dr. Ryerson endeavoured to frame devotional exercises for use in the schools, which he considered all Denominations might unite in accepting. Experience in all countries has shown that such attempts have not been favourably entertained, and the Catholics continued to insist upon their inherent right to control the education of their

*See Volume II. of "Canada: An Encyclopædia," page 539.

children. While the Protestant minority in Lower Canada did not meet with any opposition in the formation and maintenance of Dissentient schools, an opposite policy prevailed in the sister Province, where the Catholic minority encountered so many obstacles in their efforts to establish schools that the number did not materially increase. At every election from 1854 till 1861, the candidates were interrogated as to their views on the Separate School question, and pledges were given only to be broken. In the contest for party supremacy, the Catholic vote was an important factor, and members of different Administrations did not hesitate from time to time to give the Catholic Hierarchy assurances that the law should be altered and amended to make the system workable; but the opposition to the very existence of Separate Schools was so strong in many sections of the Province that no material improvement in the law could be secured.

The Hon. Richard W. Scott.

As showing the confidence the Hierarchy had in the promise of Cabinet Ministers, the following letters may be referred to. Two are from the Vicar-General of Quebec, a highly esteemed and influential Priest then living at the Archbishop's Palace, and who represented the Hierarchy in the negotiations with the Government. The first letter is addressed to Bishop de Charbonnel, Toronto, is dated at Quebec, 11th September, 1854, and is signed by the Vicar-General. Mgr. Cazeau says that: "All the Lower Canadian Ministers will be maintained in the (Sir A. N. MacNab's) Cabinet. I do not deceive myself in telling Your Lordship that they agreed, as a condition of their alliance with Sir Allan, that justice should be done to your Catholics about Separate Schools." Another letter from Bishop Phelan, of Kingston, to Bishop de Charbonnel states that:

"I have a letter from our Attorney-General, (Hon. John A. Macdonald) in which he promises that he will pass a Bill that will be satisfactory to us all. Notwithstanding all his promises I still feel anxious to see that some action should be taken on our School Bill (of 1854)."

Later in the year (December 28) Vicar-General Cazeau addressed another letter to Bishop de Charbonnel:

"It has been resolved in the Council that justice should be done to the Separate Schools. Sir Allan hastened to tell me that he had always been favourable to them; and I replied that Your Lordship had always relied on him."

In January of the year 1855 the Bishop of Kingston expresses his confidence in the assurances of the Premier in the following letter:

"I have delayed writing to you until I had an interview with the Attorney-General (Hon. John A. Macdonald) who assures me that he has had prepared a Bill for us in Upper Canada. He says he gave it to the Hon. A. N. Morin, a Catholic in communication with the Right Rev. Dr. de Charbonnel. The Chief Superintendent read it attentively and said nothing against its provisions."

Notwithstanding all these assurances the draft Bill agreed upon by the Bishops of Toronto, Kingston and Ottawa in 1854 failed to secure approval in the following Session held in 1855. In lieu of it a Bill was passed which, while making a few changes in the law, yet did not enable the minority to successfully establish and maintain their schools. As one of the evidences of the double character some of our leading statesmen considered it politic to adopt in dealing with this

question the following letter from the late Sir John A. Macdonald may be cited. (I would not refer to this letter but that it had already been published in "The History of Separate Schools" by Dr. Hodgins, Page 105). It was dated at Ottawa, 5th June, 1855:

"Our Separate School Bill, which is as you know, quite harmless, passed with the approbation of our friend, Bishop de Charbonnel, who, before leaving here, formally thanked the Administration for doing justice to his Church. He has, however, got a new light since his return to Toronto and now says that the Bill won't do. I need not point out to your suggestive mind, that, in any article written by you on the subject, it is politic to press two points on the attention of the public. First, That the Bill will not injuriously affect the Common School System. (This for the people at large.) Second, That the Separate School Bill of 1855 is a substantial boon to the Roman Catholics. (This is to keep them in good humour.) You see that, if the Bishop makes the Roman Catholics believe that the Separate School Bill is of no use to them, there will be a renewal of the unwholesome agitation which I thought was allayed. I send you the Bill as passed."

In justice to Sir John Macdonald's memory, it is the duty of the writer to say that in the four years during which he had charge of the legislation for amending and improving the Separate School Act, Sir John Macdonald personally supported him in his efforts to secure those amendments and changes in the law that have made the Act workable and satisfactory to the minority. Sir John was a humourist, and, in writing Dr. Ryerson as he did, he only echoed the sentiments of the politicians who played with the subject from 1850 to 1860. He probably felt that it would be a relief to the Government if the subject was taken up by a private member, as there was an influential body among the supporters of the Administration who were violently opposed to the recognition of Separate Schools, and, while the Catholics were pressing for the necessary amendments in the law, attempts were made to deprive them of the slight concessions they had already secured. Mr. T. Ferguson, Member for Simcoe, and a leading Orangemen, was specially prominent in the movement, and on the 30th of March, 1860, he brought in a Bill to repeal the several Acts authorizing the establishment and maintenance of Separate Schools.

In view of the agitation on the subject, and of the strong opposition existing to any interference with the Common School System, the Government was indisposed to meet the demands of the Bishops and the Catholic body for the necessary changes in the Act. Under these circumstances the writer, then Member for the City of Ottawa, undertook the task of securing for his co-religionists a recognition of the Separate School System on a basis which would be permanent and satisfactory. Accordingly, in the early part of the Session of 1860 he introduced a Bill to amend the Separate School Act. The proposals contained in this Bill involved but few changes, but even those were objected to, and by methods familiar to Parliamentarians the progress of the Bill was retarded till the day before the prorogation, when it passed its second reading by a large majority, on the understanding, however, that it was to proceed no further during that Session.

In the following year the Bill was again introduced on the first day for bringing in Bills, but no progress was made in having the measure considered by the House. The promoter did not succeed in even having it read a second time. The postponement of the legislation proved in the end a very great advantage, as it brought out a full discussion by those interested in the required amendments. The promoter communicated with the Trustees of the existing schools and learned from them the difficulties they met with in establishing schools, and the Bill introduced in 1862 was a very great improvement on the Bill of 1860. On the opening of the Session of 1862 the mover succeeded in having the Bill placed at the head of the order paper for Public Bills in the charge of private members, and its consideration by the House seemed thus to be assured. The Second Reading was moved on the 29th April and the debate continued to the following day when Mr. Morris (afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba) moved the six months' hoist, seconded by Colonel Haultain. The division was reached on the 2nd of May when the Second Reading was carried by a large majority. The Bill was then referred to a Committee composed of Messrs. Scott, Attorney-General Macdonald, Crawford, McCann, Bell, Anderson, Bowen and Foley. Before the Committee made its report the Government of

Sir John Macdonald was, on the 20th May, defeated on the Militia Bill and a change of Administration followed with the Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald as Premier.

An effort was made to pass the Bill through its final stage, but owing to the Opposition led by the late Hon. George Brown, supported by Mr. Ferguson, it was found impossible to secure its passage without extending the Session; and an appeal having been made by members of the House to allow the Bill to stand for another year, and on an assurance given by the Leader of the Government that the passage of the Bill should be facilitated in the following Session, the mover reluctantly consented to withdraw it. In the Session of 1863 the writer succeeded in having the Bill placed second on the order paper and its consideration was taken up at an early day. It met with the usual opposition and several amendments were moved with the object of crippling its efficiency. They were however all voted down and the Government of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald loyally kept its promise and supported the Bill in all its stages. The final vote on the Third Reading was taken on the thirteenth of March when the measure was passed by a large majority—all the Quebec members voting for it. The then Leader of the Opposition (the Hon. John A. Macdonald) and a considerable number of his Upper Canada followers supported the measure. An analysis of the vote on the Third Reading shows that the Upper Canada representatives were politically nearly equally divided on the final vote. In the Legislative Council the Bill met with some opposition, but it was nevertheless passed without any material alteration, and on the 5th of May, 1863, the Royal Assent was given—the Act coming into force on 31st day of December following. The more important changes in the law secured by the Act may be briefly summarized:

1. The right to establish Separate Schools in incorporated villages.

2. Trustees might be chosen from residents of an adjoining section.

3. The establishment of the schools was made independent of the good-will of the Reeve of the Municipality or of the Chairman of the Board of Common School Trustees.

4. School sections, though in adjoining municipalities, might be formed into a union section.

5. Trustees were given the power not before possessed of obtaining a copy of the assessors' or collectors' roll.

6. Catholic children outside the school section had the right to attend the school.

7. Supporters of Separate Schools were relieved from the necessity of giving a notice to the Clerk of the Municipality before the 1st of February in every year. Under the Act the notice if given before the 1st of March in any year did not require to be renewed in the subsequent year.

8. Catholics resident within three miles of the school-house might become supporters of the school though living in an adjoining municipality.

9. The Christian Brothers and Nuns of the teaching orders, being qualified by law in Lower Canada, were to be considered as qualified teachers without examination.

10. Catholic clergymen became *ex-officio* visitors of Separate Schools.

11. As disputes had frequently arisen between the Trustees and the Chief Superintendent of Education an appeal from his decision was given to the Governor-in-Council.

The passage of the Act ended an agitation that had continued from the Union of 1841. The question had formed an important subject for discussion at elections for nearly twenty years, and many public men of both political parties found it difficult to define their positions when seeking the votes of the electors; to them it was a relief that the subject was removed from the controversy. Separate Schools were thereafter to be recognized as part of our constitutional system. The measure was also hailed with much satisfaction by the Catholics of Upper Canada, and the promoter received many gratifying proofs of the interest that was taken in the success of the measure. On the day after the Royal Assent was given to the Bill he received the following telegram from the late Archbishop Lynch of Toronto:

"Please accept assurance of perpetual gratitude of Catholics of Canada."

The writer takes pleasure in giving to the public for the first time a few other evidences of the

interest shown in support of the measure.* Confederation of the Provinces followed four years after, and while the subject of education was by the new constitution relegated to the Provincial Legislatures, Separate and Dissentient schools had been so firmly established in Upper and Lower Canada that provision was made for their continuance in the following clauses of the B.N.A. Act:

"(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class or persons have by law in the Province at the Union:

(2) All the powers, privileges, and duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec:

(3) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any act or decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education:

(4) In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General-in-Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this Section and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council under this Section."

The Government of Ontario under the liberal policy of Sir Oliver Mowat have from time to time introduced such amendments in the Separate School Act as experience has shown were useful to its more efficient working and by importing such details of the Public School Act as were applicable to its administration. Non-residents may require their school taxes to be appropriated to Separate Schools; incorporated companies may direct any part of their school rates to be applied towards the support of Separate Schools; the Act relating to truancy and to compulsory school attendance applies to those schools; the Board of Trustees may adopt the use of the ballot at elections to their body and they may discontinue its use and again adopt open voting. These improvements in the law have been generally acquiesced in

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*"Hamilton, 15th April, 1860.

Dear Sir:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with your accompanying Separate School Bill amended. I am quite satisfied with your amendments, provided it be possible to carry them through the House. They will be, perhaps, as much as we need expect under circumstances. It would be very desirable to be able to require the ordinary tax collector to collect our school taxes if required by R.C. School Board, and handed over to them. I suppose it will not be possible to restrict the discretionary powers of the Chief Superintendent so as to have more equal justice done to Catholic schools. If I can believe the many complaints which I have heard from different quarters, it happens very frequently that Catholic schools obtain a very trifling share of the Government grant in comparison with the aid afforded neighbouring Protestant common schools. Accept my best wishes for the success of your Bill, and thanks for your exertions in favour of education.

I have the honour to be your very faithful servant,

(Sd.) JOHN FARRELL,
Bishop of Hamilton."

"Toronto, March 18th, 1863.

My dear Mr. Scott:

I most heartily thank you for your noble efforts to settle finally our school difficulty. I do hope that your Bill will become law, and exonerate us from the very disagreeable and difficult duty of fighting a religious battle on the political arena of the hustings. Please accept, my dear sir, the expression of my high esteem and regard.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) JOHN JOSEPH LYNCH,
Bishop of Toronto."

"Oakville, March 14th, 1863.

My dear Sir:

I congratulate you most sincerely on the happy effects of your past labours, and for which the Catholic clergy and laity of Upper Canada owe you a deep debt of gratitude. May Almighty God spare you long to witness with joy the happy fruits of your new Separate School Bill. It is a good one, and a great rise to Catholic education. I hope no obstacle will be thrown in its way through the Upper House. I would be glad, if possible, to see the vote in the Upper House. Humbly praying to God for your future welfare and happiness, I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your very obedient servant,

(Sd.) J. RYAN.

P.S.—I have had several letters from John White, our member, since the House sat. I did not think he would act as he did. Mr. Foley's act rejoiced me. As for Mr. McGee, of course, he could not or would not do otherwise. Thanks to both.—J. R."

"Bishop's Palace,
Kingston, 24th April, 1863.

My dear Mr. Scott:

Allow me to congratulate you on the great success of your Separate School Bill. Had an adverse majority prevented the passage of your Bill, even then you would have had an undoubted right to the love and gratitude of every Catholic parent who is desirous of procuring for his children the inestimable blessings of a religious education. Now that God has been pleased to bless your honest endeavours, and crown with full success your persevering labours, you will be long remembered by a grateful people as the friend of true education, and your name will be handed down as that of the successful advocate of the parent's rights to have his children educated and instructed in accordance with the dictates of his conscience. Thanking you for this signal service rendered to the Church and to society,

I remain, my dear Mr. Scott,
Very sincerely and gratefully yours,
E. J., Bishop of Kingston."

by all parties in the Provincial Legislature, and are not likely hereafter to be disturbed. No doubt the generous treatment awarded to the minority in Quebec has had its influence on public opinion in Ontario. While the French Province does not possess the wealth of Ontario yet she deals more liberally with the minority in the aid given to higher education. Grants are made to the University of Bishop's College, to Morrin College and St. Francis College; a Normal School has been established to educate Protestant teachers; the High Schools under the management of the minority at Montreal, Quebec and other places receive Provincial aid. In a Report by S. P. Robins, LL.D., then Principal of McGill Normal School, he says:

"I should do less than justice to leading politicians of all shades in this Province if I were not to state my admiration of the attitude which they maintain towards education. During an association of more than thirty years with the public education of Quebec, an association which has repeatedly brought me as a suitor on behalf of education into contact with men of influence of all political parties, I have found a universal desire for the spread of popular education, a willingness to listen patiently to the view of practical educators, a wide love of fair play for the educational rights of the minority, and a determination to hold the precious interests of education aloof from the turbulent arena of political party strife."

With such abundant evidence of the generous treatment of the minority in Quebec in educational matters, the writer closes this brief sketch with the hope that the tolerant example set in that Province may, as years go on, be imitated in the sister Provinces of our grand Dominion.

Pioneer's School-House in Ontario.

PROTESTANT EDUCATION IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

BY

R. W. HENEKER, LL.D., D.C.L., Chairman of the Protestant Committee of Public Instruction.

TO obtain a thorough knowledge of the history of Protestant Education in the Province of Quebec, reference must be had to the educational condition of the Province at the close of the eighteenth century. At that time the older Roman Catholic provisions for primary education had died out; the schools of the Recollets and the Ursulines were no longer in existence; the Order of the Jesuits had been suppressed, and their property confiscated. And, although provision for superior education to a limited extent existed through the Seminary in Quebec and the schools of the Sulpicians in Montreal, yet there was no provision for public elementary education, and the instruction of the rural population depended entirely on what could be obtained in home circles.

In 1787 the attention of Lord Dorchester having been drawn to this unsatisfactory educational condition of the Province, he appointed a Committee of the Executive to make enquiry, and to report as to a remedy for the evil. This Committee reported in 1789, recommending the establishment of a University in Quebec with a proper staff, and a system of free elementary schools in every parish and village of the Province, together with free superior schools in each County. The course of instruction was to include book-keeping, grammar and other subjects, such as navigation and applied mathematics. Instruction in theology was to have no place in the University.

The King, through his representative, was to be Visitor, and the Judges, Bishops (whether Protestant or Roman Catholic), and twenty other Directors, one half Protestant, the other half Catholic, were to constitute the Board of Directors. This report, as might have been expected, produced no immediate practical results. Nevertheless, by drawing public attention to the necessity of affording instruction to the people, it was to a certain extent beneficial. There followed in 1801 the "Act for the Establishment of Free Schools and the Advancement of Learning." This was a great step in advance, as will be seen by the following summary:

The Governor had power to appoint Trustees of "the Schools of Royal Foundation," who were to be a Corporation, with a President and other officers. The Trustees were to make by-laws for the administration of the schools. The Governor had power to erect free schools in the parishes and townships under two Commissioners. These Commissioners were to select sites for the school-houses, subject to the approval of the Governor, and to treat for the purchase of the same, but the property so acquired was to be conveyed to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. The inhabitants were to provide school-houses, subject to the approval of the Governor, and to maintain them in repair. The Governor nominated the school-masters. The school-houses might be used for the sittings of the Circuit Court.

The schools thus founded were to be Free Schools, common to the whole population, and unsectarian in character. It must be remembered that the terms Parish and Township recognized the distinction between the Seigneuries inhabited mostly by the French people, who were mainly Roman Catholic, and the Eastern Townships, where the lands had been granted in fee simple to a population largely Protestant. In 1863 sixteen townships were set apart for the maintenance of these schools, while 40,000 acres were also set apart for the maintenance of the two seminaries in Quebec and Montreal respectively.

Delays occurred in bringing this Act into operation, and it was not until 1818 that the system was practically launched forth under Letters Pat-

TRINITY UNIVERSITY, TORONTO

ent. Under these Letters Patent, the Protestant Bishop was named President, and nine trustees were appointed, five of whom were Protestants and four Roman Catholics. This appointment of the Protestant Bishop and a majority of Protestant trustees was fatal to the success of the scheme, and the schools languished.

In 1834 a Parliamentary enquiry was made on the subject of Public Instruction. The returns showed that twenty-two schools, with 398 free scholars were in operation, with 690 scholars paying fees. Included in these latter it was ascertained that 202 scholars were in attendance in the schools of Quebec and 150 in those of Montreal. Various causes are assigned for the failure of these schools, but it is evident that the main cause is traceable to the want of co-operation on the part of the Roman Catholic Bishop and his clergy. The former declined to serve on the Board where he would stand in a position inferior to the Anglican Bishop, and where his co-religionists were necessarily in a minority, though they represented a large majority of the total population. It was also clear, then as now, that purely secular education was distasteful, to and held to be wrong by the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church. They will never give it their hearty support. Nevertheless, a more wide-spread interest was perceptible throughout the Province as to the necessity of educating the people. Voluntary schools took the place of the Free schools of the Royal Foundation, both amongst Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Hon. M. Chauveau in his work on "Public Instruction in Canada" enumerates, in 1836, 1,321 schools as being in operation, with 36,000 scholars in attendance, not including such independent schools as those of the conventual establishments, colleges and academies. The total number of scholars of all kinds was estimated by Garneau, the historian, at 54,000, who were obtaining their education in sixty-four colleges and superior schools, and 1,569 elementary schools. These included both Protestant and Roman Catholic institutions. The Protestant population was to be found in the mixed classes of large cities, the smaller cities and towns, and in the Eastern Townships. The colleges and academies were subsidized by the Legislature. The work was progressing, when in 1837 the Insurrection broke out, causing a collapse for the time being.

Dr. R. W. Heneker.

The history of the next few years must be passed over until, in 1840, the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada became merged, under an Imperial Act, in the Province of Canada. In 1841, one of the first Acts of the new Legislature of this new Province had reference to elementary education. This Act (4 and 5 Vic., Cap. 18) gave a fresh start to the efforts of those who desired to see the people of Canada properly educated. A Common School system was then inaugurated, with a Common School fund of £50,000 ($200,000 Halifax currency), and a Superintendent of Education was appointed, whose duties, briefly stated, were: To apportion the Legislative grant among the municipal districts in the ratio of the number of children, over five and under sixteen years of age, according to the preceding census; to notify each District Treasurer of the amount awarded to his district; to inspect the schools in the several districts, and to prepare forms, and maintain uniformity in the Common Schools.

The District Council (Municipal government at that time was carried on by District Councils) were to be "Boards of Education," with power to establish "School Districts," having not less than fifteen children resident in each, of an age between five and sixteen, and to apportion to each school district its proper share of the school fund, according to the number of children in the district qualified as above, by age, to attend school. The District Council could also assess any district to the extent of £50 for the erection of a school-house where none existed, and apportion a sum not exceeding £10 in any one year for the purpose of school books in the district. A report was to be sent to the Superintendent annually on or before the 1st December. Commissioners of Common Schools, five in number, were to be elected at the parish or township annual meetings. To these Commissioners power was committed to select sites for school-houses and to appoint one of their number for each school district to superintend and administer school affairs generally. They also appointed the teachers, under certain conditions; regulated the course of study, and established general rules for the conduct of the schools. They had also power to exonerate indigent persons, not exceeding ten in each district, from the payment of their assessments for the wages of the teachers. The township or parish collector was to collect the school fees, etc.

But perhaps the most important clause of this Act was Clause 11, by which a "Separate School System" was inaugurated. The principle then established still remains in force, being recognized as beneficial by Protestants and Roman Catholics alike. The clause empowers any inhabitants professing a religious faith different from that of the majority to establish and maintain one or more schools, and receive their proportion of the moneys appropriated by law. Powers similar to those granted to District Councils were, by the same Act, conferred on City and Town Corporations, thus affording protection to all classes throughout the Province, with the exception of those inhabiting scattered districts, sparse in population, where mixed schools were found to be better than no school at all. But even from these schools few complaints were heard of any interference with conscientious scruples in the school management. The above are some of the main features of this Act which may be classed as an era in the educational history of the Province.

It met, however, with serious opposition on many grounds, and was abrogated in Upper Canada in 1843, and in Lower Canada in 1845; but the objections were more against the administration than the educational principles established, and, as is often the case, the discussion to which the Act was subjected was ultimately productive of good. It is now necessary to consider the laws of 1845 and 1846, or rather that of the latter year, for that of 1845 was repealed in 1846, mainly on account of the power given to raise by voluntary contributions, in whole or in part, the amount required for each school municipality. The principle was considered retrogressive and the law of 1846 established another system of taxation as the proper means of raising the necessary revenues.

It must be borne in mind that there were two main divisions of people in the Province, two nationalities, who differed from one another in language, in race, and, very largely, in religious views. For a long time the two classes of people had also different systems of Civil law, their lands being held under different tenures, and their civil life affected by different regulations, so that the work of harmonizing this mixed population was one of no small difficulty. Indeed, the jealousies of race still prevail, and while the French Canadian is grateful for the freedom accorded to him in common with other British subjects, he cannot forget, altogether, that he is a child of France, and is not prepared to ignore the glories and the history of his mother-land.

A full explanation of the School Act of 1846 would involve too much space for such an article as this, which must be looked upon not as a treatise but as a mere sketch of the progress of Protestant education. The Act, however, is too important to be lightly passed by. First, the great principle of the Separate School System of 1841 was maintained, and provision was made for a system of common schools for primary instruction in every parish and township. A Superintendent of Schools was appointed, who controlled the executive and administrative departments of education. The principle of taxation of real estate

for the purpose of raising the necessary school funds, in addition to the Legislative grant, was established, with certain exemptions in the case of buildings used for educational purposes, for religious worship, for parsonage houses and for charitable institutions, such as hospitals.

The privilege of dissent was maintained, thus affording to all, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, the free exercise of their conscientious convictions. This provision was all the more important, inasmuch as religious teaching was not regulated by school law. School taxes and school fees might be paid in produce on certain conditions—a greater boon when the Act was passed than now.

School Commissioners and Trustees of Dissentient Schools were to be elected by the people annually. In case of failure to elect, the Superintendent *ex-officio*, on the order of the Governor, could appoint. The number of Commissioners was to be five, and three Trustees for the Dissentient Schools. No teacher could act as Commissioner or Trustee. The Commissioners and Trustees were declared to be corporations with full corporate powers as to the holding of property, etc. They engaged the teachers, regulated the course of study and settled disputes between teachers and scholars and teachers and parents. Visitors were to be appointed to enter the schools and to take note of the work being done, etc.

Apart from the general principles of this school law, as applied to the common schools of the rural districts, reference must also be made to the schools of the Cities of Montreal and Quebec, and of the smaller cities and towns of the Province. In these larger centres of population there are no dissentient schools, but instead thereof there are two Boards of School Commissioners, Protestant and Roman Catholic respectively, and these Boards possess all the powers conceded under the general law. For the purposes of taxation, they have what is styled the Panel system. This system provides for the taxation of real estate for school purposes in accordance with the religious faith of the owners or occupiers, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. It further deals with the method of taxing corporations, incorporated companies, and firms and partnerships where the members differ one from another in a religious point of view. The object is in all cases to apply taxation for educational purposes according to the consciences of the tax-payers.

It is satisfactory to be able to record that the schools of these cities and towns, and the academies and model schools of the country parts show, on the whole, a high state of efficiency, honourable alike to the Province, to the Boards of School Commissioners, and to the noble band of teachers employed in these schools. It is impossible to speak too highly of the administrative work done by the men selected to fill the office of Superintendent. The names of Dr. Meilleur, the Hon. M. Chauveau and the Hon. Gédéon Ouimet should ever be kept in honourable remembrance by the people of the Province of Quebec, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant.

Another step in advance was the foundation and establishment of the "Normal School" system for the training of teachers. As early as the year 1836 an Act was passed to provide for the establishment of Normal Schools; but it was only in 1853 that provision was made for their maintenance by the appropriation of £5,000 out of the Jesuits' estates, as an investment at five per cent., in aid of the Normal School in Montreal. In 1856 the Act (19 and 20 Vic., Cap. 54) "To make further provision for the promotion of superior education, and the establishment and support of Normal Schools" was passed. This Act made it lawful for the Governor-in-Council to adopt needful measures for the establishment of one or more Normal Schools in Lower Canada "for the instruction and training of teachers for the Common Schools in the Science of Education and the Art of Teaching."

The outcome of this legislation was the establishment of three Normal Schools in the Province —Laval, McGill and Jacques Cartier. The McGill (Protestant) Normal School had for its first Principal, Mr. (now Sir) J. W. Dawson, with Wm. Henry Hicks and Samson Paul Robins as ordinary professors, Leon Fronteau (a graduate of the University of France) as associate professor, and James McGregor and Mary McCraken as teachers in the Model School. These appointments are recorded and published in the first number of the "Journal of Education."

As with other parts of the Protestant educa-

tional system, the McGill Normal School has greatly advanced in its work and usefulness. To its careful administration, and the zeal and ability of its officers, the Province is indebted for a very large proportion of the high-class teachers now serving in the Protestant schools. The work begun by Principal Dawson and his staff was continued under Principal Hicks, and is now carried on with great success by Dr. Robins, who has the good fortune to be assisted by a competent staff. But great as has been the benefit, it would be mistake to suppose that the work or the means for training the teachers of the Province is complete. Much remains to be done, particularly in the schools of the rural districts, and the principle laid down by the Protestant Committee that no teacher shall be employed in any of the public schools unless provided with a diploma, is the only safeguard against the employment of incompetent persons for the country schools. It should be also mentioned that by means of "Institutes" held in the country districts during the summer months, whereby the country teachers are brought together for instruction, which is afforded by the Normal School staff aided by some of the Inspectors and the English Secretary of the Department of Public Instruction, much good has been accomplished. But this is only partial—not sufficient to satisfy the educational needs of the Protestant section of the people who, scattered often in small bodies, are frequently too poor to make due provision for themselves without special aid. The great progress already made, coupled with the activity of those engaged in the work, is a good augury for the future, and, what is of essential importance, the people themselves are showing a marked and increasing interest in the cause.

Another matter of essential importance, that of school inspection, has also made progress. In the Act of 1841, the Superintendent was required to visit annually every municipal district, so as to ascertain the state of the schools therein. The School Commissioners were also required to appoint two or more of their members to visit each common school once in each month, and to report upon the state of each school, its management and well-being. Again, the Board of Examiners of city and town corporations were made "Visitors" with power to appoint two of their number to visit each of the common schools in such town or city, and report to the corporation. This was not such an inspection as was necessary in order to obtain the full information required. In the Act of 1846 the two members of the Board selected for this work, were to report, instead of once in each month, only every six months. A further clause of the same Act required that each school in town or country should be visited at least once in every year by a visitor, one of the following body, viz., the resident clergyman, of whatever Denomination; the Judges; the Members of the Legislature; the Justices of the Peace; the Mayor or Warden of the municipality, and officers of the Militia, not beneath in rank the senior captain. The Superintendent was the Visitor-General of all Public Schools.

It is clear from the foregoing that inspection, as now understood, formed no part of the system. A proper system was inaugurated under the Act 14 and 15 Vic. Cap. 97. It was therein provided that in each Civil District of the Province an Inspector of Common Schools should be appointed to visit each school in his district, to examine the schools, school-teachers and school-houses therein; the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer, the registers of the School Commissioners and Trustees; and generally to ascertain whether the provisions of the School Law were carried out and obeyed. He was to report to the Superintendent at least once in every three months on the state of education in each municipality, the number of schools therein, the condition of all school-houses which were public property, etc., etc., and the causes, if any, which impeded the full execution and operation of the school laws in any municipality. The system of inspection thus inaugurated has been in force ever since, so that the Department under the Superintendent has now full information in almost every branch of public school work. Such is a brief sketch of the Elementary Educational system of the Province up to 1861, the date of the consolidation of the Statutes of Lower Canada.

The Superior Educational system of the Province will now be explained. The Model School is the lowest grade of this class of schools. By the Act

of 1846, it was provided that the School Commissioners should, "from the moneys arising out of the Elementary School Fund, or from assessments, or any other source, allow a sum not exceeding £20 ($80.00) yearly for the support of any Superior or Model School, at the most thickly settled place in any parish or township, over and above the share which would otherwise come to such school." The intention seems to have been to select the Common School of the most populous centre of the district, and by increasing its resources, make of it a school of higher class than the ordinary elementary school, so that it might act as a model for the rest. The regulation is still in force, and the Model Schools have become, in fact, a part of the graded system of the Province, and inferior to the Academies. The law in relation to Superior Schools is as follows:

Under the Act (19-20 Vic. Cap. 54, 1847) two great funds were established—the Superior Education Investment Fund and the Superior Education Income Fund. The former was created out of the Jesuits' Estates which had been transferred to Lower Canada by King William IV. to be used strictly for educational purposes. The Income Fund was derived from various sources, including the revenues accruing from the said estates and from the unexpended balances of the Common School Fund, together with $20,000 from the Consolidated Revenue of the Province. It was further provided that should the total income in any year fall short of £22,000 ($88,000), then any deficit from that amount was to be made up, for that year, from the Common School Fund. On the other hand, any unexpended balance in any year was either to be distributed or invested, as the Governor might direct, and in case of investment, the income or interest of such investment was to be added to the Income Fund, while the principal was to form part of the Investment Fund.

The Income Fund was, under the authority of the Governor-in-Council, to be apportioned annually by the Superintendent of Education amongst such Universities, Colleges, Seminaries, Academies, High or Superior Schools, Model Schools and Educational Institutions other than the ordinary Elementary Schools. The grants were to be annual and conditional on the fulfilment in the several institutions of certain specified requirements. This may be taken as a proof of the intention of the Legislature to make due provision for superior education, a principle recognized from the very first, when Lord Dorchester's Commission, in their report of 1789, recommended the establishment of a University as the foundation of the Public School system of the Province.

Perhaps the most important step for securing a good administration of the schools was the appointment, in 1856, of a "Council of Public Instruction." By the Act (19 Vic., Cap. 14, Sec. 16), authority was given to the Governor to appoint not more than fifteen nor less than eleven persons, of whom the Superintendent was to be one, to be a Council of Public Instruction for Lower Canada. This Council had authority to make rules and regulations for Normal Schools, Common Schools, the selection of books, etc. (exclusive of those having reference to religion and morals), rules and regulations for the Board of Examiners, and the classification of teachers, etc. The Council received reports from the Superintendent as to the certificates granted to teachers by the Board of Examiners, and had power to revoke such certificates in certain cases, after enquiry by Commissioners specially appointed for that purpose. The system thus inaugurated has had a marked effect on the progress of Education.

In the year 1867, on the eve of Confederation and prior to the passage of the British North America Act, anxiety was felt by the Protestant people of the Eastern Townships lest the protection afforded to minorities in Lower Canada, through the mixed character of the Legislature of the Province, might be destroyed, inasmuch as the new Provincial Assembly would have a large majority of its members of the Roman Catholic faith. The Member for Sherbrooke at that time was the Hon. A. T. Galt, who in his capacity as Minister of the Crown, and deeply interested in Confederation, assured the people that no danger was to be apprehended, for that certain of the leading French-Canadian politicians had pledged themselves to introduce a Bill on the meeting of the first Provincial Legislature, which would satisfy the Protestant population in this respect.

Under this pledge the Act of 1869, 32 Vic. Cap. 16, was passed. This law goes further than that of 1847, as will appear by the following synopsis :

Section 1 of the Act provides for the appointment of a Council of Public Instruction, together with a Minister of Public Instruction, or a Superintendent of Education, such Council to consist of twenty-one persons. Of these fourteen were to be Roman Catholics and seven Protestants.

Section 2. The Council was to embrace two Committees, Roman Catholic and Protestant respectively. All that related to Roman Catholic education was to be referred to and passed by the Roman Catholic Committee, and all that referred to Protestant education was to be referred to and passed by the Protestant Committee, subject in each case to the ultimate authority of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The Minister of Public Instruction or the Superintendent of Education, as the case might be, for the time being, was to be a member *ex-officio* of each Committee, but with the right of voting only in the Committee of the religious faith to which he belonged.

The quorum of the Council consisted of nine members, but each Committee fixed its own quorum. The Superior Education grant was to be distributed between the totality of the Roman Catholic and Protestant institutions respectively in the relative proportion of the respective Roman Catholic and Protestant populations of the Province, according to the preceding census. The next following clauses (still in force) were, however, of more than doubtful value :

If at any meeting of the Council of Public Instruction ten of the Roman Catholics or five of the Protestant members appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council do record their votes to the effect that it is advisable that the management of Roman Catholic and Protestant schools should be distinct and separate, it shall be the duty of the President of the Council to call a special meeting of the Council, to take place within sixty days, and at least thirty days after the meeting at which such vote shall have been recorded, for the purpose of reconsidering the same. Should the principle of separation be confirmed at such meeting, two separate Councils should be formed, with separate powers and jurisdictions. In case of separation, if there should be at any time a Minister of Public Instruction, he is to be *ex-officio* a member of each Council, but with the right to vote only in the Council of his own religious faith. If, on the contrary, there be a Superintendent of Education, not a Minister, he shall be a member of the Council of his own religious faith, with two Deputies for the management of the Roman Catholic and Protestant schools respectively, each Deputy being a member of the Council of his own religious faith. Provision was also made for a secretary of each Council. Should the division above referred to take effect, an important change will ensue as to the distribution of the Government grant. Thenceforward all grants for every purpose must be distributed according to the religious faith of the two classes of the population in proportion to the numbers of each.

The necessity for such a clause as the foregoing is not apparent. For all practical purposes, the administration of the two classes of schools is as much guarded by the two Committees of the one Council as if there were two separate Councils. It has always been conceded that although it was reasonable that the Common School Fund should be divided according to the numbers of each class of the population, yet the case was and is entirely diffierent in regard to the Universities, the Colleges and the Normal School, as also with the requirements for inspection. University training is deemed essential in every civilized country, and is subsidized accordingly. The Normal Schools for the professional training of teachers and proper inspection of the Common Schools are absolutely necessary and yet costly in character. All these are of the highest importance to the public at large. These clauses of the school law should therefore be abrogated.

It was then provided that the Council should consist of two main divisions called Committees, respectively, the one Roman Catholic, the other Protestant. The Roman Catholic Committee was to comprise the Bishops and administrators of the Roman Catholic Sees, acting *ex-officio*, and an equal number of Roman Catholic laymen appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. To each Bishop, or administrator in case of illness or absence from the Province, power was given to appoint a delegate to represent him, with all the powers of the person appointing him. The Protestant Committee, in addition to the powers conferred by the previous Act, was empowered to add five persons to its number, as "Associate Members," exercising all the powers

of the Committe of which they were members, but who were not to be members of the Council. The object aimed at was to strengthen the Committee for the performance of the work committed to it. Each Committee made its own regulations for the management of the schools under its charge, even to the extent of providing for religious instruction in its own class of schools. It is a notable fact that while religious education has, as it were, from the beginning been taken for granted in the Quebec school system, yet no special provision is to be found in the school law in relation to it. The regulations of the Protestant Committee require that each school shall be opened every day with a reading from the Scriptures, followed by the Lord's Prayer, and that the first half hour of each day shall be devoted to Scripture instruction, according to the course of study adopted by the Committee, the Bible being the text-book for this purpose. No Denominational teaching is allowed in any of the schools.

To complete the story, it is only necessary to refer to the work accomplished by the Committee, and in order to show this the more clearly, it is necessary to go back a few years. In the early days, some of the older academies had doubtless done good work. Instituted and carried on by private effort, and upheld by the selection of competent teachers, a few of these schools had been successful in affording a thoroughly sound, good education in some sections of the Province, and many of the leading men in public life owe to these institutions all their training. But there were at the same time other so-called academies where the work was purely elementary, and which were maintained largely by Government grants obtained through the influence of local Members of Parliament.

It became necessary, therefore, to ascertain the character and extent of the work being done in such schools before determining the amount of the grant to which the several schools could fairly lay claim. This could only be ascertained by inspection, and for such a duty the Government Inspectors were not available. The Committee resolved on selecting their own Inspectors. These were not Government officers, but were responsible to the Committee only. The inspection was to be of a two-fold character. It was necessary, in the first place, to ascertain the condition of the schools in term time. And, secondly, to judge of the results of the work of the year by examination at the close of the year. These examinations were uniform, held by the Inspectors so that the schools could be classified, taking into account the number of pupils in attendance and the results in each subject. The effect has been to stimulate the teachers and scholars to make the people generally understand that one uniform system prevails throughout the Province. Most, if not all of the old academies became merged in the Public School system, were properly graded, and carried on under Commissioners or Trustees. The work has been beneficial in every sense, as buildings, grounds, school equipment, school appliances and everything bearing on school management is now taken into account, and the whole published yearly in the Educational Record.

Further, it should be stated that the appointments to the Council are absolutely non-political. At the meetings of the Protestant Committee, party politics are never mentioned, not even hinted at, and in the selection of the Associate Members, the only qualifications required are that the candidate should be, if possible, a resident of one of the sections of the Province, and therefore a representative of that section, and also that, as far as possible, the various Denominations should be represented on the Committee. The Committee has always endeavoured to select men known to be eminently qualified for such a duty from their position and their interest in education, and who, at the same time, were willing to accept the office and to perform the duties from purely disinterested motives. Such men are preferred before all. The proper performance of the duties entails a great deal of time, and a careful study of the educational system and the needs of the Province. The services of the members are given entirely of free will, without fee or pecuniary reward, the bare expenses only of the members for their attendance at the meetings being paid.

All the proceedings of the Council and the two Committees have to be approved by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. The Department of Public Instruction, under the Superintendent and the two Secretaries (who may act as deputy

heads) transacts the business of Education. It may prove interesting to specify some of the regulations passed by the Protestant Committee, which will tend to an understanding of the scope of their duties supplementary to the work of administering the school law.

There are regulations in relation to School inspection and the examination of candidates. The Committee appoints a Central Board of Examiners for this purpose. These prepare the questions, conduct the examinations in writing, value the answers, and report to the Protestant Committee. The candidate must also appear before the Board of Examiners or before a sub-committee of the Protestant Committee, and forward to the Superintendent the following documents: Testimonials of character and conduct; certificates of literary attainments, University degree (if any) and other particulars bearing on his qualifications; a certificate that he holds a diploma, has taught at least four years, and that he has not discontinued teaching more than four years. The examination covers the methods of teaching; the subjects of the authorized course of study; the organization, discipline and management of the schools; the duties of Inspectors of School Boards; the operation of the School law and regulations of the Province; and the duties of School Inspectors in detail. These regulations refer to the regularly appointed Inspectors of the Common Schools, and not to the Inspectors of Superior Schools appointed by the Committee. The regulations dealing with the Central Board of Examiners are very full, showing in detail the methods to be followed in the examination of the several classes of teachers for the Elementary Schools, Model Schools, and Academies, respectively, and the relative value of the different grades of diplomas.

Practical experience in the classification of schools has been combined with theory, and the result has been most satisfactory. The course of study in each of the classes has been also very carefully elaborated. There are special regulations as to Academies and Model Schools and their inspection, which specify the privileges granted to successful pupils, and deal with the McGill Normal School, the Teachers' Institutes, the school-grounds and school-houses (their care and proper appliances), the School Trustees, the school apparatus, the school year, the school hours, the engagement of teachers, the authorized text books, and the provision for poor municipalities.

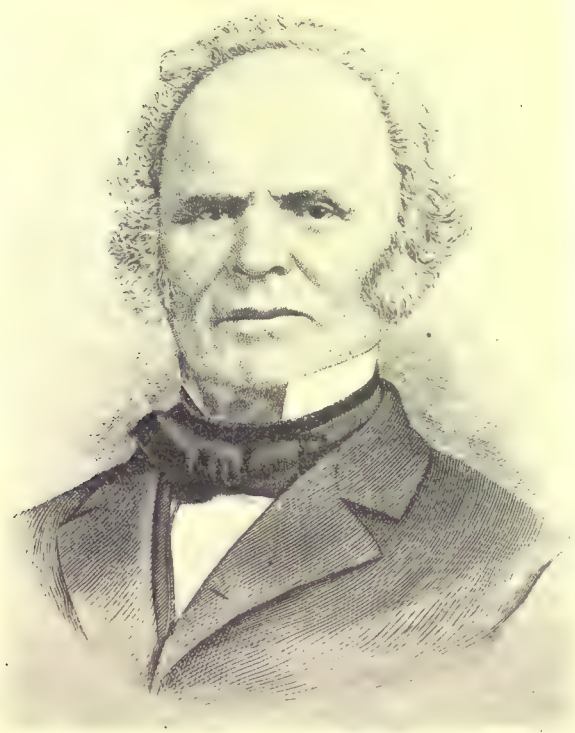
All these matters have been very carefully handled, modified from time to time, as experience suggested, and their results carefully supervised by the Protestant Committee. In fact, no department of school work has been neglected by the Committee, and their labours are not confined to their quarterly meetings but are carried on by sub-committees, which meet between times and report at the quarterly meetings. The work of the Protestant Committee must be classed as a monument of the self-denying interest taken by a number of gentlemen in the educational welfare of the Protestant section of the population.

The Universities (McGill College and Bishop's College) join in the good work, their professors taking a large share in the examination of the academies of high grade, and also of candidates who aspire to obtain the diploma of Associate of Arts in the Universities, which entitles successful candidates to enter the Universities without the necessity of passing the matriculation examinations. The effect of this is the formation of a graded course of education, from the lowest to the highest class of intellectual work.

Though the system has been found generally to work well, there can be no doubt that it is still capable of improvement in detail, though, when contrasted with the early efforts in the cause of education it must be pronounced a decided success. Under it, an increased interest has been apparent on the part of parents as well as children. The different classes of schools suit the varied means and aspirations of the people, and in not a few cases the parents of bright, intelligent children are known to have undergone great self-sacrifices in order to promote the welfare of those who are thus gifted. By this the country benefits largely. Those who aim at what is called a "practical life," can complete a course suited to their desires. Those who by taste, talent and cultivation aim at a higher training of the intellect, can obtain their desires within the Province itself.

From the foregoing, a tolerably clear idea may

be formed of the growth of the Protestant school system in the Province of Quebec. Many difficulties had to be surmounted, not the least of which arose from the indifference felt by the people for any but bread-winning training, such as might be acquired on the farm or in the workshop. The being called upon to pay for the building and maintaining of "schools of learning," was at first most distasteful to the people. Gradually, however, a change was noticeable, and a growing spirit of interest was perceptible. In most families, some one or more of the children were less fitted than others for hard manual labour, and at the same time the results of school examinations began to be published in the local newspapers. Some, even of the children of the poorest class, rose to distinction, and thus aroused a spirit of pride on the part of the heads of the family. School competed with school, scholars with scholars, and a keen interest was developed where indifference had formerly prevailed. This remains a hopeful factor in the advance of the country.



Dr. Jean Baptiste Meilleur.

HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS OF QUEBEC.

BY

THE HON. P. BOUCHER de La BRUÈRE, LL.D , Chief Superintendent of Education.

THERE are few more interesting subjects than the history of the labours of those intrepid navigators who first settled on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Though discovered in 1534 by Jacques Cartier, no successful attempt at colonizing New France was made previous to the opening of the seventeenth century. As soon as the foundations of a permanent settlement were laid, the authorities at Quebec, with the approval of the French Government, endeavoured by every possible means to promote the civilization of the Indians, the cultivation of the soil, and the intellectual development of the inhabitants. The Educational history of the Province may be divided into two principal periods: the French *Régime*, from the foundation of Quebec to the Treaty of Paris, 1763, and the English *Régime*, from the Treaty of Paris to the present time. Having been asked to sketch the history of the Catholic schools of the Province of Quebec and to give an account of the laws governing them, I shall, because of the limited space allowed, confine myself to the general outlines.

1. *Education during the French Régime.* In 1615, Champlain on his return to Canada from France, whither he had gone on public business, brought with him the pioneer teachers of New France. These were four Recollets: Fathers Denis Jamay, Jean Dolbeau, Joseph Le Caron, and Frère Pacifique Duplessis. Two of these religious teachers taught Indian schools—Brother Duplessis at Three Rivers and Father Le Caron at Tadoussac. Ten years later, at the request of the Recollets, the Jesuits came to Canada and the two Orders devoted themselves to the work of education. These zealous instructors established themselves on the banks of a little river called the St. Charles, which flows into the St. Lawrence at Quebec. The place chosen by them was the site on which, in 1535, Jacques Cartier had erected a fort to defend himself against the attacks of the Indians.

Their intention was to erect a college for French children, a seminary for Indian children, and to assist the Jesuit missions established among the different Indian tribes. But Jesuits and Recollets were obliged to leave the country in 1629, after the capture of Quebec by the English. The Recollets did not come back until 1670, but in 1632, immediately after the restoration of Canada to France, the Jesuits returned and established a College in the Upper Town, which, as early as 1636, began to receive pupils. Thus, one year before the Massachusetts Legislature had decided on the foundation of the College afterward named Harvard, in honour of its generous benefactor, New France could point with pride to its Jesuit College.

The Kings of France, ever zealous for the spread of civilization and the conversion of the Indians, looked with favour on the establishment of educational institutions in Canada. In 1639, a few years after the opening of the Jesuit College, Madame de la Peltrie and Mother Marie de l'Incarnation founded, at Quebec, the Ursuline Monastery, the first school for girls in the Colony. As soon as the settlement at Montreal was sufficiently advanced, it was decided to establish a convent, and in 1653, Marguerite Bourgeois, the illustrious founder of the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, arrived in Canada. French Canada has the highest veneration for these holy women, who, caring for naught but the glory of God, bade adieu to *La Belle France* in order to consecrate their lives to the work of education in the New World. At the present day it is impossible to imagine the difficulties which these heroic

women had to overcome, the painful trials that attended the beginning of their educational labours.

On their arrival, the Ursulines had for sole dwelling two rooms, which served as kitchen, dormitory and class rooms. "It is hardly credible the amount we have expended on this little house," says the Venerable Marie de l'Incarnation, "yet it is still so wretched a hovel that at night the stars may be seen through the chinks in the roof, and it is almost impossible to keep a candle lighted on account of the wind. . . . Nevertheless, we consider ourselves more fortunate than if we were lodged in the best appointed monastery of France." These touching words bring to mind the no less noble sentiment expressed by the Jesuit Father Lejeune, who, in 1632, after his arrival at Quebec, wrote: "I have become a teacher in Canada. A few days ago I had as pupils a little Indian and a little negro whom I was teaching to read. After passing so many years of my life as a classical teacher, I am at last back at the A B C, but with so much contentment and satisfaction that I would not exchange my two scholars for the finest audience in France."

Marguerite Bourgeois.

The first building occupied by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame at Montreal was a stable. "Four years after my arrival, M. de Maisonneuve gave me a stone house to be transformed into a dwelling and school-house," writes Marguerite Bourgeois. "It had been used for cattle. There was a loft reached by a ladder from the outside, which was converted into a sleeping place. I had the building cleaned out, a chimney built, and all necessary repairs made that the building might be fit to receive the children. I took possession on November 25th, 1657, the feast of Ste. Catherine." Such were the humble beginnings of those Orders which have grown and prospered until, to-day, they are by the efficacy of their teaching and the self-sacrificing spirit of their members the glory of the Province of Quebec.

In 1656, the Suplicians established themselves at Montreal, and the first primary school was opened by M. Sonard, who had become Superior of the Montreal Seminary. The first Bishop of Canada, François de Laval, in 1663, laid at Quebec the foundation of the Grand Seminaire, or Divinity College, and in 1668, of the Petit Seminaire, or Classical College The Petit Seminary was, however, in reality nothing but a preparatory school for the Jesuit College. Bishop de Laval established also a school at St. Joachim, near Quebec, with the double object in view of teaching the useful arts and of training teachers. It may be stated *en passant*, that Louis Jolliet, who with Father Marquette discovered the Mississippi, was a pupil of the Jesuits, and had, in 1646, while still a pupil, successfully maintained a thesis in philosophy in the presence of Intendant Talon. As may be easily supposed, it was the first time that the Colony had witnessed a public exercise of this kind. The Recollets returned in 1670, gave themselves up to teaching and rendered important services to public instruction.

In 1697, the Ursulines, desirous of meeting the needs of the population scattered over the country from Quebec to Three Rivers, established a branch of their Order at Three Rivers. A few years previous to this, the Sisters of the Congregation had

organized at Montreal a special class for the training of teachers. This may be considered the first Normal School work done in the Province. The effort to educate not only the children of the French, but those of the Indians also, was a noble undertaking. Unfortunately, the latter, who did not understand the advantages of knowledge, looked upon the attempt at teaching their children with the greatest distrust, and it was only by pressing solicitation and most skilfully devised schemes that the Recollets and Jesuits could induce the Indians, especially the women, to send their children to school. Of the history of those generous men and women who laboured to civilize the Indian races of Canada much has yet to be written. Though many traits of heroism on the part of those who first spread the light of the Gospel in Canada must forever remain unknown, for God alone witnessed them, yet a goodly number have not been lost to history, and the annals of public instruction may fairly claim a large share of these noble deeds as due to the self-sacrificing spirit of the early education of the Colony.

Under the French *Régime*, in spite of almost insurmountable difficulties—the clearing of the land, the sparsely settled condition of the Province, the wars with the Indians, and the expeditions against the New England Colonies—education made good progress. The Hon. Mr. Chauveau writing on this subject says: "Notwithstanding the scarcity of schools, principally of boys' schools, it would be an error to suppose that, at any period, the country population had sunk into a state of ignorance so absolute and brutal as that in which the lower orders of some European countries are yet to be found. From the very beginning a large number of those who settled in the country had received a fair education, and the old parish registers still preserved at Quebec and Montreal show that a large proportion of the population could write. Their home education was, in general, excellent, and the family traditions, maintained and vivified during many years by religious instructions, compensated for the lack of schools. In many cases mothers, who had been educated by the Sisters of the Congregation, became the teachers of their own children, boys as well as girls."

In 1720, the Historian Charlevoix paid the following tribute of admiration to the eminently sociable qualities of the population of Quebec: "Although the population of Quebec comprises but seven thousand souls, yet there is to be found in this city a little world of educated people possessed of all the refinements of polite society." Writing of the nobility of the officers, of the high civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, of the representatives of the religious communities of men or women forming "assemblies as brilliant as are to be seen elsewhere," he added: "They discuss the past, they speculate on the future; the arts and sciences are not forgotten, and conversation does not flag. The Canadians, that is to say the creoles of Canada, breathe at their first breath an air which renders them very agreeable in all their dealings; nowhere else is our language spoken with greater purity. . . . . Good humour, gentle and pleasing ways are common to all, rusticity of manners or language is unknown even in the most out-of-the-way country places."

The learned Swedish naturalist, Dr. Peter Kalm, in the Journal of his voyage to North America, gives a very interesting description of the country at the period when he wrote (1749). Among other things he says: "The farms of Canada are so situated that each proprietor has his property entirely distinct from that of his neighbour. Each church, it is true, is surrounded by a little village; but this village is composed principally of the presbytery, of a school for boys and girls, and of the dwellings of the shopkeepers and artisans."

2. *Education during the English Régime.* The English *Régime* opened under sombre auspices for the French Canadian nationality. The country had been wasted by war; a large portion of the educated population had returned to France; the people had but one friend left—the clergy. To the clergy they turned in their hour of trial, and from the clergy they received the advice and encouragement which they needed. The people of the Province of Quebec are deeply attached to their clergy, but not without good cause, for to them they owe, not only the education which they possess, but also the preservation of their institutions, of their language, in a word, of their national life. Shortly after the cession of Canada,

the English Government took possession of the estates of the Recollets and Jesuits, and forbade these Orders to admit new members. The teaching institutions then remaining were: At Quebec, the Ursulines, the Boarding School of the General Hospital Nuns and the Petit Seminaire, which took the place of the Jesuit College; at Three Rivers, the Ursulines; at Montreal, the Sisters of the Congregation.

In 1773, the Sulpicians founded the Montreal College, which they called St. Raphael's College. This institution, with the Petit Seminaire at Quebec, educated the generation of men who, under the Constitution of 1791, were to carry on the struggle to obtain from England those constitutional liberties which she herself enjoyed. During the thirty years that followed the surrender of Quebec, the progress of public instruction was so slow, due to the political state of the country and to the scant sympathy shown by the Colonial authorities to Britain's new Canadian subjects, that the Government at length took action, and in 1789, Lord Dorchester, Governor-General of Canada, named a Commission to examine into and report on the best means of advancing education. Two years afterward this Commission reported and recommended that an elementary school be established in each parish, a model school in each county and a university at Quebec.

The appointment of the Directors and Professors of this last named institution was to be left to the Government. The Board of Directors was to be composed of the Judges, the Catholic and the Protestant Bishops and of twenty other persons, of whom ten were to be Catholics and ten Protestants. The object of this attempt of a Government which did not look with favour on the religion of the French Canadians, to completely control their education, was too apparent not to meet with determined resistance. Mgr. Hubért, Bishop of Quebec, resolutely opposed the carrying out of the suggestions of the Royal Commission and the Report was not acted upon. A letter, dated November 18th, 1789, addressed to the Hon. William Smith, Chief Justice, by Bishop Hubért, shows that, then as now, persons were to be found, either ignorant of the true state of the case or ill-disposed towards Catholics, who accused the French Canadians of illiteracy.

To the question: "Is it true that on an average not more than half a dozen persons in each parish can read or write?" Bishop Hubért replied: "It is true that this statement has been made, maliciously made, if I am not mistaken, for the purpose of injuring the French Canadians. It was possible on this point to deceive His Royal Highness Prince William Henry, but it would not be so easy to impose on a person having a thorough knowledge of the Province. I have good reason to believe that it would not be at all difficult to find in each parish between twenty-four and thirty persons able to read and write." In 1801, Lieutenant-Governor Sir Robert Shore Milnes requested the Legislature to vote a land grant, the revenues of which were to be expended in the interest of education. A law was therefore passed entitled "An Act to establish Free Schools and to promote the cause of Education." By this law the Government was authorized to form a corporation under the name of the Royal Institution.

The Act remained without effect, however, until 1818, when the Royal Institution was incorporated by letters-patent. Conceived in an intolerant and proselytizing spirit, the Royal Institution produced but little effect; the rural population, composed almost entirely of Catholics, would not send their children to schools of which the teachers professed a religious belief different from theirs. Such being the case, it is not to be wondered at that the Royal Institution, after an existence of twenty years, had under its control only thirty-seven schools, and that it had sown among the people seeds of distrust which were destined to delay the progress of primary education. Lord Dalhousie, more liberal-minded than the authors of the Law of 1801, conceived the idea of remedying this unfortunate state of affairs by establishing two distinct Royal Institutions, one for Catholics, the other for Protestants. On June 4th, 1820, Bishop Plessis wrote to Lord Dalhousie congratulating him on the sagacity he had shown in recognizing the need of two Royal Institutions, thanking him for having had a Bill embodying these views presented to the Legislature, and respectfully requesting that this Bill become law as soon as possible.

On March 21st, 1826, Bishop Panet, the successor of Bishop Plessis, stated in a letter written in answer to one of Lord Dalhousie's, that it was his intention, as it had been that of his predecessor, to second His Excellency's efforts for the advancement of education and for the establishment of a school system so constituted as to safeguard the rights of conscience of each Denomination. Lord Bathurst, having been consulted by Lord Dalhousie, decided against the formation of two distinct Royal Institutions, but he admitted the propriety of creating two Boards of Administration, one for Catholics, the other for Protestants, with a single Corporation for the two Boards. In a letter, dated March 21st, 1826, Bishop Panet accepted the views of Lord Bathurst, but took the liberty of making several remarks on the formation, composition and functions of the Catholic Board and on its connection with the Royal Institution.

Magdalen de la Peltrie.

The Committee of the Royal Institution discussed the proposed re-organization and the Bishop's suggestions and remarks, and passed a resolution which Lord Dalhousie transmitted to Bishop Panet; the latter, in reply, stated his surprise at finding the Royal Institution desirous of withdrawing from the agreement, and respectfully begged leave to inform His Excellency that he adhered to the views expressed in his letter dated February 9th. On December 13th, 1828, Bishop Panet wrote to the Administrator, Sir James Kempt, to inform him that he was still disposed to accept the propositions which had been made in 1827. I have thought it only fair that this point of history should be made perfectly clear, because some fifty years later, in 1875, the Hon. M. de Boucherville, at that time Premier of the Province, recognized the necessity of establishing a Council of Public Instruction composed of two Committees, one for Catholics, the other for Protestants, in order that the minority might have complete control of their own schools and that thus harmony might prevail between the different religious Denominations.

If the year 1825 be compared with 1875, it will be seen that the Catholic majority was at all times animated with the desire of giving full justice to the Protestant minority, thus setting a noble example of religious toleration first to Upper Canada, and afterwards to the Provinces of Confederation. In 1829, a law was passed for the encouragement of elementary education. It was amended in 1831, in 1832, and in 1833, but these amendments were insufficient and the troubles of 1837-38 having broken out, public instruction was paralyzed and Lower Canada remained for a few years without any regular system of primary schools. The prospects for the advancement of public instruction were so disheartening that the clergy became alarmed, and on May 2nd, 1836, Bishop Signay, of Quebec, wrote a circular to his priests, in which, after pointing out that the law for the encouragement of education had lapsed on the previous day, he appealed to their zeal to minimize the evil effects which were sure to follow the closing of most of the schools. He advised the Curés to take advantage of the law which authorized Fabriques to expend one-fourth of the Church revenues in the maintenance of schools under their control. Where the sum derived from this source would be insufficient, he exhorted

his people to supplement the amount thus obtained by as generous subscriptions as their means would permit.

The insufficiency of the Legislative enactments for the promotion of education and the evident intention of certain persons to impose on the majority of the inhabitants schools which they could not, in conscience, accept, induced numbers of zealous laymen to encourage the establishment of large elementary schools in the different towns and villages. In some cases leading citizens improvised themselves as teachers for the occasion. The Catholic clergy were not inactive, and thanks to their enlightened views and to their pecuniary sacrifices several important educational institutions were founded.

To the Quebec Seminary and Montreal College the following colleges were added: in 1804, Nicolet; in 1812, St. Hyacinthe ; in 1824, St. Therese ; in 1827, St. Anne de la Pocatièrs; in 1832, L'Assomption. These establishments have grown and prospered and the names of their founders are honoured in the Province as those of public benefactors. Other institutions of secondary and superior education have since been established, all by members of the clergy ; at Montreal, by the Jesuits, and at Three Rivers, Joliette, St. Laurent, Sherbrooke, Rimouski, Chicoutimi, Levis, Ste. Marie de Monnoir, Rigaud, Valleyfield. In the work of preparing young men for the priesthood or the liberal professions, a generous rivalry exists amongst all these colleges.

In 1841, a new School Law was enforced, but was so unpopular that in 1845, the Draper-Viger Administration, to please the people, who had a deeply rooted aversion to paying taxes, substituted voluntary contributions for the legal collection of school rates. The effects of this measure were disastrous, and finally, in 1846, Parliament adopted a law favourable to primary instruction—the parish organization being chosen as the basis of the new system. In 1852, the Hincks-Morin Ministry decided on the appointment of school inspectors, and in the same year an event occurred which was to mark a new era in the annals of public instruction. This was the foundation at Quebec of the Laval University. On the advice of Lord Elgin, Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, signed a Royal Charter on December 8th, 1852.

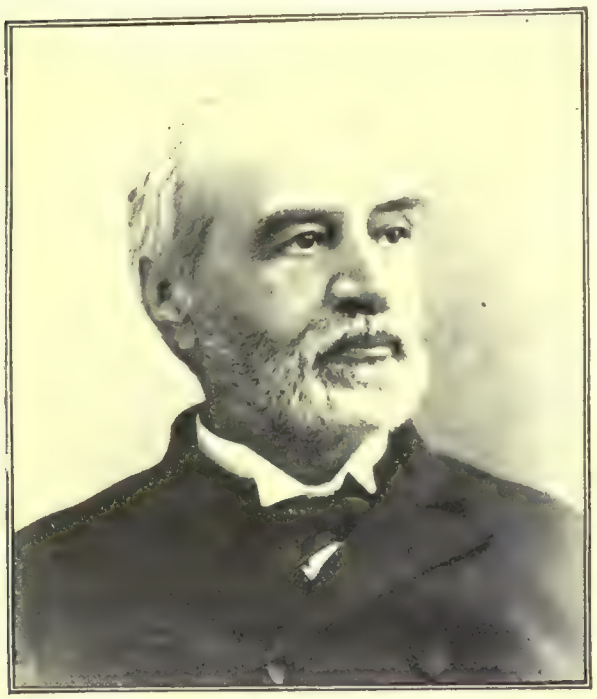
The inauguration took place on September 24th, 1854. Lectures in law and medicine began immediately, but the other courses were not organized till a later period. Laval University is a credit to the Province. The staff of Professors is composed of men remarkable for their attainments and the instruction given is of the very highest order. Tne University is possessed of a magnificent library of over one hundred thousand volumes, and is provided with very complete laboratories for the teaching of science. A number of years ago a branch of Laval was established at Montreal and has rapidly developed, the lectures being followed by an ever increasing number of students.

In 1854, two new laws, one concerning superior, the other primary, education, were passed. The year 1857 saw the opening of three Normal Schools ; two for Catholics—Jacques Cartier, at Montreal, and Laval, at Quebec; and one for Protestants, McGill, at Montreal. In 1859, a Council of Public Instruction composed of eleven Catholics and four Protestants was named. It existed until 1875 when the De Boucherville Administration modified its constitution by dividing it into two separate and independent Committees, one Catholic, the other Protestant. This change was made in order to remove any possible cause of friction between the two religious Denominations by giving to the Protestants, who form the minority, the most complete control over their own schools.

In presenting this law M. de Boucherville proved himself a statesman of liberal and enlightened views ; under its provisions, as well as previous to its passage, the Protestant minority have been treated not only with justice but with generosity, and no Government in Quebec has ever considered, much less proposed, a measure to curtail in any manner the privileges guaranteed them by the Constitution. This law is a monument of religious toleration of which the Province of Quebec is justly proud. Before passing to the third part of this sketch, I may add that the education given in our schools and colleges is liberal and thorough enough to develop in the French-Canadian people a profound respect for the Constitution, a sentiment of generous justice towards all, and an ardent love of true liberty.

3. *The Present System of Catholic Public Schools.*

I shall now briefly outline the organization of the Catholic schools of the Province of Quebec. The distinguishing characteristic of our school law is the absolute liberty enjoyed by each of the two religious Denominations of controlling its own schools, in keeping with the wishes of the parents of the pupils, and in such a manner that Catholics, in municipalities where they form the majority, cannot interfere with the rights of Protestants, and *vice versa*. In this respect, of all the school laws in the Dominion, ours may justly be considered as the most perfect and best



The Hon. C. B. Boucher de Boucherville.

adapted to maintain religious harmony. It must not be forgotten that there is but one school law for the Province, that all schools, Protestant as well as Catholic, are organized under this law. I make this remark for the information of those persons who are under the impression that there are two distinct school laws.

At the head of our Educational system is the Council composed of the Catholic Bishops and of an equal number of Catholic laymen, and an equal number of Protestants. The Council is divided into two Committees, the one consisting of the Catholic and the other of the Protestant members. Each Committee has its meetings separate, and it may fix the period and number thereof. It establishes its quorum, and appoints a chairman and secretary. Everything within the scope of the functions of the Council of Public Instruction which specially concerns the schools of Catholics, is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Catholic Committee. In the same manner, everything which specially concerns the public instruction of Protestants is within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Protestant Committee. The two Committees have made regulations which are almost identical. These regulations concern public schools, courses of study, normal schools, the examination of candidates for the position of inspector, the examination of candidates for teacher's certificate, the construction of school-houses, school furniture, and the choice of text-books, etc.

There is a Superintendent of Public Instruction named by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. He is Chairman of the Council. He is also a member of each of the Committees, but he has a right to vote only in the Committee of the religious faith to which he belongs. The Superintendent has charge of the Department of Public Instruction, and in the exercise of his functions is bound to comply with the directions of the Council of Public Instruction, or with those of the Catholic or Protestant Committee, as the case may be. The Superintendent draws up annually a detailed statement of the sums required for public instruction and submits it to the Government; he lays before the Legislature a report containing a statement of what has been done with the amounts voted for education; an account of the actual state of education in the Province; statistics and information respecting educational institutions, and in general, respecting all subjects connected with literary and intellectual progress.

The public schools are divided into Elementary Schools, Model Schools and Academies. Some of the public schools are said to be "under control," the others are said to be "subsidized." Schools under control are those in which the

teachers are engaged and paid by the School Commissioners or Trustees. Subsidized schools are those not under control which receive a grant from the Government or from School Commissioners or Trustees. In order to interest the people more deeply in the schools and to give more unity and strength to the system the Legislature has grafted it on to the parish organization, thus incorporating each parish three times (*a*) for Church affairs, (*b*) for Municipal affairs, (*c*) for School affairs. Generally speaking, therefore, each parish is incorporated as a school municipality and has one or more schools controlled by School Commissioners, or by Trustees in municipalities where Dissentient schools are established. School municipalities are erected at the request of the interested parties by an order of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.

The School Commissioners and Trustees in each municipality form separate corporations, but any powers conferred or any duties imposed on School Commissioners apply also to School Trustees. Boards of School Commissioners are composed of five members, and Boards of Trustees for Dissentient schools of three. They are elected for three years by the proprietors of real estate, paying taxes or monthly fees. The formalities required for the election of Commissioners and Trustees are somewhat similar to those required for the election of municipal councillors. All voters resident in the school municipality and the clergymen of all religious Denominations ministering in it are eligible as Commissioners or Trustees. Any election of School Commissioner or Trustee may be contested on the ground of violence, corruption or fraud.

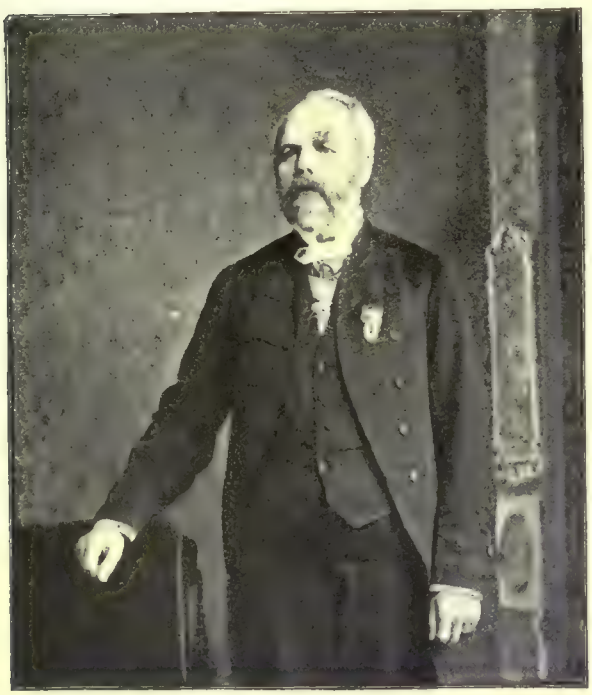
For the municipalities in which no election of School Commissioners or Trustees has taken place within the time prescribed, the Lieutenant-Governor may, upon the recommendation of the Superintendent, appoint Commissioners or Trustees. The duties of School Commissioners and Trustees are numerous and important: they engage and dismiss teachers; see that the courses of study approved by the Committee of the Council are followed; make regulations for the government of their schools; fix the time of the annual public examination; oblige the secretary-treasurer to keep his accounts and register according to instructions received from the Superintendent; hear and decide disputes between the parents, or children, and teachers; require that no other books be used in their schools than those authorized by the Council of Public Instruction or either of the Committees (however, the curè or priest administering a Catholic church shall have the exclusive right of selecting the books having reference to religion and morals for the use of pupils of his religious faith, and the Protestant Committee shall have similar powers respecting Protestant pupils); do whatever may be expedient with regard to the building, repairing, renewing or renting, if need be, of school-houses; have the responsibility of seeing that the school furniture is kept in repair or renewed; cause to be levied the taxes deemed necessary for the support of the schools under their control; may divide the municipality into school districts, or change the limits of these districts; may establish girls' schools distinct from boys'; shall cause an annual census of the children in the school municipality to be made, giving the age of the children and the number of children actually attending school; shall in each year make two reports of their proceedings to the Superintendent.

All decisions of School Commissioners are entered in the minute book of the Board, and in certain specified cases ratepayers who are interested may appeal to the Superintendent from such decision. The Superintendent may summon all parties to appear before him, or he may delegate his powers to a School Inspector or to any other person whom he may choose, who then acts in his name and reports to him. The decision of the Superintendent is final, but he may from time to time repeal or modify it according to circumstances. The principal cases in which an appeal to the Superintendent is allowed are: concerning school sites; the limits of school districts; the construction and repairing of school-houses.

The Inspectors of Catholic schools are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council on the recommendation of the Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction. The duties of these School Inspectors are to visit the different schools of their districts of inspection, to examine the pupils, to inspect the accounts of the secretary-

treasurers of each municipality, and to ascertain whether the provisions of the laws and regulations respecting public instruction are carried out. No person is eligible for the position of School Inspector unless he has attained the age of twenty-five years, and has obtained a diploma authorizing him to teach, and has passed successfully an examination upon his fitness and ability to fulfil the duties of the office.

The Inspectors are obliged to make full and exact reports to the Superintendent on the state of the schools visited. In the autumn each



The Hon. Gédéon Ouimet.

School Inspector visits the different municipalities of his district, and in the most central part of each municipality he delivers, during two days, a series of lectures on the art of teaching. In the spring, he pays his annual visit of inspection to each school of his district of inspection, examines the pupils in the different subjects of the course of study, and forms an opinion of the value of the methods of teaching followed by the teacher.

There is a Central Board of Examiners for the examination of candidates for teachers' diplomas. The diplomas granted by this Board are of three grades: Elementary, Model School, and Academy. It is composed of ten members appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council upon the recommendation of the Catholic Committee. The examination is held in July of each year at the places prescribed by the Central Board. It is the duty of the Central Board to prepare the examination questions in the different subjects prescribed; to appoint deputy examiners under whose charge the examination at the local centres will take place; and to send the examination questions to the different deputy examiners. At the close of the examination, the candidates' answers are forwarded to the Central Board; they are read and valued by the members and diplomas are granted to those who obtain the number of marks prescribed by the regulations. This Central Board and the Catholic Normal Schools alone have power to grant diplomas valid for Catholic schools.

The laws on Public Instruction in the Province of Quebec provide ample protection for the minority and appear to be the surest guarantee of the maintenance of harmony between citizens holding different religious views. The clauses concerning Dissentient schools are a convincing proof of this fact. In the school law a wise principle is embodied by which persons who cannot agree while living together may separate and live apart. This principle is the basis of the following article of the law: "If in any municipality, the regulations and arrangements made by the School Commissioners for the management of any school are not agreeable to any number whatever of the proprietors, occupants, tenants, or ratepayers professing a religious faith different from that of the majority of the inhabitants of such municipality, they may signify such dissent in writing to the Chairman of the Commissioners."

They then organize themselves into a separate corporation and elect a Board of School Trustees. Thus, if in a school municipality the Catholics are the majority, the Protestants by simply giving notice of dissent may organize into a separate corporation; on the other hand, if the Protestants be the majority, the Catholics may dissent in the same manner; therefore, whether

the minority be composed of Catholics or Protestants, they may, if they so desire, have separate schools. The notice of dissent is made and signed in triplicate and is addressed to whom it concerns before the first of May. The election of Trustees is held during the month of July following.

If in any municipality the ratepayers belonging to the religious Denomination of the dissentients become the majority they can give written notice of their intention to organize themselves under School Commissioners. In this case the former majority becomes the minority, and may in turn give notice of dissent and elect School Trustees. Dissentients are not liable for any school rates which may be imposed by the School Commissioners, except for the payment of debts incurred previous to the date of dissent. School rates paid by Catholic ratepayers are expended on Catholic schools; those paid by Protestants are expended on Protestant schools. Any person belonging to the religious minority may at any time become a dissentient, and any dissentient may, in like manner, declare his intention of ceasing to be a dissentient. The minority in a school municipality may unite in supporting a dissentient school, situated at any point in the municipality. If there is no dissentient school in a municipality, any one belonging to the religious minority, having children of school age, may dissent and support a school of his own faith in an adjoining municipality.

The most important subject of study at the Catholic Normal Schools is pedagogy. The course of study also comprises the following subjects: Religious instruction, reading, elocution, grammar (French and English), composition, elements of mental and moral philosophy, universal history, geography, arithmetic, book-keeping, algebra, elements of geometry, mensuration, physics, chemistry, natural history, agriculture, drawing, music, military drill, etc. The diplomas are of three grades: Elementary, Model School and Academy. There is a bursary fund for teachers-in-training. There are two practice schools in connection with each Normal School, one for boys, the other for girls, in which the teachers-in-training learn the art of teaching under the immediate surveillance of teachers in the boys' department, and of nuns in the girls' department, and under the direction of the Principal in both departments.

Two courses of study have been authorized by the Catholic Committee: one specifies the subjects in which candidates for teachers' diplomas must pass; the other enumerates the various subjects taught in the different grades of public schools. These courses of study have been carefully prepared and are based on the programme of studies followed in France and in some other countries. Religious instruction holds the first place in the course and it is given in all the schools. I give below the subjects in which it is necessary to pass to obtain each grade of diploma:

I. The Elementary Diploma: Reading, grammar, dictation, writing, composition, sacred history, history of Canada, geography, arithmetic, mental arithmetic, book-keeping, pedagogy, agriculture, school law, hygiene, manners, and drawing.

II. The Model Diploma: All the foregoing and literature, history of France, history of England, algebra and geometry.

III. The Academy Diploma: All of the foregoing and Latin (optional), history of the United States, general history, cosmography, trigonometry, physics, chemistry, natural history and philosophy.

A candidate who presents himself for a diploma authorizing him to teach in both languages must pass in French and in English in the following subjects: Grammar, dictation, literature, composition; he must, moreover, pass in translating French into English, and *vice versa*. The course of studies for public schools is spread over eight years. The first four years form the Elementary course, the fifth and sixth years form the Model School course, and the last two years the Academy course. The subjects taught in the Elementary course are religious instruction, French and English, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, drawing and useful knowledge. The subjects taught in the Model School course are the same as in the Elementary course, and in addition, expressive reading, recitation, book-keeping, commercial correspondence, map drawing and object lessons. The Academy course contains, in addi-

tion to the foregoing: The large catechism, the history of the Catholic Church, literature, elocution, history of France, history of England, history of the United States, political economy (in boys' schools), and domestic economy (in girls' schools), as well as knitting, sewing and embroidery.

4. *Recent Educational History.* I have briefly given the outlines of the Catholic School system of the Province of Quebec. The first development of this system dates from 1846. After the Act of Union of the two Canadas, Dr. Meilleur was

The Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau.

named Superintendent of Education. In the exercise of his difficult functions, he displayed that energy and patriotism for which he was remarkable. At the very beginning of his career he had to surmount obstacle after obstacle, but he received the support of the clergy and of the majority of the educated classes. School municipalities were organized, schools were opened in many localities, and the seed soon bore good fruit. When, in 1855, after thirteen years of unremitting labour, Dr. Meilleur resigned, considerable progress had been made. The number of educational establishments of all kinds was 2,705, and the number of pupils attending them 119,737. The second Superintendent was the Honourable P. J. O. Chauveau. A man of brilliant talents, his nomination produced a marked effect on the people.

Following the suggestions which had been made in 1853 by a Committee of the Legislative Assembly, presided over by the Hon. L. V. Sicotte, he introduced many reforms into our school system. Among these I may mention the foundation of our present Provincial Normal School; the increase of School Inspectors' salaries; School Inspectors to be chosen from among teachers; the publishing of the Journal of Education and of the Journal de l'Instruction Publique. In 1867, the Hon. Mr. Chauveau became Premier of the Province of Quebec, but he did not immediately abandon the control of the Department of Public Instruction. In 1876, the Hon. G. Ouimet, who had succeeded the Hon. Mr. Chauveau as Premier, became in his turn Superintendent of Public Instruction, a position which he occupied with honour to himself and advantage to the Province for twenty years. During these twenty years education made good progress. In 1895, the Hon. Mr. Ouimet resigned, and the author of the present sketch was appointed Superintendent.

The progress of public instruction and the increase in the number of schools during the last fifty years have been eminently satisfactory. The clergy have contributed in a great measure to achieve this result. The Province can boast of seventeen colleges founded and maintained by the clergy. The standard in institutions of secondary and superior education is high; many of the professors have studied in European universities, and the courses given in our institutions, I am convinced, are not inferior to any other courses given in the Dominion.

The teaching orders of women having model schools and academies under their control have multiplied, and they impart to their pupils an education both solid and brilliant. These devoted women not only teach their pupils the different subjects of the course of studies, but they refine their manners and inspire them with noble

thoughts. In these convents manual training is not neglected. The statistics of 1896 show that in the model schools and academies, directed by Orders for teaching, out of a total attendance of 37,377 children, 13,107 studied domestic economy, 16,772 learned knitting, and 12,704 learned sewing and embroidery. The education of girls is certainly one of the serious questions of the day, and parents in confiding their daughters to the Religious Orders of teaching women will know that while their intelligence will not suffer in the hands of these devoted and skilful teachers, their characters will be formed by the practice of every Christian virtue. There are also Religious Orders of men teachers whose establishments are increasing in number and importance from year to year. Since some years they have founded several commercial colleges which are favourably known to the business world. These colleges are placed under the head of academies in the Superintendent's Report. The figures as to instruction in the elementary and other schools of Quebec are as follows:

Number of Brothers teaching.....	1,332
Number of Nuns teaching.....	2,513
No. of laymen teaching.....	729
Number of lay women teaching.....	5,859
Giving a total of.....	10,433

At Confederation, in 1867, the total number of children attending school was 212,839. In 1897 the number had risen to 307,280. The total number of Catholic schools, including under this head colleges and universities, is 5,848. The average attendance of pupils enrolled in the elementary schools is seventy per cent., and of pupils enrolled in model schools and academies eighty-three per cent. Parents ardently desire to have their children educated, and I am convinced that the school population has entered on an era of intellectual progress which will keep pace with the material development of the Province.

The Hon. P. Boucher de La Bruère.

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA

BY

ALEXANDER H. MACKAY, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Chief Superintendent in Nova Scotia.

THE first permanent settlement made in Nova Scotia was that under De Monts at Port Royal (Annapolis) in 1605. Until the settlement of Halifax in 1749 by the English, the French may be considered the dominant element in the population, as they were for some years afterwards in fact. One of the objects of the early settlers was the education of the aborigines in the Christian faith, and wherever a French priest was found there was a schoolmaster, not only for the Indian but for the children of the colonists. In the beginning education was under the supervision, and often under the direct personal charge of the clergy. They were its great promoters, and raised public sentiment to that pitch of appreciation which resulted in its present extension and specialization.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, at the request of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, by letter dated Whitehall, England, April 6th, 1749, resolved to send six clergymen and six schoolmasters to the settlement at Chebucto (Halifax) as soon as it should be formed. Two of these came out with the 2,576 settlers under Edward Cornwallis, the convoy of the fleet of transports arriving in the present Halifax harbour on the 21st of June, 1749. For many years afterwards this Society actively aided in the establishment of schools in various parts of the Province.

In 1788 the Legislature established a seminary at Windsor, under the principalship of Archibald P. Inglis, the precursor of the present academy there. Next year a grammar school was established in Halifax under the Rev. William Cochran, and an act incorporating King's College at Windsor passed. The following year, 1790, the Legislature voted £500 for a site for the college at Windsor, and a perpetuity of £400 a year, and the principal of the Halifax Grammar School was immediately appointed to its principalship. Three thousand pounds at various times were voted by the British House of Commons for the institution, and in 1802 a Royal Charter was obtained for it, together with an annual grant of £1,000, which was continued annually until 1834. Cochran was succeeded as principal in 1832, by Dr. Porter, who was succeeded in 1836 by Dr. McCawley. He was followed in 1875 by Rev. John Dart, in 1885 by the Rev. Isaac Brock, and in 1888 by the Rev. Dr. C. E. Willets, the president of to-day. One of its by-laws contained originally the following clause: "No member of the University shall frequent the Romish mass, or the meeting houses of Presbyterians, Baptists, or Methodists, or the conventicles or places of worship of any other dissenters from the Church of England."

This clause was objectionable to about four-fifths of the population of the Province. The Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch, as early as 1805, began to agitate for an institution free from religious tests. This resulted in an Act of the Legislature aiding secondary education. In 1811 grammar schools were established in Sydney, Cumberland, Kings, Queens, Lunenberg, Annapolis, and Shelburne counties, the teacher to receive £100 from the Provincial Treasury, and his assistant £50, when the number of scholars was at least thirty. Common schools were also aided by special grants. The first schoolmaster in Halifax was a Mr. Halstead, who held the field from the founding of the city, in 1749, to 1752. In 1814 Walter Bromley established the Acadian school on the Lancastrian system, and created much enthusiasm. He was soon receiving a grant of £200 from the Province, and had 400 pupils on the roll. In 1818 the National school was established

with a roll of over 100 pupils, and a public grant. Many other smaller schools were doing successful common and High School work in the city, in addition to the grammar school which, in 1790, fell under the management of its second principal, the Rev. George Wright, who in turn was succeeded in 1819, by Rev. John Thomas Twining. To follow the series of principals up to the present day: Twining was succeeded by Rev. Robert Arnold, who was followed by the Rev. Edwin Gilpin, who became its principal in 1847. During his incumbency the grammar school changed into the High School, 1877, and finally into the County Academy, 1885, under the free school system. He was succeeded in 1889 by Alexander Howard MacKay, in 1891 by Howard Murray, and in 1894 by the present principal, W. T. Kennedy.

But the aid given secondary education by the Act of 1811, which was continued in force until 1825, did not check the demand for an institution free from religious tests for the higher education. Money was raised in Pictou for an academy founded on the general plan of a Scottish University, and the Act of Incorporation finally passed the Legislature on the 26th of March, 1816. But no power was given it for the conferring of degrees. Next year, under the principalship of Dr. Thomas McCulloch, the Act went into operation. In a few years some of the students of Pictou Academy were able to graduate by examination as Masters of Arts in Glasgow University, Scotland. And, although the great majority of the House of Assembly, sometimes unanimously, passed bills for the purpose of granting it aid to the extent of £400 a year, only four such grants were made. Finally a majority of one in the pre-responsible Executive Council blocked further grants against the unanimous action of the Assembly.

In 1831 the friends of the Academy sent a delegate to the British Government in reference to the arbitrary action of the Council; and, although finally the red-gowned students of the old Pictou Academy disappeared, the feeling raised in the Assembly and in the country culminated a little later under the leadership of Joseph Howe in the abolition of the irresponsible Council and the introduction of Responsible Government. The Academy gave up the fight for a Provincial grant and university powers, and henceforward with fluctuating fortunes functioned as a High School, having made an attempt unsuccessfully in the early fifties, however, to be converted into the Provincial Normal School, which was afterwards built in a more central part of the Province. The following list gives the names and dates of succession of the Principals of the Pictou Academy after Dr. Thomas McCulloch was transferred to Dalhousie College, at Halifax:—1838, Michael McCulloch; 1846, Basil Bell; 1854, Mr. Jarvis; 1855, John Costley; 1865, when the institution was promptly converted under the Free School Act into a County Academy, Herbert A. Bayne; 1873, Alexander Howard MacKay; and 1889, Robert McLellan, the present principal.

The University of Dalhousie College was founded in 1821 by the Right Honourable George Ramsay, ninth Earl of Dalhousie, then Governor of the Province, "for the education of youth in the higher branches of science and literature." The original endowment was the sum of £9,750, which remained over from the funds collected at Castine in Maine during the war of 1814. The original Board of Governors consisted of the Governor-General of British North America, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, the Bishop, the Chief Justice and President of Council, the Provincial Treasurer and the Speaker of the House of Assembly. In 1835 the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province was directed "to convey to the Governors of King's College the earnest recommendation of His Majesty that they should *surrender the charter* which they at present hold," and about the same time the second attempt to consolidate Dalhousie and King's was made. But the royal charter was not surrendered, nor was the attempt at consolidation any more successful than the first attempt in 1823 or the third attempt in 1885, when the heads of an arrangement of a confederation were passed by the Board of King's College.

In 1838 Dalhousie College was opened under the principalship of Dr. Thomas McCulloch of the Pictou Academy, but, strange to say, the authorities made the same blunder in starting Dalhousie that was made in starting King's. The Rev. E. A. Crawley, whose friends were anxious to have him on the staff as a representative of the Baptists, was not appointed—on the

ground of his creed—it was said. Dalhousie, then, instead of opening as a consolidated college with King's, reducing two to one, furnished indirectly the occasion of the origination of a third university in the small Province. In 1838 the Baptist College of Acadia was started at Wolfville, and two years later was incorporated as a university. In 1843 Dr. McCulloch died, and the Governors in 1845 closed Dalhousie College to allow the funds to accumulate. From 1849 to 1859 the institution was kept open as a high school. It was not until 1863 that it was re-organized as an university under an Act of the Legislature—since which time, however, its growth has been regular, until now it is doing more university work than all the other universities in the Province. The Rev. James Ross was the Principal under whom the institution started in 1863. At his death in 1885 he was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. John Forrest, who is the President at this date (1897).

Acadia College started under the principalship of the Rev. John Pryor, who had previously been principal of the Horton Academy at Wolfville, which was started under Asahel Chapin in 1829. Pryor succeeded Chapin in 1830, and Edward Blanchard succeeded him at the Academy. In 1851 Pryor was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Cramp. From 1853 to 1855 the Rev. Dr. Crawley was president of the Arts Faculty. In 1869 Dr. Cramp was succeeded by the Rev. A. W. Sawyer, now the Rev. Dr. Sawyer, who, resigning on account of delicate health after an eminently successful career, has just been succeeded in the presidency by the Rev. Dr. Trotter.

The present Presbyterian College at Pine Hill in Halifax, claims to have originated in 1820 under Dr. Thomas McCulloch, of the Pictou Academy, which was vehemently opposed by the "Church of Scotland" Presbyterians as being an Arts College specially preparing candidates for the theological course of the "secession" Presbyterian Church. In 1848 it was re-organized at West River, Pictou county. In 1858 it was removed to Truro, and in 1860 to Gerrish Street, Halifax. In 1878 the present site and property between Point Pleasant Park and the North-West Arm, Halifax, were purchased and occupied.

In 1854, Saint Francis Xavier College was founded at Antigonish in connection with the Roman Catholic Church. Its first president was the Rev. Dr. John Cameron, present Bishop of Antigonish, who was succeeded in order by the late Bishop McKinnon; the Rev. Hugh Gillis; the Rev. Dr. Angus Cameron; in 1882 by the Rev. Neil McNeil, D.D., present Bishop of Nilopolis, Newfoundland; and in 1891 by Rev. Dr. D. A. Chisholm. In 1890 the "College de Sainte Anne" was established under the presidency of the Rev. G. Blanche, of the "Eudist Fathers," at Church Point, in the county of Digby. It is French and Roman Catholic in its affiliations.

THE FOLLOWING FIGURES SHOW THE PRESENT POSITION OF COLLEGES IN THE PROVINCE:

INSTITUTIONS HAVING DEGREE-CONFERRING POWERS.—*Statistics for the School Year ending in the Summer of 1896.*

NAME OF INSTITUTION.	PLACE.	STAFF.		STUDENTS IN ARTS.										SCIENCE.						MEDICINE.			LAW.		THEOLOGY			GRAND TOTAL STUDENTS.	DEGREES CONFERRED IN 1896.												
				Undergraduates.							General.			Undergraduates.																										
		Professors.	Lecturers.	1st year.	2nd year.	3rd year.	4th year.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Total in Arts.	General.	Males.	Fema e.	Total.	Males.	Female.	Total.	Regular.	Partial.	Total.	Regular.	Partial.	Total.		B.A.	B.L.	M.A.	B.Sc.	B.Eng.	M.Eng.	LL.B.	B.C.L.	D.C.L.	Ph.D.	M.D., C.M.	B.D.	D.D.	Total.
		a	*b*																						*d*	*e*													
King's College	Windsor	6	5	7	4	4	.	14	1	15	3	..	3	18	11	.	.	11	.	.	.	.	.	.	14	.	14	32	3	.	2	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	1	9
Presbyterian College	Halifax	4	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	52	2	54	54	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	1	6
Acadia College	Wolfville	9	1	28	26	23	24	81	20	101	17	3	20	121	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	121	28	.	10	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	39
Dalhousie College	Halifax	10	20	22	30	34	10	102	24	126	44	27	71	197	10	9	14	5	19	47	3	50	58	2	60	.	.	326	28	3	9	2	.	.	13	.	.	.	5	.	.	69
St. Francis Xavier College	Antigonish	9	..	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	*g*	7	.	1	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10
St. Anne's College	Church Pt	14	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	2	*h*	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
		52	30	57	60	61	34	197	45	242	64	30	94	336	21	9	14	5	30	47	3	50	58	2	60	68	2	70	533	66	3	22	6	.	.	13	.	1	.	5	5	3	124

(*a*) One Tutor. (*b*) Lecturers in Theology *non-resident*. (*c*) Nine *engineering*, two *science*.
(*d*) The Law School being situated in St. John, N.B., is not included here. (*e*) *Eleven* of these are included in "Arts."
(*g*) The great majority of students (112) were registered in the County Academy, with which the institution is affiliated. (*h*) *Sixty-six* are in attendance, of whom *eighteen* have been admitted to the first and second years of the Clare County Academy with which the institution is affiliated.

I may now turn to sketch in outline the public school systems which stimulated and directed the growth of elementary and secondary education. For a number of years up to 1881 large grants from the public treasury were made to these various colleges. At that time the University of Halifax, which was established by the Legislature in 1876, was in its youth and struggling in the vain endeavour to become the single University Board for all the colleges after the fashion of the London University. But some of the other universities were not willing to surrender their own degree-conferring powers, whereupon the Government withdrew all grants from them as well as from the University of Halifax itself, which thereupon ceased its work. The problem of consolidation is now most likely to be solved by the long process of the elimination of the more unfit; but so long as present and past conditions continue in existence, the university system of Nova Scotia cannot produce the best results. In fact there is no university system, for these colleges are neither aided, nor controlled, nor recognized by the Education Department.

As already indicated, the earliest help given to common and grammar schools was by grants from the Provincial Treasury. The conditions were constantly varying and improving from the time of the schools first mentioned until the appointment of the first Provincial Superintendent in 1850. In 1825, 217 schools were reported as being attended by 5,514 pupils during the previous year, at a total cost of from £8,680 to £11,000; and a Bill was introduced with the object of dividing the Province into sections and making provision for the support of the schools by general assessment. But the terror of direct taxation and compulsory legislation caused its rejection by a vote of 24 to 12. In 1832, the division of the Province into Districts of the average size of half a county at present, each with its Board of Commissioners, was inaugurated. The Districts and Boards of to-day are the descendants of these; but their functions have, under the Free School system, been reduced to little more than the modification of the bounds of the "school section" and the formal decision as to which of the sections should be placed on the "poor list" entitling them to extra aid. The common schools this year numbered 423, with 11,771 pupils, costing the people nearly £8,000 and the Provincial Treasury £2,000; in addition to the Grammar schools with their pupils and expenses. There was fairly rapid growth during the following years.

The second period of public school development which opened in 1850 by the appointment of the present Sir William Dawson as the first Superintendent of the Schools of the Province, showed an annual roll of 896 schools with 25,328 pupils, costing the people over £25,000 and the Provincial Treasury over £10,000. The principle

Dr. Alexander H. Mackay.

of free schools and general assessment was strongly advocated by the Superintendent; improved methods of teaching and plans of buildings were brought to the attention of teachers and trustees; and the advantage and necessity of a Normal School was demonstrated. In 1855 the Rev. Alexander Forrester, D.D., became Superintendent, and was appointed also Principal of the Provincial Normal School which was opened that year in Truro. He completed the work begun by Dr. J. W. Dawson, and in the year 1864

the Legislature of Nova Scotia, under the Premiership of the present Sir Charles Tupper, passed the Free School system of to-day in its main provisions. While Dr. Forrester was left in charge of the important post of Principal of the Normal School, one of his younger colleagues, the present Dr. Theodore H. Rand, was intrusted with the administration of the new system. It must be mentioned to the credit of the Leader of the Opposition at that time, the late Sir Adams G. Archibald, whose party was previously more or less committed to such educational reform, that

Dr. Theodore H. Rand.

he did not oppose the passage of the law. The temerity of the Government in introducing this legislation—which imposed a heavy direct taxation on scores of individuals in every electoral district for the education of their neighbours' children, where they had previously educated their own children without any aid—was visited upon them at the next election. Some say it was due to the unpopularity of the method of passing the Confederation Act (which was the main question discussed in the speeches of the public canvass); but I believe it was the direct result of the new and universal school taxation that the whole of that Government party, with but one exception, was swept away at the first appeal thereafter to the polls.

The statistical synopsis which follows gives the progress of public education in Nova Scotia during years between 1832 and 1850, when the District School Commissioner system was in force, and during 1850-64 under Dr. Dawson and Dr. Forrester:

Year.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Pupils.	Raised by the People. £1=$4.	Provincial Grant. £1=$4.	Total Cost of Schools.	Remarks.
1832	423	11,771	$31,367	$ 7.338	$ 38,705	Common Schools.
1833	437	13,161	57,602	16,628	74,230	
1834	444	12,573	37,468	17,865	55.333	
1835	530	15,292	49,813	27,323	77,136	
1836	550	16,000	60,000	28.000	78,000	(Estimated).
1842	854	29,382	83,973	36,122	120.095	Common and High Schools.
1843	939	29,723	92,272	34,396	126,668	
1844	935	30,979	88,190	36,255	124,445	
1846	1001	33.960	79.828	37,712	117,540	
1847	1041	34,729	93,172	43,394	136,566	

Common and High schools 1850-1864:

Year.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Pupils.	Raised by the People. £1=$4.	Provincial Grant. £1=$4.	Total Cost of Schools.
1850	896	25 328	$100,556	$ 42,368	$142,924
1851	879	29,579	93,611	42,675	136,286
1852	967	32,762	107,407	47,982	155.389
1854	907	31,010	103,608	46,642	150,250
1856	....	31,307	104 047	42,355	146,402
1857	1002	34,356	128,222	53,519	181,741
1858	1127	33,742	129,672	53,319	182,991
1859	1061	35,581	135,041	46,891	181.932
1860	1059	35,293	121,873	45,742	167,615
1861	1043	33,652	129,775	46,833	176,608
1862	1092	36,067	129.999	47,888	177,887
1863	1072	37.483	130,664	45,472	176,136
1864	1112	35,405	115,226	47,930	163,156

The third period of public school development—the Free School system,—begins at the close of 1864, when the average number of schools open in the winter and summer terms was 1,112, with an average enrollment of 35,405 pupils, costing the people directly $115,226, and costing the Provincial Treasury $47,930. In 1870 the Rev. A. S. Hunt succeeded Dr. Rand; and from 1887 Dr. David Allison directed the evolution of the system until 1891. In 1893, under the present

incumbent, the term was changed from a semi-annual to an annual period. The Normal School was turned into a purely professional school with its curriculum extended to embrace the general elements of manual training and the industrial aspect of the sciences; the courses of study in common and high schools for teachers' licenses, etc., were unified; and a Provincial system of High School examination and certification was inaugurated. The system is otherwise essentially that of 1864, the general scope of which I shall now venture to outline in brief. The following table may be first given, however, and illustrates the operation and development of this system:

Year.	Av. No. of Teachers W. & S. Terms.	Average Enrollment of Winter and Summer Terms.	Average Daily Attendance W. and S. Terms.	Average percentage of Daily Attendance.	Section Assessment.	County Fund.	Provincial Grant.	Total cost of Public Education.	Total Cost per Pupil Daily Present on Average.
1865	916	39,461	23,572	60.0	$124,675	$	$ 87,085	$211,758	$.....
1866	1,059	50,574	29,239	57.8	176,252	55,462	136,821	368,535	12.60
1867	1,360	65,896	36,943	56.1	262,913	91,477	162,000	516,390	13.98
1868	1,390	68,612	39,731	58.2	298,659	91,958	164,750	555,367	13.98
1869	1,515	74,138	43,078	58.1	286,754	91,760	167,387	545,901	12.67
1870	1,565	75,279	42,177	56.0	266,160	91,762	174,602	532,524	12.62
1871	1,620	75,995	43,612	57.4	247,209	91,762	176,174	515,145	11.81
1872	1,592	73,638	40,806	55.4	245,759	95,461	171,395	512,615	12.56
1873	1,624	74,297	41,392	55.3	265,274	105,029	165,562	535,865	12.94
1874	1,658	76,277	44,143	55.0	287,349	107,301	175,013	569,663	12.90
1875	1,775	79,123	44,229	55.3	320,130	107,396	185,565	613,091	13.86
1876	1,810	79,813	45,373	56.3	338,838	106,781	194,605	640,224	14.11
1877	1,888	82,364	46,690	56.8	324,550	106,833	204,266	635,649	13.61
1878	1,954	82,846	48,951	59.0	368,282	106,920	208,115	683,317	13.96
1879	1,985	82,998	45,857	55.4	.....	107,181	205,575	.....	.....
1880	1,809	76,393	42,580	55.7	281,561	107,181	196,217	584,959	13.74
1881	1,881	78,828	43,461	55.1	286,086	106,695	185,519	578,300	13.36
1882	1,932	79,042	43,746	55.3	290,564	106,949	184,627	582,140	13.31
1883	1,961	80,477	45,650	56.7	316,477	120.340	186,088	622,905	13.65
1884	2,014	82,153	47,280	57.5	314,172	120,345	191,124	625,641	13.23
1885	2,054	84,025	48,398	57.8	334,044	120,328	199,188	653,560	13.50
1886	2,111	85,714	51,142	59.6	321,954	120,377	209,834	652,165	12.75
1887	2,143	85,474	50,655	58.5	337,216	119,047	216,085	672,348	13.43
1888	2,153	84,534	48,707	57.6	346,314	118,485	211,196	675,995	13,88
1889	2,182	84,429	50,038	59.2	341,716	118,281	212,922	672,919	13.45
1890	2,214	85,482	49,620	58.0	377,529	118,349	213,434	709,312	14.29
1891	2,229	83,548	49,347	59.0	393,077	118,301	213,906	725,284	14.67
1892	2,268	85,077	50,975	59.8	410,017	120'127	216,430	746,574	14.65
1893	2,319	85,733	49,391	57.6	413,449	89,623	166,040	669,112	13.55 ¾ of year
1894	2,351	87,595	49,808	56.9	454,200	120,507	220,436	795,144	15.96
1895	2,399	89,126	51,528	57.8	453,144	119,900	238,760	811,804	15.75
1896	2,438	90,270	53,023	58.7	450,972	120,018	242,345	813,335	15.34

The Council of Public Instruction of Nova Scotia consists of the members of the Executive Council, five of whom constitute a quorum. This body draws up the regulations for the expenditure of the funds appropriated for educational purposes, for the classification of teachers, and for the admin-

istration of all matters generally which fall within the scope of the Educational statutes. It prescribes the school books, the courses of study for the schools of all grades (including the Normal School), appoints the Provincial Examiners, Inspectors, District School Commissioners, and has power to make provision for any exigencies not inconsistent with the statutes. The Superintendent of Education is appointed by the Governor-in-Council, and is also the Secretary of the Council of Public Instruction. His duties are generally the same as those of a Minister of Education, with the exception that he has not to find a constituency for election and is answerable directly to the Government instead of to the House of Assembly. The Education Department in Nova Scotia has hitherto had the good fortune of being considered non-partizan, although the Council is always composed exclusively of the members of the Government for the time-being.

The District Commissioners of Schools are continuations of the Boards which were in 1832 invested with the power of directing and stimulating education in the days of voluntary subscriptions for the support of schools, when local efforts of specified degrees were rewarded by certain Provincial grants. There are at present thirty-three such Boards presiding over as many divisions of the Province; but their functions are now mainly confined to the rectification of the bounds of the school sections, and the determination of those which, owing to their geographical and other conditions, should be placed on the list for reception of special aid.

The Inspector is the Secretary of the Boards of District Commissioners within his Inspectorate, but this duty is merely an incidental part of his work. The Province is subdivided into ten Inspectorates which will give on an average about 200 schools to the charge of each Inspector. This office is one of the most important in the whole system, for the Inspector is charged with the inspection of each school within his district; makes up the pay lists from the returns from each of his schools; pays the Provincial and County grants to the teachers and trustees, when the same is authorized to be paid from the Education Department to which all returns, etc., are finally sent; withholds approval from returns of schools in which the law has not been observed in every important particular, and thus delays the grants until the letter or the spirit of the law has been carried out to the extent deemed reasonable. The Inspectors are the direct agents of the Education Office, reporting monthly on all the schools visited by them, and coming into authoritative contact with teachers and trustees in every section of the Province.

The School Section is the unit corporation for school purposes, and geographically includes a territory about four miles in diameter with the school near the centre. There is an injurious tendency in many sections to reduce the geographical extent of the section for the purpose of having all the children near the school, when neither the wealth nor the population of the section will enable a good teacher to be employed. The experience of the Educational authorities proves that under ordinary circumstances it is better to be two miles distant from a good school than to be only one mile from a poor school. The section is governed by a board of three trustees, one of whom retires each year at the annual meeting of the section, when his successor is elected. In towns and cities having municipal government, the Board of Trustees is known as the School Commissioners, three of whom are appointed by the Municipal Council and three by the Provincial Government, one member each retiring annually. In the City of Halifax there is a board of twelve School Commissioners, six appointed by the City Council and six by the Provincial Government, the two senior of each retiring annually after three years' service. Cities or towns, no matter how much their extent may exceed four miles, form but one school section. The great mass of school sections are rural sections with a simple board of three trustees, and the number of sections is about two thousand.

The annual meeting is the most important function of the rural school section. Except in certain specified sections, it is fixed by law to be held on the last Monday of June, a week or two before the close of the schools for the year and seven or eight weeks before the opening of the schools for the next school year. It is the annual parliament of the section, where the tax-payers assemble to discuss the Educational administra-

tion, elect the new trustee, and vote the amount of supplies to be levied upon the section for the support of the school for the following year. The sum of the valuations of the property within school sections for the whole Province in 1896 was about $79,000,000; the value of the school property itself was over $1,500,000; the total amount voted at the last annual meeting to be assessed on the section property was about $451,000—of which $76,000 was for building and repairs, and $354,000 to supplement the funds from the other two sources for the salaries of teachers. One of these sources is the County Fund, which is raised under the statute by the collection, with the rates of each county, of an additional sum equal to thirty cents per head for each inhabitant within the county at the last decennial census. This fund is distributed to the Board of Trustees of each section conducting an approved public school as follows: First, a small grant of $25 for each teacher engaged for the year in the section, then the balance and greater portion is divided to each section in the county or municipality in proportion to the grand total days' attendance made by the pupils in each school according to the returns sent in at the end of the year. This stimulates the trustees to secure as large an attendance of pupils as possible at school, in order to improve their financial budget.

The Provincial grant is the other source of revenue for the support of the teacher; but it is paid directly to the teacher and is dependent on the class of license held. Originally a class "D" teacher received a grant of $60 for a full year's work; class "C," $90; class "B," $120, as well as class "A" teachers who were not engaged in the County Academies. But some years later, in order to prevent the undue growth of the grant from the Provincial Treasury, the sum total was definitely fixed. But the whole grant is directed to be paid in joint proportion to the days taught and the scale above given with the amendment of allowing at the ratio of $180 for class "A" teachers as subordinates, and $220 if principals of schools with a defined high standard. For 1896 the total amount of County grants to the school sections was about $120,000, and the total amount of the Provincial grant to the teachers, about 2,400 in number, was nearly the maximum prescribed by the statute, $182,500. But this sum did not include the grants to the County Academies, which amounted to nearly $16,000. The County Academy is the High School in the county which receives a special grant on account of its staff of teachers of Academic grade (class "A"), its superior accommodations, and its agreement to admit free from the county any students who are qualified to pass the County Academy entrance examination, which is the Provincial examination upon the first eight years' work of the Public Schools, generally known as the Common School grades. The High School grades are grades ix., x., xi. and xii. of the Public Schools, also known as grades "D," "C," "B" and "A," the scholarships of which (plus the prescribed professional training for each and the age limit and character) qualify for teachers' licenses of the respective classes "D," "C," "B" and "A." The County Academies are of four grades, depending on their equipment, and receive in lieu of the Provincial grant to the teacher or teachers, according to their rank, either $500, or $1,000, or $1,500, or $1,720. These grants are inducements to the trustees of the institutions to have their High Schools of superior excellence as compared with the other High Schools within the counties. But as a matter of fact there are many High Schools in some counties which are far superior to the County Academies in other counties, for there can be but one County Academy in a given county. The Principals of the better High Schools draw the Provincial grant at the rate of $220, and their associates, when doing full High School work and holding class "A" draw the $180 grant already referred to.

Provincial certificates of scholarship are granted by a Provincial Board of Examiners on the results of the annual terminal examination held now at thirty-five stations throughout the Province simultaneously, on the work of each of the four grades of the High School curriculum. These certificates can be used in lieu of examinations for entering into the Normal School, into the teaching profession, into the universities and other institutions requiring a scholarship test. This arrangement federates all the High School institutions in the Province into a sort of university

of secondary rank. The certificates show on the margin the values given on each subject by the Examiner, while the course of study and the examination papers themselves are published in the official journal of the Department for the information of all concerned. If the matriculation standard of one college, for instance, requires the reading of more Latin authors than a given grade is examined upon, its authorities may accept a "pass" of sixty or seventy per cent. on the certificate as equivalent to its own standard, while another college may accept fifty per cent. or any other percentage. In this manner, the combination of all the High Schools with the various higher and independent technical institutions has been solved; so that there is no occasion now in any of the schools to have one class reading one author for one college, another few reading a different book for a different college, and so forth. There is simply the Provincial Course of Study to be attended to, and all institutions accept the results at their actual value. In 1896, the number of High School students presenting themselves for examination was 2,517, of whom thirty-six out of eighty took "A" certificates, 236 out of 380 took "B" certificates successfully, 404 out of 854 "C" certificates, and 631 out of 1203 won "D" certificates.

The subjects of the Course of Study include those found in all other modern school systems, except dogmatic or formal religion. The peculiarity of the High School course is that English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Natural Science, Book-keeping and Drawing are imperative in the first three years, while the ancient and modern languages are optional, but placed at a premium. All teachers passing through the Normal School take short courses in several forms of manual training, such as drawing, modelling, wood-work, chemical and physical experimentation, biological work (including the use of the microscope), while trustees can provide for such forms of manual training in their schools as they may judge to be most useful to the peculiar needs of the community. The inculcation of moral and patriotic duties in connection with historical and other lessons, school incidents, anniversaries, etc., is imperative in every grade.

In Nova Scotia, although no reference is made in the prescribed course of study to devotional exercises, the Regulation "C. 1" assumes that they may be conducted in any school so long as no parent or guardian objects thereto in writing. If the objection be made, the exercises may be held within regular school hours if so modified as to give no offence to any one. But if no such modification can be made, the exercises may be held immediately before the opening of the secular work of the school or after its close. The trustees are assumed to understand the local conditions of their section and have therefore very large powers for regulating such exercises, where people wish them; but limited first by the provision that no one shall be compelled to be present at devotional exercises formally objected to, and secondly by the condition that such exercises shall not encroach excessively on the regular and imperative work of the school.

The trustees of Public Schools can rent the school-rooms of denominational schools, appoint teachers nominated by the owners of such rooms (providing the teachers hold Provincial licenses to teach) and otherwise control the school in strict accordance with the law. Such schools having regularly licensed teachers, the same school books, the same registers to keep, and the same returns to attest, and being under the inspection of the same educational officers as the other public schools, are in every respect eligible to qualify for the public grants. Where it had not interfered with the proper grading, the Council of Public Instruction permitted trustees in some cases to provide separate rooms for the boys and girls, although co-education is not only the rule in rural sections but in the Academies and other High Schools. In the City of Halifax the Roman Catholic members of the Board of School Commissioners are accustomed to nominate teachers to the schools belonging originally to the Ecclesiastical corporation, although the appointments are always made by the full Board.

In a few of the towns the children have been withdrawn from the public schools to form convent schools. In most of these at date, the parties responsible for this schism have acted with such tact in the community as eventually to see elected to the Town Councils and School

Boards, those who were ready to affiliate the "separate school" as before indicated to the public school of the section. The fact that such schools thus win recognition from the local educational authorities in whose section they originate, is a very high premium on their peaceful evolution. For the trustees are as free to change their policy when they consider it advantageous to the section, as they were formerly free to adopt it. The fact that a school also performs other functions useful to all or a portion of the community does not disqualify it from participation in the public grants, if it is in every respect a public school under the control of the legal trustees of the section. This explains how the only two Roman Catholic Colleges of the Province, St. Francis Xavier (English) and Ste. Anne (French), and most of the convents, are affiliated with the public school system. In fact, no corresponding institutions of any other of the religious Denominations are thus affiliated, although the law leaves it as open to the one as to the other. Although the Roman Catholic Denomination is thus the only one to develop affiliation of this kind with the public schools, it must be remembered that the law makes no concession in favour of one Denomination more than another. For any other body, philosophic coterie, or business corporation has the same privilege of impressing and convincing the local school authorities. Neither the statutes, nor the regulations, nor the statistical forms contain a single reference to any religious sect or feature, excepting that injunction of the statute requiring the teacher "to inculcate by precept and example respect for religion and Christian morality." The practical and objective method of the development of good character in the schools, combined with the dogmatic instruction given under the direction of the clergy and those specially qualified for such instruction elsewhere, appears to produce better results than the formal teaching of religion in the schools of other countries. The number of pupils returned in the different grades for the year 1896 in the whole Province was as follows :

Grade I. (including Kindergartens)	18,893	
" II	13,384	
" III	12,385	
Grade IV	13,195	
" V	10,893	
" VI	9,138	
" VII	9,913	
" VIII	7,115	
Total in Common School Grades		94,916
Grade IX	4,008	
" X	1,482	
" XI	536	
" XII	90	
Total in High School Grades		6,116
Total in Public Schools, Nova Scotia.		101,032
Population of the Province, 1891		450,396

The Provincial Normal School was opened in November, 1855, at Truro, under the principalship of the Rev. Alexander Forrester, D.D. On his death in 1869 J. B. Calkin, M.A., succeeded to the principalship and is still at his post. In 1877 the present commodious building was erected at an initial cost of $40,000. In 1893 the curriculum was adapted to professional and technical training alone, the fundamental scholarship being previously obtained in the high schools and colleges.

The Provincial School of Agriculture was established in 1885, at Truro, under the charge of H. W. Smith, B.Sc., and from the commencement has been affiliated with the Normal School to the extent of giving some practical courses to every class of Normal School students. It has a full suite of Class-rooms, Laboratories, Library, Farm, Horticultural grounds, Barns and Dairy, well equipped with the best appliances and apparatus. Of the 144 students attending the Normal School, 141 also took one or more courses in the School of Agriculture. The number of farmers and others taking one or more of the courses was eighty-one.

The Provincial School of Horticulture was established under the immediate direction of the Fruit Growers' Association by the Legislature in 1893, at Wolfville, under the charge of E. E. Faville. The number of students enrolled in 1896 was sixty-seven. The instruction here is given free to all qualified as in the case of the School of Agriculture and the Normal School.

The Halifax Institution for the Deaf and Dumb was established in the year 1857 under the principalship of J. Scott Hutton until 1878, when Mr. Woodbridge took charge until Mr. Hutton's

return in 1882. On Mr. Hutton's death in 1891 James Fearon became principal. In 1895 the new building was completed. The education of the deaf and dumb as well as of the blind is free in Nova Scotia, and one of the duties of the public school teachers throughout the Province is to report the existence of any who have not enjoyed the advantages of the splendidly equipped institutions at Halifax to the Educational authorities as promptly as possible. This institution is utilized by the Province of Prince Edward Island and by Newfoundland. The number from Nova Scotia in attendance in 1896 was seventy-nine.

The Halifax School for the Blind was established in 1867. It was opened with four pupils, in 1871, under the superintendency of C. F. Fraser, who has guided its development with a genius not excelled in any part of the world. The institution serves now for the Provinces of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Newfoundland as well as for Nova Scotia. Of the eighty-six pupils in attendance in 1896 forty-seven were from Nova Scotia.

The Victoria School of Art and Design was established in memory of the fiftieth anniversary of the reign of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. It is subsidized by the Provincial Government and to a small extent by the city. The instruction is not free as in the previously named institution; but the fees are largely reduced from the normal rates on account of the subsidies referred to. One hundred and thirty-nine pupils were in attendance last year.

The Summer School of Science for the Atlantic Provinces of Canada originated in the year 1887. It is held during the midsummer vacation, generally moving its *locus* from year to year. There is a large number of lecturers and demonstrators who for two or three weeks enjoy a sort of pleasurable outing in the study and teaching of the various natural sciences and other subjects of special value to teachers in the public schools. The attendance of the students and members of the faculty present at the Parrsboro school of 1896 was about one hundred.

Mining Schools are carried on under the direction of the Department of Public Works and Mines. Forty certificates were issued to successful students last year as managers, underground managers, or overmen. Sixteen certificates for the management of hoisting machinery were awarded on examination. Twenty-five free Government Night Schools have been established during the winter months in localities having numbers of young people over fifteen years of age engaged in industrial pursuits. They were attended by over 1,000 pupils in 1896.

The more important of the private educational institutions (not including the Degree-conferring Colleges) are the Halifax Ladies' College; La Salle Academy, Halifax; the Commercial College, Halifax; the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Halifax; the Church School for Girls, Windsor; the Acadia Seminary, Wolfville; the Mount St. Vincent Academy, Rockingham; and the Halifax Medical College. Some of these institutions are not so deserving of mention as some of the County Academies and other High Schools under the public school system, which are too numerous for special mention. While the enrolment of pupils in the public schools in 1896 was over 100,000, that of all the private schools, seminaries, convents and colleges was under 2,000.

CANADIAN SCENERY – SHADOW RIVER, MUSKOKA

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF EDUCATION IN NEW BRUNSWICK

BY

JAMES R. INCH, M.A. LL.D., Chief Superintendent of Education.

THE founders of the Province of New Brunswick were not unmindful of the importance of making provision for the education of the people of the prospective Colony. In the Royal Instructions issued at the Court of St. James by His Majesty George III., on the 18th day of August, 1784, to Thomas Carleton, then about to assume the Governorship of the newly constituted Province, it was ordered that five hundred acres of land should be set apart in each township for the support of a schoolmaster; and the Governor was further instructed to bring before the Legislative Assembly the desirability of "enacting proper laws for the erecting and maintenance of schools in order to the training up of youth to reading, and to a necessary knowledge of the principles of religion."

The early records show that Governor Carleton faithfully carried out his instructions by repeatedly urging the Assembly to provide for a system of Public Education; but, on account of dissensions which arose between the Assembly and the Council of His Excellency, it was not until March 5th, 1802, near the close of Carleton's Administration, that the first New Brunswick Educational Act was placed upon the Statute book. This Act, after a preamble declaring "the utmost importance of the education of children to their future usefulness in society," and the inability of parents "to provide for their children the benefits of instruction in reading and writing without the aid of the Legislature," enacts that the sum of four hundred and twenty pounds (being ten pounds to each parish) shall be granted to the Justices of the Peace in the different counties for the purpose of encouraging and assisting in the establishment of schools in the several parishes.

Though the Act of 1802 is of special importance as marking the crude beginning of a plan of public instruction, which has developed into a comprehensive and efficient system, it would be an error to suppose that prior to 1802 the country was destitute of educational privileges. In most of the settlements private schools had been opened which, though they maintained only a precarious and interrupted existence, served to keep alive in the hearts of the pioneers a desire for greater educational advantages for their children. Private efforts were also supplemented by the assistance of several societies, chiefly of a missionary character, in connection with the Established Church of England and Ireland. The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts contributed liberally towards the support of schools during these early years. Most of the teachers appointed by the Society were men of good education, many of them clergymen and graduates of English Universities. The names of these early teachers should not be forgotten, for they left an impress on the history of the Province which may be traced even to the present day. Another benevolent Society which deserves honourable mention is the New England Company, organized by the "Long Parliament" in 1649 for the purpose of carrying on missionary and educational work in New England. After the American Revolution the Society transferred its work to New Brunswick and established schools, chiefly for the education of the Aborigines, at Fredericton, Sheffield, Woodstock, Miramichi, Sussex and Westfield. The names of Frederic Dibblee, a graduate of Columbia College, and of the Rev. Oliver Arnold, a graduate of Yale, are inseparably connected with the history of the schools at Woodstock and Sussex respectively. At the latter place the school was continued in operation until 1826. It is disappointing to learn that an

enterprise, so benevolent in its purpose, has apparently left but little permanent result for good.

But, of the several outside agencies which carried on Educational work in New Brunswick during the first half century of its history, none exercised a stronger influence and effected more permanent results than that of the National Society founded in London in the year 1811 "for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church." The Society adopted what was known as the Madras School system, so named from the fact that its originator, Dr. Andrew Bell, when garrison chaplain in the City of Madras, India, in 1789, introduced the system in a school which he there established. The National Society soon became wealthy enough by the receipt of benefactions, legacies and some State aid to contribute towards the erection of school-houses, the supply of books and the employment of teachers, both in the Mother Country and the Colonies. In 1814 a donation of 500 sets of school books was sent for gratuitous distribution in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick. In 1818 a Madras School was opened in St. John, and in 1819 through the efforts of Major-General Smyth, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, a Provincial Corporation entitled "The Governor and Trustees of the Madras School in New Brunswick," was established by letters-patent under the Great Seal of the Province. The Legislature subsequently confirmed the Charter and made a grant of £700 annually which was continued for several years. In 1820 the Madras Board reported eight schools with an enrolment of 992 pupils, and four years later thirty-seven schools with an enrolment of 4,736 pupils. In 1825 most of the parish schools then in operation were conducted on the Madras system. The strictly Denominational character of these schools, controlled as they were by the clergy of one Church, soon awakened considerable opposition from the other religious bodies and led to the withdrawal of the public grants. The establishing of a free non-sectarian school system has reduced the work of the Madras Board to a very limited field. The Corporation, however, has still a legal status and funds at its disposal to the amount of sixty or seventy thousand dollars. It would be very desirable if these funds could now be devoted to the increased endowment of the Provincial University.

Collegiate and Secondary Education. New Brunswick forms no exception to the general rule that in point of time the college and the high school have been established in almost every country before the common school. Whatever may be the causes of this order of development its beneficent effect cannot be doubted. Without effective higher institutions of learning a country cannot hope to maintain for any considerable time a system of common schools in the highest state of efficiency. In the year 1786 the Executive Council ordered that two thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Fredericton should be devoted to the maintenance of a Provincial Academy of Arts and Sciences. In 1800 the Academy was established by Provincial Charter as the College of New Brunswick, and five years later there was added to its annual income, derived from the rentals of its lands, the sum of £100 from the Provincial Treasury. From time to time the grant was increased until in 1829 it had reached a sum equivalent to $8,844.48 in modern currency. This is the annual Legislative grant to the University down to the present time.

In 1828 the Provincial Charter of the College was surrendered and in lieu thereof a Royal Charter was granted by the Crown incorporating the College under the name of King's College. In 1829 the present University building was opened with appropriate ceremonies. The Rev. Edwin Jacob, D.D., was appointed President and continued to hold that position until 1869 when the Act now in force establishing the University of New Brunswick was passed. Until the year 1845, the members of the College Council and the Professors were required to be members of the Church of England and to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the Book of Common Prayer. In that year all religious tests were abolished excepting in the case of the Professor of Theology. The latter Professorship was abolished in 1859. From various causes King's College failed to command the confidence and patronage of the public. In consequence, after prolonged agitation, a Commission was appointed by the Government in 1854 to enquire into its condition and management with a view to make it more popular and

efficient. The Commissioners, Hon. John H. Gray, Hon. John S. Saunders, Hon. James Brown and the two distinguished educationalists, Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Education for Ontario, and Prof. J. W. Dawson, of McGill University (afterwards Sir William Dawson), made an elaborate Report to both branches of the Legislature in 1855. As a result the Act re-organizing the College under the name of the University of New Brunswick, and transferring to the new Corporation all the lands, rights, endowments and other property of King's College, was passed in 1859.

Dr Thomas Harrison.

Dr. Joseph R. Hea was appointed Principal, but held the position only one year. He was succeeded in the Principalship by Dr. W. Brydone Jack, who had been Professor of Mathematics in King's College for many years. Dr. Jack held the Principalship until his death in 1885. He was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Harrison, the present incumbent.

In 1891 the University Act was amended with the design of connecting the University more closely than heretofore with the Public School System. With this object in view, the Chief Superintendent of Education for the Province was made, *ex-officio*, the President of the University Senate. The greater number of the high school teachers of the Province are graduates of the University, and matriculation examinations are annually held under the supervision of the Education Department at various central stations throughout the Province. The University of New Brunswick has now a teaching staff of seven Professors, about seventy undergraduates, and an annual income from all sources of about $12,500. The established chairs are: Mathematics, Chemistry and Natural Science, English and French Language and Literature, Civil Engineering and Surveying, Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, Physics and Electrical Engineering. The comparatively small attendance of students at the University of New Brunswick is chiefly accounted for by the existence in the Maritime Provinces of seven other degree-conferring institutions. Two of these are located in New Brunswick, viz., the University of Mount Allison College, with its preparatory departments and its affiliated schools of Art and Music, situated at Sackville, in the county of Westmoreland; and the College of St. Joseph, at Memramcook, in the same county. Though both these institutions are under Denominational control, and not connected with the public system of education, they have been potent factors in the development and expansion of educational influences, and hold a strong position in the affections of the adherents of the Churches by whose zeal and liberality they have been established.

The Mount Allison Institutions were founded in 1843 by Charles F. Allison, who erected and donated to the Methodist Church a commodious building, and endowed it with a considerable sum of money for the purpose of establishing and maintaining for all time an Academy for the education of boys and young men. In 1854 the Ladies' College was erected, and entered upon its work with a large number of students. The University proper was organized under a Charter granted by the Provincial Legislature. In connection with the Ladies' College there is a fine Conservatory of Music and an Art Gallery, with an excellent collection of paintings and statuary.

From time to time, enlargements and improvements have been made until, at this date, there are ten fine buildings, surrounded by spacious grounds in the very centre of the town of Sackville. This group of schools is under the control of a Common Board of Governors appointed in part by the General Conference of the Methodist Church, and in part by the Alumni and Alumnæ of the University and Ladies' College. The value of the property and endowments at the present time is about $250,000 There are eight University Professors and twenty-two other teachers. The number of students enrolled at the several institutions in 1897 was 400. The University of St. Joseph's College is a Roman Catholic institution conducted by the Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. It was founded in 1864 by the late Rev. C. Lefebvre, C.S.C., and empowered by the Legislature in 1868 to confer University Degrees. Though its students are drawn from all classes, it was specially intended for the better education of the Acadian French population, and has already accomplished an important work in strengthening the influence of the French inhabitants of the Province. In 1897 it had ten Professors and teachers, and about 250 students.

Grammar Schools. The name grammar school was given during the first decades of the century to certain advanced schools established in the towns, and the name continues to be used to designate the secondary or high schools, of which one is located in each of the counties except Sunbury and Madawaska. The first grammar school was established in St. John in the year 1805. The Assembly granted £100 for the building and £100 per annum for the maintenance of the school. The citizens contributed liberally, for the times, to its support. In 1816 there was an additional grant by the Legislature of £150, and the St. John Grammar School became thereafter a strong and successful school at which a fairly liberal education was imparted. The school is now located in a commodious and well-equipped building, has a strong staff of teachers, and about 350 pupils. The Charlotte County Grammar School was established in the town of St. Andrews in the year 1816. During the same year a general Act was passed to establish grammar schools in the remaining counties. The Governor-in-Council was empowered to appoint Boards of Trustees in each county whose duty it was to establish and manage such high schools. The subjects to be taught in these schools were the Latin and Greek languages, English grammar, geography with the use of the globes and the practical branches of mathematics. The Trustees of each school were required to admit eight poor scholars to be instructed gratuitously.

Under the provisions of this Act grammar schools were established in Westmoreland County in 1820, in Northumberland County in 1822, in King's County and Sunbury in 1823, in Queen's in 1824 and in most of the other counties, which were created by partition of the older counties, as such counties were respectively organized. The High School of York County, established in 1830 as a preparatory school to the University and supported in part by the University revenues, was known as the Collegiate School until 1892, when it became the County Grammar School. It has been already stated that during the first years of New Brunswick history the clergymen of the Church of England exercised a predominating influence in educational matters. The College and the grammar schools were largely under the control of the Rector and other Church authorities of the parishes in which these schools were located. Many of the grammar school head-masters were clergymen who combined the duties of school-teacher and parish minister. Until 1837 teachers were licensed "under His Majesty's Royal Instructions," which were to the effect that school-masters from Great Britain and Ireland must hold a license from the Lord Bishop of London, and that all others must receive a license from the Governor. In 1811 the Governor was further instructed as follows: "In all cases where any school has been founded, instituted or appointed for the education of members of the Church of England, you are not to grant said licenses except to persons who shall first have obtained from the Bishop of Nova Scotia, or one of his Commissioners, a certificate of their being properly qualified for that purpose." But little opposition was manifested for many years to a control which seemed to the majority of people a natural, reasonable and loyal recognition of the Church established in the Mother Country, and

to which a majority of the Colonists belonged; but, as the adherents of the other religious bodies increased in numbers and political influence, an agitation was commenced against the system which resulted in the enactment of a law in 1829 forbidding the employment as master or usher of any grammar school of a "beneficed clergyman of the Established Church or minister of any sect or Denomination of Christians having charge of a congregation."

For many years most of the grammar schools were high schools only in name, and were kept in existence rather for the support of the teachers than for the benefit of the pupils. Their condition as late as the year 1845 may be gathered from a Report made to the Legislature on the 24th March, 1846, in which surprise is expressed "that the endowment of £100 per annum has been drawn for the support of grammar schools which are not only not conducted according to the intention of the Legislature, but are inferior to many of the parish schools." Of the nine grammar schools then in operation only two, those of St. John and Northumberland, were reported as being in an efficient state. The other seven had in the aggregate only twenty pupils in Latin, three in Greek, seven in mathematics and thirty-one in English grammar. To remedy existing evils an Act was passed on the 14th April, 1846, enlarging the course of study and requiring an average daily attendance of fifteen scholars over ten years of age, with provisions for examinations and Annual Reports to be transmitted to the Goverment and House of Assembly.

Under the revised legislation there was some improvement in the condition of a few of these schools, but others continued high schools in name only. It was not until 1861 that the grammar schools were placed under the central control of the Board of Education and the Chief Superintendent, and even then the Collegiate School in Fredericton and the Grammar School in St. John were exempted from the operation of the Act. When the present free school Act was passed in 1871 the grammar school Acts were not repealed; but the Trustees of such schools in any county had the option of uniting with the Trustees of the District for the management and support of the grammar school. The conditions upon which the union of grammar and district schools might be effected were that the grammar schools should be free as the other schools, and that the pupils of the district schools should be graded into them. At length in 1884 the separate grammar school corporations were dissolved and the property of the grammar school was vested in the Board of Trustees of the District in which it was situated. The Provincial grant to the teacher of a county grammar school was fixed at $350, subject to such conditions of local aid as the Board of Education might deem proper. In 1897 it was further enacted that the grant of $350 should be given to each of the teachers in a grammar school (not exceeding four in any one school) provided such teachers were holders of a grammar school license and doing grammar school work as determined by examinations held under the direction of the Chief Superintendent.

It would probably have been a wiser policy had the grammar school system been abolished at the time of the inauguration of the free school system, and four or five collegiate institutes for secondary education established in their place in the towns and cities; but the grammar school corporations had enjoyed a legal status for so long a period that any interference with their privileges and revenues would in some cases have been resented as an interference with vested rights. At the present time there are thirteen grammar schools in operation, of which seven or eight are strong schools, doing efficient work. The Provincial grants to these schools for the year 1897 aggregated $6,476.15. The number of pupils above Grade VIII. was 708.

Common Schools. While the University and high schools demand the attention and support of legislators and educationalists as marking the advance line of thought and progress in any country, and as a source whence a supply of competent teachers for lower grade schools must be provided, the multiplication and development of common schools has been the great achievement of modern times in every country claiming to stand in the front rank of civilization. The common school, as the only school of the masses, is of predominant importance. I have noted the first Legislative effort of New Brunswick in 1802 towards the creation of a common school system.

The results were not satisfactory, and in 1816 a more serious attempt was made by the Legislature for the extension and improvement of the common schools. The first recognition of the principle of assessment for the building of school-houses and the support of schools was incorporated in the Act of 1816; but the attempt was premature, the people refused to accept the principle, and two years later the assessment clause of the Act (although it was only optional) was repealed. Other Acts followed in 1823, 1829, 1833, 1837, 1840 and 1844. During all this time the schools were managed by the Court of General Sessions of the Peace in each county. The annual Provincial grants to the parish schools, which in 1815 amounted only to £375 for the whole Province, had been increased from time to time until, in 1845, it had reached the sum of £12,000; but the teachers' emoluments exclusive of the Government allowance were very small, averaging only about £25 per year, and even this small amount was not usually paid in cash. In most places teachers were obliged to "board round," that is, to itinerate from house to house for food and lodging. It is not a matter of surprise that under such circumstances the qualifications of the teachers were not of a high order; for men of ability and education properly refused to follow a profession which was not only unremunerative, but in many cases subjected them to degrading conditions of living.

At length the Legislature appointed a Committee or Board of Inspectors, consisting of the Hon. James Brown, the representative of Charlotte County in the Assembly, the Hon. S. L. Earle, representative of King's County, and John Gregory, Esq., of Fredericton, to visit all the schools in the Province with the purpose of ascertaining their condition in order that legislation might be had looking towards their improvement. The Report of the Inspectors was laid before the Assembly on February 21st, 1845. The substance of the Report was that a large majority of the schools were very inefficient; that there was much apathy among the people of the country with regard to the education of their children; that the attendance of the pupils scarcely extended to one-fifth of the children between four and sixteen years of age, and was extremely irregular; that many of the teachers were incompetent—some because of illiteracy, some because of inability to enforce obedience, some through lack of energy, and many for "want of the faculty and zeal, or will, to communicate instruction in a manner suited to the capacities and conditions of their pupils"; that the books and apparatus were generally defective and without uniformity—the New Testament being the only reading book in common use; that most of the school-houses were small, insufferably hot and close in the summer, open to the winds and frosts in winter, furnished only with narrow backless benches so high that the children's feet could not reach the floor, and destitute of blackboards and maps; and, finally, that there was no proper supervision or control of either Teachers or Trustees.

To remedy the state of things so faithfully presented in this Report an Act was passed in 1847 constituting the Lieutenant-Governor and the Executive Council, for the time being, a Provincial Board of Education and authorizing the establishment at Fredericton of a Training and Model School for instruction in the art of teaching. The Act further provided for the classification of teachers into three classes in accordance with their attainments. Two Inspectors were also appointed at a salary of £200 per annum, each, whose duty it was to visit all the schools of the Province once a year and report to the Board of Education. The Board of Education was further empowered to select and prescribe suitable text-books. The Provincial grants to the teachers were fixed as follows: For first class £30 per annum; £22 for second class; £18 for third class. The Districts were required to provide at least £20, or board and lodging for the teacher. The provisions thus made for a central authority, the training and classification of teachers and a system of inspection, mark an epoch in the school history of the Province; and of these several steps in advance the establishment of a Normal School was the most important.

The first Normal School was opened in Fredericton in the autumn of 1847 under the Principalship of J. Marshall D'Avray, and another in St. John a year later with Edmund Hillyer Duval as Principal. There were at first four terms in a

year of only ten, and later, of twelve weeks each—a period altogether too short in which to accomplish the needed work. In 1872 the period of required attendance was lengthened to twenty-four weeks, and again in 1865 it was further extended to forty weeks. In 1850 the building occupied by the Fredericton Training School was destroyed by fire, and thereafter only one Training School was maintained for the Province. This was kept in the city of St. John until 1870, when it was removed to Fredericton, and Mr. William Crocket, M.A., was appointed as Principal. In 1877 the fine building in which this school is now located was erected. The school is now under the Principalship of Eldon Mullin, M.A., with a staff of six associate teachers and a model school of four departments. The number of pupil-teachers in attendance in 1897 was 257.

The next Legislative Act of importance relating to the schools was passed in 1852. Its main provisions were the appointment of a Chief Superintendent of Education, who was to be the secretary and principal executive officer of the Board of Education; and an Inspector for each county. The Act contained also a provision allowing the people of any school district to assess themselves for the erection of a school-house, or the support of a school. To induce districts to avail themselves of this provision it was enacted that the teacher of any school supported by assessment was to receive twenty-five per cent. increase of Provincial aid. But the inducement was ineffectual; and even stronger inducements provided in an Act six years later failed of effect; the people steadily refused to tax themselves for education so long as the measure was left optional with themselves. The Chief Superintendents of Education up to the present time (1898) have been:

The Rev. James Porter	appointed in	1852
J. Marshall D'Avray	"	" 1853
Henry Fisher	"	" 1858
John Bennett, PH.D	"	" 1860
Theodore H. Rand, D.C.L	"	" 1871
William Crocket, M.A	"	" 1883
James R. Inch, M.A., LL D	"	" 1891

Superior Schools. By the Act of 1858 provision was made for one school in each parish of a higher grade than the ordinary common school. These were to be known as superior schools. The teacher of a superior school was to receive a sum equal to that contributed by the District, provided the amount should not be less than $200 or more than $300. At a later date the Provincial grant to a superior school teacher was fixed at $250. The total amount from the Province paid to superior schools in 1897 was $12,553.

The Free School System. The failure of the voluntary assessment provisions of the Act of 1858 and the continued apathy of the people in many parts of the Province in regard to their duty of supplementing by local effort the liberal allowances made by the Province for the support of schools, led the Government at length to see the necessity of a more stringent educational measure. In the Session of 1871 the Leader of the Government, Hon. George E. King (now one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Supreme Court of the Dominion of Canada) introduced into the Legislature and, after mature deliberation, passed into law, the Act known as "The Common Schools Act, 1871." By this Act all the property of the country was made subject to assessment for the support of non-sectarian schools made free to every child in the Province. The Act was met with determined opposition by two classes—the numerous class who for manifest reasons objected to direct taxation, and the Roman Catholics who in accordance with the time-honoured policy of their Church regarded with indignation the attempt to force them to pay for the maintenance of schools in which the teaching of religious dogmas was strictly prohibited. The opposition of the first mentioned class showed itself principally by obstructing as long as possible the organization of school districts and, after the districts were organized in spite of opposition, in refusing to vote a sufficient amount of money to maintain efficient schools. This kind of opposition is not unknown after the lapse of a quarter of a century.

For several years the Roman Catholic hostility to the Act created much trouble and litigation. To enumerate the various methods of resistance, both active and passive, resorted to would transgress the limits allowed for this sketch. Suffice it to say that the contention was carried from Court to Court in Canada, and finally to the

British Privy Council, with the result that the constitutionality of the New Brunswick law was affirmed by the highest Court in the Empire. The passions aroused on both sides by this unhappy controversy culminated in a few cases in lawless violence, and even in the destruction of life. At length, when the opponents of the Act had exhausted in vain every legal means to effect its repeal, a compromise was made by the Government and Legislature in the Session of 1875, whereby the local Trustees in cities and towns were permitted to lease from the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church the buildings in which the separate schools had up to that time been conducted, to open public schools in these buildings, and to employ as teachers in such schools Sisters of Charity and other persons having the confidence of the R. C. Clergy, provided, however, that all such teachers should undergo examination in the regular way as to their qualifications, and receive license to teach from the Board of Education. As a matter of local arrangement by the Boards of Trustees, the Roman Catholic children were assigned to these schools. It was clearly understood that these schools were to be conducted in every respect in accordance with the provisions of the Act, that none but the prescribed text-books should be used, and that during the school hours no catechism or other dogmatic religious teaching was to be imparted. By this compromise a fair degree of harmony was restored, and no serious friction has manifested itself in any of the larger cities or towns during the twenty-three years which have since elapsed. Peace was, however, again disturbed in 1890 by events which occurred at the town of Bathurst, in the county of Gloucester—the county in which serious rioting, attended with loss of life, had occurred in 1875 in connection with the enforcement of the law.

Nearly three-fourths of the ratepayers of the town of Bathurst are Roman Catholics, a majority of them being French-Acadians. Until 1890 they had maintained their own Convent schools, while taxed according to the provisions of the law for the maintenance of the public schools. In 1890 they decided to avail themselves of the agreement of 1875, and their schools, under the conditions of the compromise, became a charge upon the town, and upon the County and Provincial school funds. The assessment for the support of the schools of the town was thereby considerably increased, and, as a large majority of the people preferred to send their children to the schools taught by the Sisters of Charity, the other schools were comparatively small, and it was found difficult to grade the pupils properly without employing more teachers than the total number of pupils seemed to warrant. A sharp agitation resulted which extended throughout the Province. The compromise of 1875 was attacked in the Legislature. The Government after investigation of the difficulties appointed Judge Fraser, of the Supreme Court (afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Province), a Commissioner to enquire into the alleged grievances of the Protestant minority. After an exhaustive enquiry Judge Fraser reported adversely to the claims of the complainants. Meanwhile the Grand Lodge of the Orange Association instituted an action in the Provincial Supreme Court against the Bathurst School Board for the purpose of testing the legality of

The Hon. George E King.

their management of the schools. The case was tried before His Honour Mr. Justice Barker, and awakened great interest even beyond the limits of the Province. In a singularly clear and exhaustive judgment delivered by His Honour in March, 1896, in which every point raised by the plaintiffs was carefully discussed, the decision was given in favour of the Board of Trustees. Since that date the agitation, which had continued for more than five years, has ceased. Amendments have been made to the School Act from time to time as the experience of its working seemed to demand; but in all essential points the law in operation at the present time (1898) is that of 1871. A brief summary of its chief provisions is here given:

1. *Administration.* The central administrative authority is vested in the Board of Education, which consists of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Members of the Executive Council, the Chancellor of the Provincial University and the Chief Superintendent of Education. The Chief Superintendent is the secretary and executive officer of the Board. For the local administration of the Act the Province is divided into School Districts, of which there are about 1,700. Each of the cities and incorporated towns is organized as one District. Each District has a Board of School Trustees, to which important duties are assigned. In the rural Districts and villages the Board of Trustees consists of three members elected by the rate-payers, in annual meeting convened; one Trustee retires each year, but is eligible for re-election. The school meeting also determines by vote the amount which shall be assessed upon the District for the support of schools. In case the school meeting fails to vote the necessary sum, the Board of Education may authorize the Trustees to levy and collect a sufficient sum for all necessary purposes. In cities and incorporated towns the Board consists of at least seven members, the majority appointed by the City or Town Council, the rest by the Governor-in-Council. Two members of the Board must be women. The Trustees have the power to employ teachers and dismiss them for cause, and to suspend or dismiss pupils. They have the custody of all school property, and the general management of school business.

2. *Finance.* The funds for the support of schools are drawn from three sources: the Provincial revenues, the County School Fund and the District assessment. The present annual allowance to teachers of common schools from the Provincial revenues is as follows:

1898.	Male Teachers.		Female Teachers.	
1st Class	$135	00	$100	00
2nd "	108	00	81	00
3rd "	81	00	63	00

The amounts given above are increased one-third to teachers employed in poor districts. The County School Fund is raised by assessment upon the county. The amount equals thirty cents per head of the population of the county. The money is disbursed among the School Districts of the county in part according to the number of teachers employed, and in part in proportion to the average attendance at school. The District assessment is intended to supplement the moneys received from the Province and county in order that the total amount may be sufficient to defray all the expenses of the school. The District assessment is levied partly as a poll-tax of one dollar, and the rest upon property and income.

3. *Qualification of Teachers.* Every teacher in the public schools must undergo special professional training before receiving a license to teach. By far the greater number attend the Provincial Normal School for the period of one year. Candidates for the teaching profession are first examined as to their scholarship before being admitted to the Normal School. At the close of their attendance at the Normal School they are subjected to another test both of scholarship and professional attainments by independent examiners appointed by the Board of Education. They are classified in accordance with the results of these examinations.

4. *School Inspection.* For the purpose of Inspectoral supervision the Province is divided into six Inspectoral districts, to each of which an Inspector is assigned whose duty it is to visit all schools in his Inspectorate at least once each year, and the ungraded schools twice a year. The Inspectors report monthly to the Chief Superintendent.

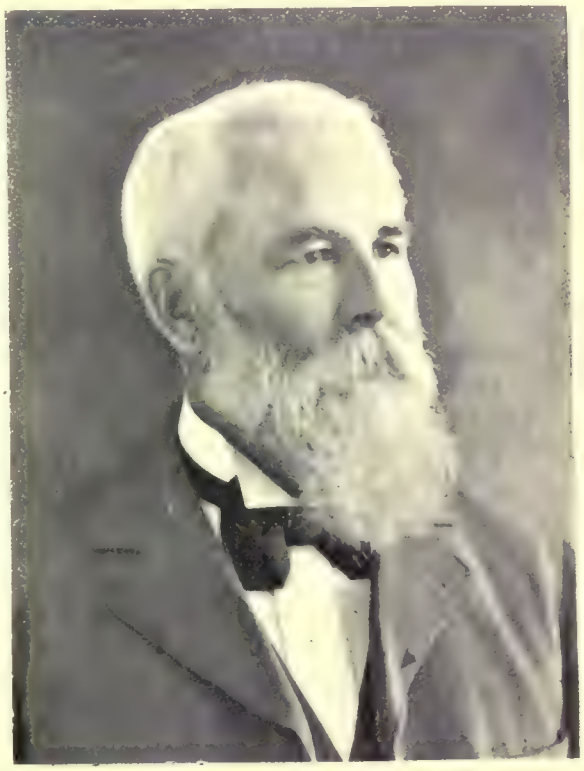
5. *Text-Books.* It is the duty of the Board of

Education to prescribe all text-books, and no other than the books prescribed can be used in any of the public schools.

6. *Courses of Study.* Graded courses of study are prescribed for all classes of public schools. In addition to the usual elementary English and mathematical studies, the common school course includes drawing, singing, health lessons, and lessons on nature. In the higher grades of the common school algebra, geometry and Latin are commenced. The courses of study for the superior and grammar schools are an extension upward of the common school course, with the addition of Greek and French, the higher mathematics, chemistry and physics, botany and physiology.

7. *Morals and Religion.* No dogmatic religious teaching is allowed; but the teacher may (if so disposed) open the school by reading a portion of the Scripture, and repeating the Lord's Prayer—provided, however, that pupils cannot be required to be present at these religious exercises contrary to the will of the parents or guardians.

Summary. A Provincial School for Deaf Mutes, supported by Provincial and County Funds, is established at Fredericton. There is no school for the blind in New Brunswick, but an arrangement has been made by which blind pupils from New Brunswick are admitted to a School for the Blind in Halifax, Nova Scotia, upon the payment of one hundred and fifty dollars per year for each pupil. In this school there were twenty-six New Brunswick pupils in 1897. Very satisfactory educational progress has been made in New Brunswick since the enactment of the Common Schools Law of 1871. In whatever aspect the work may be viewed the results are gratifying and the outlook is hopeful. Methods of teaching have greatly improved, and are receiving increased attention from year to year. Severe methods of school discipline have been abolished. The qualifications of teachers have advanced, both in regard to scholarship and professional training. The schools are in operation for a much greater number of days each year, and the regularity of attendance of pupils has greatly increased. Great improvements have been made in school building and equipments, especially in the cities and towns. New schools have been opened in the most remote parts of the Province; so that there is now scarcely a pioneer settlement anywhere with half a dozen families without its public school. With the extension of the work and the multiplication of schools the educational expenditure has proportionately increased. With a population at last Census of 321,263 and a total revenue for the year 1897 of less than $750,000, New Brunswick contributed directly from the Provincial Treasury



Dr. James R. Inch.

about $200,000 for educational purposes. The rate of progress for the last half-century may be gathered from the following figures compiled from the Education Reports:

Year.	Population.	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Pupils.
1848	.....	582	582	17,903
1852	193,800	688	682	18,591
1862	252,047	805	831	28,229
1872	285,594	884	918	39,837
1882	321,233	1,411	1,445	52,667
1892	321,263	1,585	1,669	60,786
1897	.....	1,737	1,829	61,908

About twenty per cent. of the population of New Brunswick is enrolled in the public schools; the average attendance for the full school year is about sixty per cent. of the enrolment.

SKETCH OF EDUCATION IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

BY

D. J. McLEOD, Chief Superintendent in Prince Edward Island.

THE general supervision of the Public Schools of the Province of Prince Edward Island is vested in a Board of Education composed of the Chief Superintendent of Education, the Principal of the Prince of Wales College and Normal School, the Members of the Executive Council, and two School Inspectors. The interests of the School Districts are in the hands of three trustees elected by the ratepayers at the annual meeting for a term of three years, one retiring each year. For the year ended 1896 there were 466 school districts, 464 schools, and 570 school departments in the Province, with an enrolment of 22,138 and a daily average attendance of 13,412, or 60.58 per cent. of the enrolment. Although there is a compulsory clause in the School Laws, it has never been enforced; consequently the attendance is entirely voluntary.

The salaries of teachers are paid from the Provincial Treasury, but may be supplemented by local assessment, in which case the Government pays a further equal amount up to twenty-five dollars. As an inducement to teachers to continue in the profession, a small bonus is paid them after a service of five years. The total amount expended by the Government on Education for the year 1896 was $124,048.32, by the people $34,798.99, or a grand total of $158,893.31. The average salaries of male teachers of the first or highest class for 1896 was $440; of female teachers of the first class, $332; of male teachers of the second class, $254; of female teachers of the same class, $221; of male teachers of the third class, $197; of female of the same class, $150. Candidates for the teaching profession must hold certificates based on examination by the Board of Education and on at least five months' attendance at the Normal School. These certificates are of three grades: first, second and third class. For 1896 the number of teachers employed in the schools of the Province were 569, divided as follows:

	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.
Male Teachers.....	52	181	91
Female Teachers...	13	125	107
	65	306	198

The earliest reference made to Education in a public way is found in a paragraph in Governor Fanning's speech at the opening of the General Assembly of the Province in the year 1790—the thirtieth year of the reign of George the Third. It reads as follows: "Sensible as we all must be of the rapid improvement of the agriculture, the success of our fisheries, the extension of commerce, and the increase of our inhabitants in this Island, it now becomes my indispensable duty in obedience to His Majesty's Royal Instructions, 'to recommend to you the expediency of entering upon some methods for the erecting and maintaining of schools in order to the training up of youth to reading and to the necessary knowledge of the principles of religion and virtue.' To those who are parents, I am confident little need be said in order to impress upon your minds the importance of this duty to the rising generation, for upon your conduct upon this occasion it may possibly depend whether the child of thy bosom shall be a blessing or a curse to thyself, a useful or a worthless member of the community. Give him, then, early instruction and while he is young, season his mind with the maxims of virtue, teach him science and his life will be useful, teach him religion and his death shall be happy."

Notwithstanding the fervency of this appeal, nothing was done by the Legislature until 1825—thirty-five years after—when the first Education Act was put on the statutes of the Province. The

Government by this Act undertook to pay one-sixth of the teachers' salaries; it also granted fifty pounds to each County as salary for a Grammar Master. This Act continued in force for four years, and was renewed and amended several times until 1852, when the famous "Free Education Act" was passed, under which the salaries of teachers were paid almost entirely from the Provincial Treasury. The stimulus thus given to education resulted in the establishment of the Provincial Normal School in 1856, and of the Prince of Wales College in 1860. From 1860 until 1877 very little was effected in the way of legislation for the improvement of the schools, although the administration was very effective during that period. In 1877 the Public Schools' Act was passed, which provided for the establishment of a Department of Education, and introduced into our Public School system many of the most approved principles and most modern methods of other countries. In 1879 the College and Normal School were amalgamated, and women were admitted for the first time into the former institution. Many improvements in the administration of the educational affairs of the Island, for the advancement and encouragement of the teachers, and for the grading of the different schools, have been introduced since 1879, and are now beginning to be in effective operation. The effects of the different changes and legislative enactments will best be indicated by giving the statistics for each decade since 1841:

	Schools.	Pupils.	Population of Province.
1841.....	121	4,356	47,034
1851.....	135	5,366	66,457

1852 Free Education Act passed.
1856 Normal School established.
1860 Prince of Wales College opened.

	Schools.	Pupils.	Population of Province.
1861.....	302	12,102	81,000
1871.....	381	15,795	94,021

1877 Public Schools' Act passed.
1879 College opened to women.
1879 College and Normal School amalgamated.

	Schools.	Pupils.	Population of Province.
1881.....	486	21,601	108,981
1891.....	531	22,138	110,078

It will be observed from the statistics here given that during the period previous to the introduction of the Free Education Act not more than one in twelve of the population attended school. From the period between the passing of the Free Education Act, 1852, and the enactment of the Public School laws of 1877, the attendance was one in six of the population. Under the Public Schools' Act of 1877 and its amendments, the attendance was one in four. In the above statement the departments are counted as separate schools. The Prince of Wales College, which includes the Normal School, is situated in Charlottetown, and its staff consists of a principal and four professors. Attached to it as an adjunct to the Normal Department is the Model School with two teachers.

D. J. McLeod.

In addition to these public sources of education, there are in connection with the Roman Catholic Church, Saint Dunstan's College in the vicinity of Charlottetown, two Convent schools within the city, and several others located in various parts of the Island. In all these both boarders and day scholars are received. St. Peter's School, in connection with the English Church of that name, also gives means of tuition to children whose parents are willing to pay for the same.

HISTORY AND CONDITION OF EDUCATION IN MANITOBA

BY

THE REV. PROFESSOR GEORGE BRYCE, M.A., LL.D., Member of the Advisory Board of Manitoba.

THE Beginnings of Education. The Colony founded by the Earl of Selkirk in 1812, on the banks of the Red River of the North, was the nucleus of the Province of Manitoba. It was a part of the plan of the noble founder to provide for his people full educational and religious advantages. He recognized, on his visit to Red River, in 1817, the need of these opportunities for Protestants and Catholics alike. On the Earl of Selkirk's return to England, he took steps to provide his Colonists with the promised facilities. Before going to France in 1819 (whither, indeed, he went to die), he gave orders for the despatch of a Prótestant clergyman to the English-speaking part of his Colony, having previously set apart land for a church and schools. In 1820, a school-house, which served alike for religious and educational purposes, was erected among the Scottish settlers. This was built upon a site now included within the limits of the City of Winnipeg.

Not earlier in design, though earlier in execution, was the purpose of Lord Selkirk to provide for service and teaching among his Roman Catholic Colonists. Through his efforts in Montreal, a distinguished French-Canadian priest, known afterwards as Bishop Provencher, journeyed to Red River. As early as 1818, the Roman Catholic mission at St. Boniface, on Red River, opposite Winnipeg, was begun, and beside it rose a school. At this school shortly after, we are told, there were pupils in the "Humanities." The Catholic Church, up to the time of the transfer to Canada in 1870, confined its attention chiefly to the Indians and the Indian Half-breeds of French origin. Since that time schools and convents have been erected and maintained in a considerable number of places throughout Manitoba and the North-West Territories. The school at St. Boniface has now become the College of St. Boniface.

In the year 1835, the Red River Settlement was organized under the name of the "District of Assiniboia." The territory was placed under the rule of a Council appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company. There seems to have been little public provision for schools made by this government. Each church erected had by its side a school under the control of the missionary. There was no system of taxation in vogue, but the school was sustained by private subscription, or by grants from the Missionary Societies in England. In the District of Assiniboia in 1870, there were, in all, some 12,000 people, viz., 5,000 French Half-breeds, 5,000 English-speaking Half-breeds (largely of Orcadian descent), and 2,000 whites. The population of different origins seems to have segregated into parishes. In the French Half-breed parishes a few schools were founded. In 1870, there were fourteen schools in the English-speaking Half-breed parishes under the Church of England, and two schools under the Presbyterian Church in the parishes belonging to the white descendants of the original Selkirk Colonists.

As early as 1833 a Scottish teacher, John McCallum, came out to Red River under the patronage of the Rev. David Jones, Chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company, for the purpose of "founding a Boarding School for the children of the Hudson's Bay Officers and others" near Fort Garry. The school was soon begun and in 1844 it had become so important as to draw forth the commendation of Dr. Mountain, Bishop of Montreal, who at that time visited the Red River Settlement. Amidst difficulties it existed till 1855. After a period of decline it was re-organized in 1866 by the present Archbishop of Rupert's Land,

and is the St. John's College of to-day. Just as the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company was passing away, the parish of the Scottish settlers at Kildonan received a strong educational impulse, and by the friends of the school, with the aid of assistance from Canada, steps were taken to form a Presbyterian College. Thus, third in time of the colleges in the country, Manitoba College was begun in 1871.

2. *The First Public School Law.* The establishment of a Government by the Dominion of Canada, in the newly created Province of Manitoba, took place in the year 1871. In that year, at the first meeting of its Legislature, the Province obtained its first School Act, the germ of the Public School system. The leading provisions of this Act were as follows:—

1. That a joint Board, half Protestant, the other half Catholic, should have control of common school education.

2. The management of the Protestant Schools was given entirely to the Protestant Section; that of the Catholic Schools to the Catholic Section.

3. The formation of School Districts was effected by the Board, with the approval of the Governor-in-Council.

4. The mode of support of the school, whether by private subscription or taxation, was left to be decided by each district.

5. The Examination and Licensing of its Teachers belonged to each Section.

6. A Government grant was given to the Board and divided proportionally between the two Sections; and, after the payment by each Section of a sum not exceeding $600 to the Secretary or Superintendents of Schools, the amount belonging to each Section was to be divided amongst its schools.

The system thus founded was much developed in an Act passed in 1873. This gave the power to any ratepayer to choose the school he wished to support, whether Catholic or Protestant. The duties of all officers were defined; taxation was made compulsory; and machinery established for collecting taxes. In 1876, a considerable modification of the School Law took place in the new Act passed in that year relating to cities and towns. From this amended Act of 1876, the prosperity of the earlier school system in Manitoba may be said to have sprung. It enabled the cities and towns to establish good schools, and thus acted beneficially on all the schools of the Province. Provision was made of a more perfect kind by this Act for the issue of debentures by school districts, thus enabling them to erect suitable school buildings. The Acts were amended and extended in the years 1882, 1883, and 1884, but the Act of 1876 was the virtual establishment of the form of school provision in vogue up to 1890.

3. *The Present Law.* On the passing of the School Act of 1871 strong opposition was shown to the division of the school system into two sections—Protestant and Roman Catholic. A few years afterwards agitation on the matter arose in the Province, and on Oct. 6th, 1876, the Protestant Section of the Board of Education passed a series of resolutions demanding the doing away of Separate Schools. A re-constitution of the Board by the Provincial Government of the day postponed the question for a number of years. In time, however, a new agitation arose, and in 1890 the Greenway-Martin Government passed the celebrated Acts which are still, with slight amendment, in force.

Under these the administration of Public School matters is divided into two parts. The Provincial Cabinet of five members form what is known as the Department of Education. This Department appoints all Inspectors, teachers in the Normal Schools and directors of Teachers' Institutes, as well as fixes and pays their salaries. It also makes regulations on all financial matters, obtains reports from the schools, administers the Government grant, approves of all school debentures, and does all Executive work required by the Advisory Board. The Advisory Board is an independent body of seven or nine members, made up of four or six appointees of the Government, two representatives elected by the teachers of the Province, and a representative chosen by the University of Manitoba. The Advisory Board makes regulations for the arrangement and requisites of school premises, authorizes all text-books, determines the qualifications of teachers and inspectors, fixes the standard for admission to the high schools, appoints all examiners, makes regulations for classification, organization, and government of Normal and all public schools, and prescribes the

form of religious exercises. Thus the Advisory Board is a Committee of Educational experts, while the Department of Education carries out all Executive work required in educational matters. Thus far, at the end of seven years, the plan here outlined has worked smoothly and successfully.

Both primary and secondary schools are counted as public schools, the latter being known in the three centres of Winnipeg, Brandon, and Portage La Prairie as collegiate institutes. A class of schools numbering between twenty and thirty

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found in the small towns of Manitoba is known as intermediate schools. These are required to have graded classes, (Principal holding a first-class certificate) and they receive an extra grant from the Department. They are found very useful in satisfying the localities with a higher English school, and in checking the ambitious desire of small places for a weak and inefficient classical school. For the supervision of the public schools Inspectors are appointed. For the collegiate institutes there are two Commissioners or Inspectors. The intermediate and ordinary schools are inspected by local Inspectors, who devote their whole time to this work. The Province is divided into six Inspectorates. The City of Winnipeg has an Inspector of its own who is known as Superintendent of Schools. There is an Inspector of French Schools and another of German Schools.

4. *Organization of Districts.* The policy of the Manitoba system is to decentralize to as large an extent as is consistent with the efficiency of the schools. Provision is made for the establishment of local school districts. School districts are formed by councils of the several municipalities. No district can be formed unless there are ten children of school age within its bounds, and no school district may contain more than twenty square miles. In case any ratepayer is dissatisfied with the formation in his school district he has the right to appeal to the County Judge. School age for children is fixed between five and sixteen in rural municipalities, and between six and sixteen in cities, towns and villages.

The Board of School Trustees consists of three in rural municipalities, elected for three years, one retiring each year. In cities and towns there are two Trustees for each ward into which the municipality is divided. The powers of the Trustees are large. While each school receives $20.00 a month from the municipality to which it belongs, the Trustees may lay an additional tax on the school district. The subsidy for each school, or room in a graded school, given by the Department is $130 a year. The Department gives a liberal subsidy, in addition, to the collegiate institutes. The Trustees have power to authorize or refuse to use the religious exercises prescribed by the Advisory Board. Under an amendment to the Act, passed in 1897, a clergyman of any Denomination may give religious teaching to those of his own faith for the last half hour of the school day. Compulsory education is not provided under the Act of 1890.

5. *Teachers and Certificates.* Certificates are given under the regulations of the Advisory Board, as Collegiate, Collegiate-Assistant, Specialist, and Public School. These three grades are termed I., II. and III. Class. Each certificate

may be non-professional. No certificates are accepted in Manitoba from outside Provinces except those of the North-West Territories. The B. A. degree from any University in the British Dominions is, however, received for collegiate schools, and for first class, grade A., non-professional, in the public schools. Non-professional certificates are given as the result of a written examination held annually in July.

The subjects of the First Class, grade B., certificates are writing and spelling; selected English poetical and prose literature with rhetoric and composition; history of the English language; history of English literature; English and Canadian history; algebra to end of progressions; Euclid, Books I.-IV. and Definitions of V., and selected propositions of VI.; trigonometry, geography, physiology, and chemistry. The subjects of the Second Class are reading and orthoepy; writing and spelling; selections from English poetical and prose literature; composition from models; English grammar and rhetoric; English, Roman, Greek and Canadian history; arithmetic, algebra, including quadratic equations; Euclid, Books I., II., III.; book-keeping, geography, botany, physics and agriculture. The subjects for Third Class are reading and orthoepy; writing and spelling; English grammar; composition from models; rhetoric selections from poetical literature; Canadian and English history; arithmetic, algebra, including simple equations; Euclid, Book I. with exercises; book-keeping, geography, botany, agriculture and physiology—including temperance instruction.

It is worthy of notice in this connection that a most successful reciprocal arrangement has been made between the Advisory Board and the University of Manitoba. The Advisory Board accepts for a non-professional second class certificate the preliminary or Entrance examination into the University; and for a non-professional first class grade B. certificate, the previous or first year examination (50 per cent. standing) of the University. The University in return accepts for its preliminary and previous examinations the second and first class certificates, on condition of the candidate passing in Latin and another language. This compact has worked most beneficially to both parties.

The examinations for teachers, which extend over a week, are conducted in all collegiate and intermediate schools throughout the Province, on papers prepared by a Central Board of Examiners, and the answers are read in the Government Legislative Chamber, Winnipeg, by a Board of forty of the leading Educationists of the Province. No teacher is allowed to teach in Manitoba Public Schools who has not attended a Normal School session in the Province, and successfully passed the requirements, including practice. The sessions are of two kinds: (1) The

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first and second Normal sessions held in Winnipeg, extending over four and a half months and using for practice both the Winnipeg schools; (2) Local Normal Schools for third class teachers, which are conducted at some five or six points in the Province. The sessions extend over ten weeks, and are under the charge of the Inspectors with capable assistants. Local institutes of a few days each are held each year at various places in the Province. At the close of the Normal School

sessions, written examinations are required, and reports are also sent into the Advisory Board of the teaching ability of the candidates. The subjects of the first class professional examination are: Rosenkrantz' Philosophy of Education; Sully's Psychology; Jevon's Logic; Reports of Committee of Ten and correlation of studies; lectures, school organization, school management, drill, music, drawing, Public Schools Act, Regulations of Department and of Advisory Board. The subjects of the second class examination are: White's Pedagogy; Report on Correlation; Lectures; Teaching each subject in School curriculum; drill, music, drawing, Browning's Theories, and Quick's Educational Reformers. The subjects of the third class professional examination are: Method of teaching subjects on curriculum; school organization and management; duties of teachers and pupils; drill, Public Schools Act, and Blaikie's "Sound Bodies."

6. *Statistics and Revenue.* The population of Manitoba is estimated (1898) at about 220,000. There are at present 843 schools or districts (1,068 departments) under the direction of the Department of Education. The teachers are, in number, 590 males and 563 females. According to the Report of 1896, there were in attendance at the Public Schools 37,987 pupils. On account of the sparseness of settlement, a large number of the schools of Manitoba are only maintained for six or eight months in the year. The relative number of such schools is, however, decreasing from year to year. The desire for education is very strong among the scattered settlers of Manitoba. There are great sacrifices made to obtain the advantages of education, and probably no new Province or State on the American continent has been more successful in spreading the advantages of education generally over its population.

As to Secondary Education, the three collegiate institutes already mentioned in Winnipeg, Portage La Prairie and Brandon are well sustained and have a large attendance. The following is the attendance at these three schools for 1897: Winnipeg, 541; Portage La Prairie, 120; Brandon, 240. In addition to these, students for entrance to the University are prepared by the preparatory departments of the several Colleges and by St. Mary's (Roman Catholic) Academy. Matriculation examinations are held for the Entrance examination to Manitoba University, not only in Winnipeg, but also in Portage La Prairie and Brandon in Manitoba, as well as at Regina and Calgary in the North-West Territories. The Provincial grant for Public Schools for 1897 was $180,000. The following is a list of the number of schools given for occasional years from the beginning of the Public School system up to 1890:

Year.	Protestant Schools.	Catholic Schools.
1877	16	17
1874	22	21
1882	122	...
1883	380	45
1886	430	66
1890	628	91

Since 1890, under the new and undenominational Public School system, the progress has been marked. In 1891 there were 774 schools; in 1893, 876; in 1895, 956; and in 1897, 1018. The local taxation for Public Schools for 1896 was $472,039.00, and the total amount expended for Public Schools was $810,912.00 which included sums for school buildings. The cost of Government administration in 1897 was $3,989.78. The Public Schools of Winnipeg in 1897 gave employment to 100 teachers. There are 16 separate buildings in different parts of the city (a few rooms also being rented) used as school-houses. The total city attendance in 1897 was 3341 boys and 3302 girls.

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY

R. E. GOSNELL, Legislative Librarian, Victoria, B.C.

THE Educational system of British Columbia, as at present developed, is an adaptation of the best features of the systems of the other Provinces, which are all more or less homogeneous. It is quite a coincidence that two Provinces of the Dominion so widely separated as British Columbia and New Brunswick should in the same year, 1872, have adopted a Free School Act, both in some measure modelled after a similar Act passed in Ontario as early as the year 1846, but which was subsequently changed and amended before being brought into satisfactory shape.

In 1855 the Hon. the Hudson's Bay Company established free Public Schools on Vancouver Island. For several years these schools on the Island supplied the educationol needs of the community, which, it is needless to say, at that period were limited. In 1865 a free school system was established by the Vancouver House of Assembly, and the sum of $10,000 set apart as a school fund for that year. When the union of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia was effected in 1868, the free school system above referred to was virtually dead, and school matters throughout the Province generally continued in a most crude and unsatisfactory condition until 1872.

The Educational system in this Province, as established by the Public School Act of 1872, was administered by a Board of Education, composed of "six fit and proper persons" appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and presided over by the Superintendent of Education. After the abolition of this Board by the Public School Act of 1879, its chief powers and duties were transferred to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council; and more complete control over local school matters was given the Boards of Trustees—notably the power of appointment and dismissal of teachers formerly held by the Board of Education; and a system of monthly reports of the attendance, etc., for each school was instituted, the teacher being required to supply the Minister of Education and the Trustees with monthly information in all matters pertaining to his school. By the Public School Act of 1891, which involved a somewhat radical departure, the members of the Executive Council are created a Council of Public Instruction with power to create school districts, provided, as amended in 1896, that no school district shall be created wherein there shall not be at least twenty children of school age—between six and sixteen years. This Council is empowered to grant such sum or sums of money as may be required to pay the salary of the teacher in such district; in rural districts to defray the cost of erecting school-houses; to appoint a Board of Examiners to examine teachers and grant certificates; to appoint Inspectors of public schools; to make rules and regulations for the conduct of public schools; to prescribe the duties of teachers; to determine the subjects and percentage required for teachers' certificates; to prescribe a uniform system of text-books, as well as the courses and standard of study for schools; to establish a Normal School, and make regulations for its conduct and management; to establish high schools, where the higher branches may be taught, and to cancel or suspend for cause the certificates of any teacher.

The chief executive officer of the Educational Department is the Minister of Education, who is assisted by the Superintendent of Education. To the latter official are committed, subject to the approval of the Council of Public Instruction, the supervision and direction of the inspectors and schools; the enforcement of the provisions of the School Act and the regulations and decisions of the Council of Public Instruction; the organiz-

ing of Teachers' Institutions, and the granting of temporary certificates (countersigned by the Provincial Secretary); the preparation of an annual report of the condition of the Public Schools, and the closing of schools when the average attendance falls below ten; and the preparation of suitable forms for making all reports required under the Act.

From the introduction of the Public School system until 1888 the whole cost of maintaining the school machinery was paid directly from the Provincial Treasury. Since that time the municipal corporations of the various cities of the Province, four only being included, have been required to bear more and more the cost of education within their respective limits, until at the present time the Provincial aid to these corporations on account of education consists of a *per capita* allowance of $10 per head, based on the actual average attendance, all expenses being borne by the cities. The salaries of the teachers outside of the four cities and those of the various officials of the Department are fixed and voted each year by the Legislature. The liberality with which Education is provided for is evident from the fact that, wherever outside the limits of the cities there are twenty children of school age within a radius of a few miles—known as a school district—a school-house is built, the salary of the teacher paid, and the incidental expenditure borne by the Province. For all purposes during the year 1895-6 the cost of education to the Province was $234,335.04 and to the cities $91,511.93, or $325,846.84 in all. The following are the chief figures in this connection:

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Total Value School Property, Rural Districts	$293,845 00
" " " Victoria City	296,250 00
" " " Vancouver City	299,300 00
" " " New Westminster	56 500 00
" " " Nanaimo City	35,399 00
Total Value School Property, in Province	$981,294 00

EXPENDITURE, 1895 96.

Total Expenditure, Education, all purposes, Government	$234,335 04
Total Expenditure, Education, all purposes, Victoria	50,182 69
" " " " Vancouver	51,050 62
" " " " New Westminster	18,178 04
Total Expenditure, Education, all purposes, Nanaimo City	19,973 42
	$373,719 81
Per capita Grant to cities	$ 47,872 97
Net expenditure in Province	325 846 84
Averge daily attendance	9,255

ABSTRACT OF ATTENDANCE, 1895-96.

No. of pupils enrolled	14 460
No. of boys enrolled	7,437
No. of girls enrolled	7,023
Average actual daily attendance	9 255
No. of High School pupils	460
Average daily attendance	283
" " " cities	5 492
" " " rural	3,475

EXPENDITURE TO DATE.

	Government.	Cities.	Total.
Education proper	$2,146,115 00	$500,000 00	$2,646,115 00
Construction, repairs, etc.	402,480 00	200,000 00	602,480 00
To total	$2,548,595 00	$700,000 00	$3,248,595 00
Less Government Grant to cities since 1891			225,000 00
Net to date			$3,023,595 00

The various schools embraced in the system are spoken of as common, graded, and high schools. These schools are free and are conducted on

strictly secular and non-sectarian principles. It is enjoined upon all teachers that the highest morality shall be inculcated, but that no religious dogma or creed shall be taught. The Lord's Prayer may be used at the opening and closing of schools. There are at present (1898) in operation 202 rural schools, 22 graded schools (including ward schools) and 4 high schools. Total number of teachers employed in rural schools, 258; in graded schools, 118; in high schools, 12. The course of study in rural and graded schools embraces reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, grammar, composition, history (English and Canadian), geography and physiology (anatomy, physiology, hygiene and agriculture). In addition to the above the following subjects may be taught: Book-keeping, mensuration, geometry, drawing, algebra, temperance, music, needlework and calisthenics.

The management of schools in rural districts is entrusted to a Board of three Trustees elected by votes of the district. In city districts the School Board consists of six members elected by the votes of the electors duly qualified to vote for Mayor, and act without emolument, excepting the Secretary of the Board. Women, the wives of qualified freeholders or house-holders (except the latter be Trustees) are eligible to sit on the Board of Trustees, and in Victoria act in that capacity with satisfactory results.

The question of providing for higher education very early occupied the attention of the Legislature, and as soon as warranted a High School was established. The City of Victoria was the seat of the first institution of this kind. The Victoria High School was opened in August, 1876, and continued to be the only free institution of that rank until the establishment of a similar one in New Westminster in 1884. During 1886 a High School was opened in Nanaimo, and in January, 1890, one was established in Vancouver. The high schools are under the control of the local Boards of Trustees in the districts in which such high schools are situated, and no such school can be established in any school district in which there are fewer than twenty persons duly qualified and available to be admitted as high school pupils. For admission to high schools pupils are required to pass a salisfactory examination in the subjects prescribed for graded and common schools. The curriculum in addition to the English course of subjects prescribed for graded and common schools embraces the commercial course (book-keeping, etc., together with all subjects prescribed for the English course and other subjects in which candidates for First Class, Grade G., certificates are examined) and a classical course—Latin, Greek, French, together with all subjects in which candidates for First Class Grade, A., certificates are examined.

In 1896 an important departure was made looking to University affiliation. School Boards in Victoria, Vancouver, Nanaimo and New Westminster were allowed on petition to obtain a charter of incorporation to permit the affiliation of the high schools with colleges managed by Boards of Governors, and it is probable that advantage will be taken of this provision by several of the Boards at least. No fees can be charged in high schools except in the case of pupils over sixteen years of age. The standard of qualification for teachers is a high one, and the examinations, though perhaps not so severe as in some of the other Provinces, are fair and ample tests of efficiency. Examinations take place once a year simultaneously at Kamloops, Vancouver and Victoria, beginning on the 4th of July and ending on the 16th. Candidates are required to give thirty days' notice of their intention; to be twenty years of age, if male, and eighteen years of age, if female; and to furnish satisfactory testimonials of good moral character. The following certificates are granted, viz.:

1. Temporary, good until next examination.
2. Third Class, Grade B., valid one year.
3. Third Class, Grade A., valid two years.
4. Second Class, Grade B., valid three years.
5. Second Class, Grade A., valid five years.
6. First Class, Grade B., valid for life or during good conduct.
7. First Class, Grade A., valid for life or during good conduct.

Temporary certificates are granted only in exceptional cases and are practically obsolete now. There are thirteen subjects prescribed for Third Class, which are the same as those taught in the public schools, with education added. Thirty per cent. of the marks for each subject and forty

per cent. of the aggregate is required for Grade B. and forty per cent. and fifty per cent. respectively for Grade A. Second Class B. is the same as Third Class, with mensuration, book-keeping, and one of the following: Music (theory), drawing (linear) and botany. Forty per cent. of the regular subjects, thirty per cent. of the special, and fifty per cent. of the aggregate marks are required. Second Class A. is the same as Second Class B. with algebra, geometry (Book 1) and one of the following: Zoology, astronomy and rhetoric. Forty per cent. of each paper and sixty per cent. of the aggregate is required. First Class B. has same subjects as Second Class A. with mensuration (measurement of volumes), book-keeping (double entry), algebra (to know the subject), geometry (Books 2, 3 and 4), natural philosophy, statics, dynamics and hydrostatics, English literature, and one of the following: General history, chemistry, and geology. Forty per cent. of the individual subjects and sixty per cent. of the whole is needed. First Class A. is the same as First Class B. with geometry (Books 5 and 6), practical mathematics (trigonometry, land surveying and navigation), ancient history, Latin, Greek or French. The percentage of marks is forty and sixty per cent. respectively. The following table speaks for itself in this connection:

CERTIFICATES OF TEACHERS 1895-96.

Class and Grade.	Male.	Female.	Total.
First Class A.....	29	5	34
First Class B.....	44	18	62
Second Class A.....	33	56	89
Second Class B.....	37	84	121
Third Class A.....	1	12	13
Third Class B.....	2	8	10
Length of Service.....	2	3	5
Temporary.....	1	0	1
	149	186	335

There is no Normal School for the training of teachers, although the question of its establishment has been much discussed of late. The lack of one is greatly felt. It is quite probable that this is an institution which will be inaugurated at an early date. The present Minister of Education recognizes its value, and is favourable, not only to its establishment, but to the introduction of industrial training and applied sciences as well. Provision has been made for the supervision of all the schools in the Province, although, owing to the extent of country to be travelled, and the rugged character of its interior, this must necessarily be limited in the outlying districts. While the schools in the Province were few in number, the whole work of supervision devolved upon the Superintendent of Education, but the subsequent expansion of the system called for the appointment of four additional officers (two being appointed recently), who, as Inspectors of Schools,

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now undertake almost the whole work of inspection. Victoria City has also recently appointed a City Inspector.

Even in the Provinces that can boast of a Normal School, the establishment of Teachers' Institutes has been considered necessary, in order to secure in as high a degree as possible the benefit contemplated by the school system. These conventions were held in this Province as early as the year 1874, but the most successful

Educational institution which was Provincial in its character was organized in 1885 by Dr. Pope, the present Superintendent of Education. Branch institutions were subsequently formed, and have done much to elevate the tone and bring about uniformity of method. As has been stated, the Educational system of British Columbia is entirely free, undenominational and non-sectarian, and the disposition on the part of the great majority is in favour of its continuance in that form. There are, however, numerous private and denominational academies, where those who desire may have their children educated on lines agreeable to their own religious beliefs. The Roman Catholics have Colleges for boys at Victoria and New Westminster, and Mission Schools at Victoria, Mission City, Kamloops and elsewhere; while the Sisters of that Denomination have successful Academies at Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster and Nanaimo.

The Methodist Denomination carries on a well-equipped College at New Westminster, which is affiliated with similar educational schools in Eastern Canada. Mission Schools for Indians are also conducted under its auspices at Fort Simpson, Chilliwack and elsewhere. With the exception of the Roman Catholic body, the Church of England was the first to establish denominational schools on the Coast. There are several boys' and girls' academies in Vancouver, New Westminster, Victoria and Nanaimo under its control, and a number of mission stations along the coast. The kindergarten has not yet been officially incorporated in the Public School system, but there are private kindergartens in several of the cities. The gradual growth of the schools, as well as the cost of maintenance, is fully shown by the record of attendance and expenditure given in the following tabular statement taken from the Annual B.C.School Report of 1895-6:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ATTENDANCE AND COST OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS FROM 1872-73 TO 1895-96.

Year.	No. of School Districts.	Aggregate Enrolment.	Average Daily Attendance.	Percentage of Attendance.	Expenditure for Education Proper.
1872 73	25	1,028	575	55.93	$ 36,763 77
1873 74	37	1,245	767	61.60	35,287 59
1874 75	41	1,403	863	61.51	34,822 28
1875 76	41	1,685	984	58.39	44,506 11
1876-77	42	1,998	1,260	63.06	47,129 63
1877-78	45	2.198	1,395.50	63.49	43,334 01
1878 79	45	2,301	1,315 90	57.19	22,110 70
1879 80	47	2,462	1,293 93	52.56	47,006 10
1880-81	48	2.571	1,366.86	53.16	46,960 69
1881-82	50	2,653	1,358 68	51.21	49,268 63
1882 83	59	2,693	1,383.00	51.36	50,850 63
1883 84	67	3.420	1 808.60	52.88	66,655 15
1884 85	76	4 027	2,089.74	51.89	71,151 52
1885 86	86	4.471	2,481.48	55.50	79.527 56
1886 87	95	5.345	2,873 38	53.75	88,521 08
1887 88	104	6,372	3,093.46	48.54	99,902 04
1888 89	109	6.796	3,681.14	54.16	108,190 59
1889-90	123	8,042	4 333.90	53 89	122.984 83
1890 91	141	9,260	5,134.91	55.45	136,901 73
1891 92	154	10,773	6,227.10	57.80	160,627 80
1892 93	169	11,496	7,111 40	61.85	190,558 33
1893 94	178	12,613	7,785.50	61.72	169,050 18
1894 95	183	13,482	8,610.31	63.86	189,037 25
1895 96	193	14,460	9,254.25	64.00	204,930 32

SCHEDULE OF SALARIES, 1895-96.

Teachers		Salaries		Teachers		Salaries	
1	at	$135 00	per month.	3	at	$67 50	per month.
1	"	125 00	"	4	"	65 00	"
1	"	120 00	"	73	"	60 00	"
1	"	108 00	"	26	"	55 00	"
12	"	100 00	"	2	"	52 50	"
8	"	90 00	"	150	"	50 00	"
2	"	85 00	"	7	"	40 00	"
8	"	80 00	"	1	"	35 00	"
9	"	75 00	"	5	"	30 00	"
1	"	72 00	"	5	"	25 00	"

15 teachers at $70 00 per month.

The following is a list of the schools for the training of Indians:

School.	Location.	Denomination.
Ahousaht	Cowichan	Presbyterian.
Aiyaush	North-West Coast	Church of England.
Alberni Home	West Coast	Presbyterian.
Alert Bay, Industrial	Alert Bay	Church of England.
Alert Bay, Girls' Home	"	"
Alert Bay, Day	Nimkish	"
Bella Bella	Bella Bella	Methodist.
Cape Mudge	Cape Mudge	"
Coqualeetza Home	Chilliwack	"
Gwayasdums	Kwawhewlth	Church of England.
Hazelton	Hazelton	"
Kamloops, Industrial	Kamloops	Roman Catholic.
Kincolith	Kincolith	Church of England.
Kishfiax	Babine Lake	Methodist.
Kitahtla	North-West Coast	Church of England.
Kootenay, Industrial	Kootenay	Roman Catholic.
Kuper Island, Industrial	Kuper Island	"
Lakalsap	North-West Coast	Methodist.
Massett	Massett, Q.C.I	Church of England.

School.	Location.	Denomination.
Metlakahtla, Industrial..	Metlakahtla....	" "
Metlakahtla, Day.....	"	" "
Nanaimo	Nanaimo	Methodist.
Nitinat.....	West Coast.....	"
Oiaht	Haines Island.	Roman Catholic.
Port Essington.....	Skeena.....	Methodist.
Port Simpson, Girls' Home.....	Port Simpson.....	"
Port Simpson, Day....	Simpson's.....	"
Skidegate.	Queen Charlotte Island.	"
Somenos.....	Somenos.....	"
Soughees.....	Victoria	Roman Catholic.
St. Mary's, Boarding...	St. Mary's Mission....	"
Uclueht.....	West Coast.....	Presbyterian.
William's Lake, Indst'l.	William's Lake.....	Roman Catholic.
Yale, Boarding.....	Yale	Church of England.

R. E. Gosnell.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE TERRITORIES

BY

D. J. GOGGIN, M.A, Superintendent of Education, N.W.T.

THE Educational system of the North-West Territories is under the control (within its attributes) of a Council of Public Instruction, consisting of the four members of the Executive Committee and of four appointed members—two Protestants and two Roman Catholics. These provisions were enacted by the School Ordinance of 1896. The additional members are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and one of the Executive Committee of the Territories is nominated by the same authority as Chairman of the Council of Public Instruction. The appointed members have no vote, and receive such remuneration as the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may provide. The following are the chief provisions of the Ordinance:

I. The Executive Committee, or any sub-committee thereof appointed for that purpose, shall constitute a quorum of the Council of Public Instruction, but no general regulations respecting:

(*a*) The management and discipline of schools.
(*b*) The examination, grading and licensing of teachers.
(*c*) The selection of books.
(*d*) The inspection of schools.
(*e*) Normal training.

Shall be adopted or amended except at a general meeting of the Council of Public Instruction duly convened for that purpose.

II. It shall be the duty of the Council of Public Instruction:

(*a*) To make regulations for the government and discipline of schools and institutes, and for the training and certification of teachers.
(*b*) To prescribe programmes of study and text books.
(*c*) To define by "standards" the studies to be pursued in all schools, such standards to be numbered from I. upwards, standards above V. to be further denominated "High School Standards."
(*d*) To provide for the examination of persons other than teachers who may desire to enter professions or may wish certificates of having completed courses of study in in any school.
(*e*) To prepare suitable forms and give such instructions as may be necessary for making all reports and conducting all proceedings required by the Ordinance.
(*f*) To determine all cases of appeal, disputes and complaints, arising from decisions of Trustees or Inspectors and to make such orders thereon as may be required.
(*g*) To make any provisions, not inconsistent with the Ordinance, that may be necessary to meet exigencies occurring under its operation.

School Districts. A school district comprises an area of not more than twenty-five square miles, and must contain not less than four resident ratepayers and twelve children between the ages of five and sixteen inclusive. Any three qualified ratepayers may petition for the formation of a school district, and upon its proclamation the ratepayers therein may establish a school and elect Trustees to manage it. These Trustees have power to erect and equip buildings, engage certificated teachers, levy taxes and perform such other acts as may be necessary for the proper conduct of a school.

Classes of Schools. The classes of schools established are public schools and separate schools. The minority of the ratepayers in any organized public school district, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish a separate school

therein, and in such case, the ratepayers establishing such Protestant or Roman Catholic separate school shall be liable only to assessments of such rates as they impose upon themselves in respect thereof. Any person who is legally assessed or assessable for a public school shall not be liable to assessment for any separate school established therein. Provision is made for night schools for pupils over fourteen years of age who are unable to attend school during the day. Schools are maintained by Legislative grants and by local taxation. The Legislative grants are fixed by Ordinance. There shall be paid from and out of any moneys appropriated by the Legislative Assembly for schools, in aid of schools organized under and conducted according to the provisions of the Ordinance (night schools, Normal schools and Teachers' institutes excepted) an amount to be calculated as follows :

(*a*) To each school having an average attendance of at least six pupils for the days during which it has been open in any term, a sum of $1.40 for each day the school is open—provided that the total number of days in each year for which grants may become payable shall not exceed 210.

(*b*) For every pupil in average daily attendance an additional amount of $1.50 per school year of 210 days.

(*c*) To each school where a teacher is employed who holds a first-class professional certificate the sum of twenty cents for each day (not exceeding 210) in the year such teacher is actually engaged in teaching; and to each school where a teacher holding a second-class certificate is so employed, the sum of ten cents for each day (not exceeding 210) in the year such teacher is actually engaged in teaching.

(*d*) To each school attaining a minimum grading upon the reports of its inspection, as prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction, on its efficiency in respect to buildings, equipment, government and progress, a sum not exceeding fifteen cents, nor less than five cents, may be paid according to such grading, for each day (not exceeding 210) on which the school has been kept open during the year.

(*e*) To any high school complying with the provisions of the Ordinance and the regulations of the Council of Public Instruction, a special grant of seventy-dollars per term.

Provided, that in case the sum of the grants to be paid in any term under sub-sections (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) of this Section shall exceed seventy per centum of the salary actually earned by the teacher during that term, the amount of the grant under the aforementioned sub-sections shall be reduced to the amount of said seventy per centum of salary paid; Provided further, that payment may be made in respect of the amounts earned under sub-sections (*a*), (*b*) and (*c*) of this Section at the end of the terms, on receipt of the return prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction and provided for in sub-section (1) of Section 88 of the Ordinance; but the grant earned by any school under sub-section (*d*) shall be paid only with the last payment of the year.

Provided further, that in schools where more than one teacher is employed each department shall rank as a school under the provisions of sub-sections (*a*) and (*d*) of this Section, when the average attendance of the whole school shall at least equal twenty pupils to each teacher employed but no Board of Trustees shall engage an assistant teacher (expecting Government aid on that account) without giving the Council of Public Instruction at least three months' notice of their intention to do so and having received its approval; Provided further, that the amount or amounts shown in the treasurer's return, provided for in sub-section (1) of Section 88 of the Ordinance, to be due to any teacher or teachers, shall be paid direct and proportionately to such teacher or teachers to the extent of the grant; Provided further, that no grant shall be paid to any school district until the bond of the treasurer provided for in Section 87 shall have been received and registered by the Council of Public Instruction.

Any school which has been closed on account of the absence of the teacher in attending a Teachers' Institute held by order of the Council of Public Instruction, shall be entitled to all

grants as if the school had been actually in operation during such period. For the purpose of computing the grant for such period, the average attendance for the week immediately preceding the closing of the school shall be deemed the actual attendance during the period it remains closed from this cause. Upon the recommendation of the Council of Public Instruction, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may make a special grant to any school, whether organized according to law or not, out of the general revenue fund of the Territories. Whatever additional sums may be necessary for the conduct of the schools are raised by local taxation. Two sections of land (1,280 acres) in each township are reserved and held in trust by the Dominion Government as school lands for aiding and promoting education. This means an endowment of about eleven million acres.

Studies. In the programme of studies provision is made for the teaching of those subjects a knowledge of which is helpful in the transaction of business, the duties of citizenship, the care of the body and the formation of moral character. This knowledge is needed by all, and may be so presented as to be objectionable to none. Instruction is offered in reading, writing, spelling, composition, grammar, English literature, history, geography, nature study, agriculture, botany, chemistry, physics, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, book-keeping, drawing, music, hygiene and temperance, manners and morals, Latin, Greek, French and German. The programme contains no syllabus of religious instruction. The character and, within a time limit, the amount of religious instruction given in any school is determined by the Trustees, who may be presumed to represent the desires of the ratepayers. Religious instruction is not allowed in any school until one-half hour previous to the closing in the afternoon, at which time such instruction as is permitted by the Trustees may be given, parents having the privilege of withdrawing their children at that hour or having them remain without taking part. It is, however, permissible for the Trustees to direct that the school be opened by the recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

In all Standards above Eleven the text-books are uniform, care being taken to authorize none written from a sectarian standpoint. In Standards I. and II., Roman Catholic Schools are permitted to use the Ontario Readers or the Dominion Series (Sadlier's Catholic Readers). In districts where French is the vernacular the Trustees may, upon obtaining the consent of an Inspector, use the Bilingual Readers, Parts I. and II., and the Second instead of the Ontario or Dominion Series.

Teachers. The academic preparation of teachers is given in the High School departments and the professional preparation in the Normal Schools. Candidates are not admitted to the latter till they have passed the prescribed non-professional (academic) examination, and are not permitted to teach till they have completed a course of professional training. Head Masters of High Schools must be graduates in arts of some University in Her Majesty's dominions and hold a professional first-class certificate. Under certain conditions the holders of certificates of the first or second class obtained outside the Territories may receive permission to teach without further examination or training. No distinction is made between teachers in public and separate schools. They have to pass the same academic examinations and undergo the same professional training. Local Normal Schools for the training of persons who have passed the academic test for third class are conducted at convenient centres by the Territorial Inspectors under the supervision of the Superintendent who delivers a course of lectures at each. These sessions begin December 1st and end March 1st in each year. Candidates for first and second class certificates are trained in Regina, the session beginning on September 1st and ending on December 22nd in each year. They are given instruction in the theory, art, and history of education, and regular practice in teaching, under careful supervision.

Institutes. During April, May and June in each year Teachers' Institutes are conducted by the Superintendent of Education assisted by the Inspectors. They are devoted to the further instruction of teachers in the principles and methods of teaching, and the fostering of professional zeal and spirit. Public meetings in the evenings afford opportunities for directing the

attention of citizens to the best means of promoting the welfare of the schools. Over ninety per cent. of the teachers voluntarily attend these Institutes.

Inspection. Inspectors are appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and report to the Council of Public Instruction and the Trustees of each district on the scholarship, behaviour and progress of the children, teaching and governing power of the teacher, condition of the buildings, grounds and apparatus, and state of the treasurer's books. They are expected to give any advice and instruction necessary for the successful conduct of the schools. They have nothing to do with religious instruction.

The Executive Committee of the North-West Territories was, in 1896, composed of Messrs. F. W. G. Haultain, John Ryerson Neff, James H. Ross and Hillyard Mitchell. In October, 1897, full Provincial powers were given to the Territories and the Committee became a Cabinet with the Hon. Mr. Haultain as Premier.

The following figures indicate the progress of education in the Territories during the decade from 1886 to 1896:

Year.	Schools in Operation.	Pupils Enrolled.	Teachers Employed.	Expenditure by Legislative Assembly.
1886	76	2,553	84	8,909.72
1887	111	3,144	125	36,897.47
1888	131	3,453	150	44,547.06
1889	164	4,574	183	56,984,63
1890	195	5,398	224	85,002.55
1891	213	5,652	248	129,042.01
1892	249	6,170	295	121,056.94
1893	262	8,214	307	106,578.59
1894	300	10,721	353	113,999.85
1895	341	11,972	401	112,182.90
1896	366	12,796	433	126,218.21

PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS—EDITOR'S NOTES

Early Educational Statistics in Quebec. A Committee of the Lower Canadian House of Assembly reported upon the subject of Education in 1832 as follows:

"In 1830, there were 981 schools, in 1831, 1,216; teachers in 1830, 947, in 1831, 1,305; scholars in 1830, 41,791, in 1831, 45,203. In 1829, the total number of children reported as receiving elementary education was only 18,410, of which 3,675 were under the Royal Institution. The number of scholars taught gratuitously has increased from 21,622, to 23,805. Those who pay, from 16,591 to 18,016. The whole amount of expenses for elementary schools, paid out of the public chest, in 1830, was about £20,000; in 1831, it will be about £26,000—giving an average for each scholar in 1830, of 10s. 4d., in 1831, of 11s. 2d.

The proportion which the number of children, receiving instruction, bears to the whole population is about one in twelve throughout the Province, instead of one in four, the proportion in the adjoining State of New York. The counties of Montmorency, Stanstead, Sherbrooke, and Lotbinière, are the only counties out of forty-one where nearly all the children of a fit age to attend school are receiving a school education. In some counties only one child in twelve, and one in ten, are at school. The average, throughout the Province, of the children at school is one out of three. Your Committee has observed with satisfaction that out of the whole number of 1,216 schools, 142 (chiefly in the towns of Montreal, Quebec, Three Rivers, and Laprairie) have 6,281 scholars who pay for their education, or receive it in convents, or at a low rate in institutions which derive no support from the public money. In Quebec there are no less than 2,525 scholars at elementary schools and whose parents pay for their education and entirely support forty-one schools at a rate of payment from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per month."

Mr. R. Montgomery Martin in his work upon the British Colonies states that the money paid towards public schools by the House of Assembly was, in 1829, £6,439; in 1830, £18,088; in 1831, £17,317; in 1832, £23,324—making in four years £65,168 sterling, or £72,409 currency, distributed through upwards of 2,000 schools. The Can-

adian Commissioner's Report of 1836 gives a statement containing various particulars concerning Education in Lower Canada. From it the following facts are obtained:

1. The Royal Grammar School, Quebec, received £200 a year and £90 a year school-house rent from the Jesuits' Estates. There were twenty free scholars, while eleven paid for their tuition. All were day-scholars. Terms, under twelve, £8; above twelve and thirteen, £10 per annum; above thirteen, £12 per annum. French and English were taught and the course of instruction was the same as in the grammar schools of the United Kingdom. Protestant.

2. The Royal Grammar School, Montreal, received £200 a year, and £54 a year school-house rent from the Jesuits' Estates. Twenty free scholars were admitted, and fifteen scholars paid for their education. All were day-scholars. Terms, highest £10, lowest £8 per annum. Instruction was the same as in the Grammar School at Quebec, but included the use and possession of an extensive apparatus for experiments in natural philosophy. Protestant.

3. The Seminary at Chambly was maintained by the contributions of students and was a private institution then recently established under the patronage of the Lord Bishop of Quebec. The board and tuition were according to the age of the student, £40, £50, and £75 per annum. For day-scholars the rate was £15 and £20 per annum. There were 17 boarders and 9 day-scholars. Those who paid £75 per annum were young men studying for Holy Orders, and others finishing their education. Protestant.

4. The Seminary of Quebec had no revenues specifically appropriated to the purposes of education, but was possessed of several estates. Their value, made many years before, was computed at £1,249 a year, besides large contributions in grain, and the *lods et ventes* on mutations of property, which amounted to a considerable sum. It was attended by 188 students; the terms for tuition and board were £17 10s. per annum; for tuition only, £1 per annum. Poor children were instructed gratis. The Seminary of Quebec was erected by letters-patent of the French Crown, dated in April, 1663. Roman Catholic.

5. The Seminary at Montreal was in possession of estates valued many years before at about £2,000 a year, besides large contributions in grain, and *lods et ventes* on mutations of property, which in the Seigneury of Montreal, comprehending the whole of the town, must have amounted to a large sum. It was attended by 260 students; the terms for board and tuition per annum were £21, for tuition only £1 15s. The ecclesiastics of St. Sulpice, at Paris, were authorized to establish a Seminary at Montreal and allowed to hold the Island of Montreal in Mortmain, by letters-patent of the French Crown, dated in May, 1677.

6. The Seminary at Nicolet was supported principally by private contributions, and the number of students or the price paid for tuition was not known. The Seminary at St. Hyacinthe, the Seminary at Chambly, and the College of St. Ann were stated to be in the same position as that of Nicolet, excepting that they received Legislative grants. Roman Catholic.

Legislative Grants from 1832 to 1861. The following is a statement of the annual payments on behalf of Education in Upper and Lower Canada during the period named, as extracted from the Public Accounts and other official documents. From 1841 to 1849 the items were not specified but the totals for those years amounted to $1,989,199.

Year.	Common Schools.	Superior Schools.	Total.	Common Schools.	Grammar Schools.	Total.
1832	.....	.....	$129 880	$9,600	$4,000	$13,600
1833	....	... .	88,620	35,200	3,861	39,061
1834	.....	.....	98,174	31,400	3,981	35,381
1835	....	.....	103,243	33,800	4,545	38,345
1836	.....	....	145 627	35 800	4 559	40,359
1837	.....	.....	100,000	38,600	4,550	43,150
1838	.....	.....	90,000	38 600	4 500	42 500
1839	.....	.....	80,000	37,200	5,600	42 800
1850	158,212	17.226	175 438	88,867	7,554	96 421
1851	102,114	25 557	127 701	94,434	7,710	102,144
1852	94,115	20,201	114 316	100,396	7 919	108,315
1853	142,473	62,557	205,030	152,802	8,833	161,635
1854	151,873	63,260	215 133	95,806	24 536	120,342
1855	94,081	103,041	197,122	147,370	29,934	177 304
1856	133,800	91,372	225 172	156,185	42,798	198,983
1857	137,800	80,437	218,237	185,032	34 120	220,152
1858	137,800	76,674	214,474	186,032	32 922	218,954
1859	168,295	62,742	231,037	186,032	36 461	222 493
1860	139 680	83 975	223,655	185,033	44 075	230,108
1861	139,820	80 732	220,552	186,032	35 819	221,851

Early Separate School Legislation. The following is the Section of the Common School Act

of 1841 which first authorized rural Separate Schools in the townships of Upper Canada and in the parishes of Lower Canada:

"XI. Provided always, and be it enacted, that whenever any number of the inhabitants of any township or parish, professing a religious faith different from that of the majority of the inhabitants of such township or parish, shall dissent from the regulations, arrangements, or proceedings of the Common School Commissioners, with reference to any common school in such township or parish, it shall be lawful for the inhabitants so dissenting collectively to signify such dissent in writing to the clerk of the district council, with the name or names of one or more persons elected by them as their Trustee or Trustees, for the purposes of this Act; and the said district clerk shall forthwith furnish a certified copy thereof to the district treasurer; and it shall be lawful for such dissenting inhabitants, by and through such Trustee or Trustees, who for that purpose shall hold and exercise all the rights, powers, and authorities, and be subject to the obligations and liabilities hereinbefore assigned to and imposed upon the Common School Commissioners, to establish and maintain one or more common schools in the manner and subject to the visitations, conditions, rules and obligations in this Act provided with reference to other common schools, and to receive from the district treasurer their due proportion, according to their number, of the moneys appropriated by law and raised by assessment for the support of common schools in the school district or districts in which the said inhabitants reside in the same manner as if the common schools so to be established and maintained under such Trustee or Trustees were established and maintained under the said Common School Commissioners; such moneys to be paid by the district treasurer upon the warrant of the said Trustee or Trustees."

The following was the provision in the law designed to meet the case of cities and towns:

"XVI. And be it enacted that it shall be lawful for the Governor of this Province to appoint from time to time in each of the cities and towns corporate therein, and not less than six nor more than fourteen persons (one half of whom shall in all cases be Roman Catholics and the other half Protestants), to be a Board of Examiners for each city or town corporate; of which said Board the Mayor shall be chairman, but shall not vote other than a casting vote; and the said Board shall be divided into two departments, one of which shall consist of Roman Catholics, and shall exercise the duties hereinafter assigned to the Board of Examiners in and over the common schools attended by the Roman Catholic children only, and shall in such cases appoint their chairman; and the other department shall consist of Protestants, and shall exercise their said duties in and over the common schools attended by the Protestant children only, and shall in such case appoint their chairman; and in all cases in which the said common schools are attended by Roman Catholic children and Protestant children together, the said duties shall be exercised in and over the same by the whole Board of Examiners; and the duties of the said Board, and of the said departments hereof, in the several cases above mentioned, in and for the said cities and towns corporate, respectively, shall be to examine the persons recommended as teachers by the corporation and reject them if unqualified on the ground of character or ability; and to regulate for each school separately the course of study to be followed in such school, and the books to be used therein; and to establish general rules for the conduct of the schools and communicate them in writing to the respective teachers; in addition to which duties, the Board of Examiners in any city or town corporate shall be visitors of the common schools in such city or town corporate; and, as such visitors, it shall be the duty of the Board to appoint two or more of their number to visit each of the common schools in such city or town corporate at least once in every three months, and to report to the corporations upon all matters connected with each of the said common schools in detail as fully as Common School Commissioners; and the Visitors by them appointed are bound to report to the district councils under the provisions hereinbefore contained."

In 1843 the Act of 1841 was repealed so far as Upper Canada was concerned and a Common School Act passed applying to that Province alone. The Sections of this Act authorizing the establishment of Separate Schools were as follows:

"LV. And be it enacted that, in all cases wherein the teacher of any such school shall happen to be a Roman Catholic, the Protestant inhabitants shall be entitled to have a teacher of their own religious persuasion upon the application of ten or more resident freeholders or householders of any school district, or within the limits assigned to any town or city school; and, in like manner, when the teacher of any such school shall happen to be a Protestant, the Roman Catholic inhabitants shall have a separate school with a teacher of their own religious persuasion, upon a like application.

LVI. And be it enacted that such applications shall be made in writing, signed with the names of each resident freeholder or householder, and addressed and delivered to the township, town, or city superintendent; and such application shall contain the names of three Trustees who shall be the Trustees of such separate school; and upon the compliance of such Trustees and of the township, town or city superintendent with the requirements of this Act, such school shall be entitled to receive its share of the public appropriation according to the number of children of the religious persuasion who shall attend such separate school, which share shall be settled and adjudged by the township, town, or city superintendent, subject to an appeal to the county superintendent; and all such separate schools shall be subject to the visitations, conditions, rules, and obligations provided in this Act with reference to other common schools, or to other town or city schools established under this Act."

In 1846 the Act of 1843 was repealed but the provisions in the new one relating to Separate Schools were identical with the previous enactment.

American Influence in Canadian Education. It would be an interesting matter to trace the influence of United States principles, ideas and versions of history upon the minds of Canadian children during a period of one hundred years. Apart from our literature and journalism, our platforms and pulpits, where almost imperceptibly Americanized views of many events are from time to time inculcated, there was a period when many school books and teachers in Upper Canada deliberately taught anti-British and pro-American views. For instance, Dr. Thomas Rolph, who travelled in Upper Canada in 1832-3, thus referred to the state of the schools at that time. He declared that:

"It is really melancholy to traverse the Province, and go into many of the common schools; you find a herd of children, instructed by some anti-British adventurer, instilling into the young and tender mind sentiments hostile to the parent state; false accounts of the late war in which Great Britain was engaged with the United States; geography setting forth New York, Philadelphia, Boston, &c., as the largest and finest cities in the world; historical reading books, describing the American population as the most free and enlightened under heaven; insisting in the superiority of their laws and institutions to those of all the world, in defiance of the agrarian outrages and mob supremacy daily witnessed and lamented; and American spelling books, dictionaries and grammar, teaching them an anti-British dialect and idiom; although living in a Province, and being subjects of the British Crown."

Dr. J. George Hodgins writing in 1864 in "Eighty Years' Progress in British North America" states that "it was not until 1846 that a check was put upon this abuse of public confidence on the part of American or Americanized teachers. In the Upper Canada Common School Law of 1850 it is provided that 'no foreign book in the English branches can be used in any model or common schools without the express permission of the Council of Public Instruction.' Foreign teachers were also required by the School Acts of 1843 and 1850 to take the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty before they could receive a certificate of qualification from the County Board of Public Instruction." These restrictive provisions of the School Law were thus justified by the Rev. Dr. Ryerson in his Special Report to the Legislature in 1847: "I think that less evil arises from the employment of American teachers than from the use of American (school) books. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or expediency of the clause restricting legal certificates of qualification to natural born or naturalized British subjects, in the first instance, I believe the public

sentiment is against its repeal and in favour of having the youth of the country taught by our own fellow-subjects, as well as out of our own books. In regard to the exclusion of American books from the schools, I have explained, as I have had opportunity, that it is not because they are foreign books simply that they are excluded, but because they are, with very few exceptions, anti-British in every sense of the word. They are unlike the school books of any other enlightened people, so far as I have the means of knowing. The school books of Germany, France and Great Britain contain nothing hostile to the institutions, or derogatory to the character of any other nation.

I know not of a single English school book in which there is an allusion to the United States not calculated to excite a feeling of respect for their inhabitants and government. It is not so with American school books. With very few exceptions they abound in statements and allusions prejudicial to the institutions and character of the British nation. It may be said that such statements and allusions are 'few and far between,' and exert no injurious influence upon the minds of children and their parents. But surely no school book would be tolerated which should contain statements and allusions 'few and far between' against the character and institutions of our common Christianity. And why should books be authorized or used in our schools inveighing against the character and institutions of our common country? And as to the influence of such publications, I believe, though silent and imperceptible in its operations, it is more extensive and powerful than is generally supposed. I believe such books are one element of powerful influence against the established government of the country. From facts which have come to my knowledge, I believe it will be found, on enquiry that, in precisely those parts of Upper Canada where United States school books had been used most extensively, there the spirit of the insurrection of 1837 and 1838 was most prevalent."

It is hard to understand such a state of affairs in these later days, but the facts indicate how great must have been the natural strength of inborn British sentiment to withstand such influences as these and many others.

Political History and the School Act of 1863. Mr. Joseph Pope in his "Memoirs of Sir John Macdonald" thus refers to Mr. R. W. Scott's Separate School Act of 1863 which for many years settled the semi-religious discussions connected with Education in the Province of Ontario:

"Mr. Macdonald's brief respite from office had done wonders for him; and he took his seat at the opening of the Session of Parliament on the 12th of February (1863) ready for the fray. . . . His experience told him that the (J. S.) Macdonald-Sicotte Government, pledged to the impossible scheme of the double majority, could not hope to weather the Session in the face of the opposition rising against them—not only among the Conservatives but also in the ranks of the Reform party. A new ground of dissatisfaction against them was speedily afforded by the Separate School measure of Mr. R. W. Scott, which the Ministry supported. This action of Messrs. Foley, McDougall, and Wilson was reprobated by *The Globe*, which unsparingly denounced them for their political recreancy in thus yielding up another principle of Liberalism. . . . Mr. Macdonald warmly supported the Scott Bill, which had been before the House during his term of office, when it was bitterly opposed by those members now forming the Upper Canadian section of Sandfield Macdonald's Cabinet. The spectacle presented by these men, now speaking and voting in favour of the Bill, was, in the judgment of Mr. Macdonald, a splendid vindication of the policy of the late Government and of the principle which he had long advocated with respect to the School system of Upper Canada.

The appeal of *The Globe* . . . was not made in vain, for, while Mr. Scott's Bill passed, it was carried by the votes of Lower Canada and of Mr. John A. Macdonald and his personal friends. A large number of the Canadian supporters of the Government, greatly to the wrath of Mr. J. S. Macdonald, voted against it, thereby placing the Ministry in a minority of nine votes, as regarded Upper Canada. Having formally announced their resolve to abide by the double majority principle, the Ministry, by this vote, were placed in an embarrassing position. The question was put direct to the Premier,

whether he proposed in the face of a declared opposition of the majority of its representatives to force the Separate School Act upon Upper Canada. To this pertinent question Mr. Sandfield Macdonald made an evasive reply, but the double-majority principle was then heard of for the last time."

No man in Canadian historical controversy devoted so much time and energy to the general question of Denominational Education as did the Hon. George Brown, and it is somewhat surprising that so little should have been said upon the subject in the "Life and Speeches" of that leader published by his personal and political friend, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. Even what is said has been well described as both meagre in detail and somewhat apologetic in spirit and tone. The following reference is in Chapter V. of the volume: "Like all religious or semi-religious controversies, this one developed hard words, and harder feelings, which eventuated in some injury to the political party led by Mr. Brown. There was much agitation in Canada West over the demands for Separate Schools for Roman Catholics. It is not to be denied that deep offence was taken at many articles in *The Globe* and other papers by a large majority of the Roman Catholics who did not come into contact with Mr. Brown personally and appreciate his kindly and honest nature. Looking back, it is impossible to deny that many harsh words were written, which had better not have been written. When Mr. Brown formed his Cabinet in 1858, it was upon an agreement that the Separate School question would be dealt with after a full enquiry should be made into the School systems in other countries—Catholic and Protestant—and there is no reason to doubt that, had his Ministry been permitted to go on, means would have been found to harmonize the various views held by himself and his political associates. The amended Separate School Act of 1863, and the immediately succeeding arrangement effected in the Confederation Act, removed this question from the field of controversy; but, even before then, nearly all irritation had ceased in Ontario."

The following extract is taken from "The Life of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie," by Mr. Wm. Buckingham and the Hon. George W. Ross:

"The great measure of 1863 was Mr. R. W. Scott's Bill respecting Separate Schools. Mr. Scott had introduced the Bill several times, and had advanced it so far in the previous Session as to reach a division on its second reading. The principle of Separate Schools was first introduced into Canada under an Act of 1841, and was further enlarged by the Act of 1855. Mr. Scott proposed still further to extend the privileges of Roman Catholics with regard to Separate Schools. The main features of Mr. Scott's Bill were: Extending the facilities for establishing Separate Schools in rural districts; permitting Roman Catholics to give notice of their intention to become Separate School supporters once for all, instead of annually as under the former Act; relieving Trustees from certifying the average attendance of pupils under oath; providing for inspection of Separate Schools and their general administration through the Council of Public Instruction.

In the Session of 1862, the Bill passed its second reading, but, owing to the defeat of the Government, it stood over. The Bill passed very quickly through all its stages, and was approved by the House on the 13th of March; the yeas being seventy-four, and the nays thirty. When the second reading of the Bill was under consideration, Mr. Burwell moved, seconded by Mr. Mackenzie, what is commonly known as the six months' hoist. On that motion Mr. Mackenzie gave his views on the question of religious instruction. He opposed the Bill on three grounds: Firstly, he feared it would be injurious to the Common School system of the Province. Secondly, he feared it would lead to a demand for Separate Schools from other Denominations. Thirdly, the establishment of Separate Schools in certain localities would divide the resources of the people, already very limited, and thus lower the standard of education. 'He had no desire,' he said, 'to make this a religious question, as he was not disposed to vote against any Bill which even Roman Catholics themselves deemed necessary to secure perfect freedom in the exercise of their religious faith; but, as our School system was undenominational, the Bill under consideration was therefore unnecessary.'

The vote on this Bill was the first substantial decision of the House to which the principle of

'double majority' would apply, as 31 members from Upper Canada voted against it, while its supporters from Upper Canada numbered only 22. Mr. John A. Macdonald rallied the Upper Canadian members of the Government—McDougall, Foley, Wilson and Sandfield Macdonald—on their change of front on the question of Separate Schools, quoting from the Journals of the House how in previous years they had voted either against the principle of Separate Schools or for the repeal of the existing Separate School Act; while now they were practically responsible for a Bill extending the scope of Separate Schools. The Premier was also asked if the measure was to be forced on Upper Canada in the face of the opposition of a majority of its representatives? To this Mr. Sandfield Macdonald made no reply. The agitation which arose in Upper Canada on account of the Separate School policy of the then Government greatly weakened them in public estimation."

Miscellaneous Educational Statistics. In a very valuable section of "Eighty Years' Progress in British North America," published in 1864, Dr. J. George Hodgins compiled many facts and figures relating to Canadian development in an Educational direction up to that period. The following are of special importance to any complete and exact study of the subject:

I. *Upper Canada.*

Imperial Lands Endowment.	Acres.
1. County Grammar Schools	258,330
2. University Institutions	226,200
3. Upper Canada College	66,000
4. Trinity College (private sources)	23,590
5. Half of the Parliamentary appropriation of one million acres of land for Common Schools in each part of the Province	500,000
Total number of acres thus granted	1,074,120

U. C. State Endowments of Education.

1. Parliamentary grant to Colleges and Universities	$20,000	
Less applied to Grammar Schools, as below	3,200	
		$16,800
2. Income of University College, Toronto, and Upper Canada College (from lands) etc., about		75,000
3. Parliamentary grant to Grammar Schools from lands, etc	22,619	
Parliamentary grant to Grammar Schools $10,000 and $3,200 (as above)	13,200	
		35,819
Parliamentary grant to three Medical Schools	3,000	
Parliamentary grants to three Literary Institutions, etc	1,800	
Parliamentary grant to two Observatories	5,300	10,100
		$137,719
4. Parliamentary grant to Common Schools from lands, etc		$186,032
Total Annual Endowment		$323,751

U. C. Income from local sources—School Rates, Fees, etc.

1. Colleges, etc., (1860)	$33,750
2. Grammar Schools (1861)	48,470
3. Common Schools (1861) by Trustees	937,014
Common Schools (1861) by municipal tax	278,085
4. Private Schools (1861)	45,393
Total Annual Income from Taxes, Fees, etc	$1,342,712

II. *Lower Canada.*

Lands set apart in Lower Canada.	Acres.
1. Religious Orders, etc,*	2,038,885
2. Parliamentary appropriation for Common Schools in Upper and Lower Canada (proportion) say	500,000
Total number of acres	2,538,885

*EDITOR'S NOTE. For exact details, as there are some minor omissions in Dr. Hodgins' total (which was quoted from Bishop Strachan's "Memorial" of 1843-44), see "Canada: An Encyclopædia." Volume II. Page 549.

L.C. Parliamentary grant to Colleges and Universities	$ 20,000		
Income from Lands and Investments	26,685		
Unappropriated balance transferred from Legislative School Grant, as below	34,047		
		$80,732	
Income of Laval University and Seminary from lands, etc. (estimated)		12,500	
Parliamentary grant to two Medical Schools	2,000		
Parliamentary grant to two Historical Societies	2,000		
Parliamentary grant to two Observatories	2,900		
		6,900	
Parliamentary grant to Common Schools, lands, etc	173,967		
Less unappropriated balance transferred as above to Superior Education	34,047		
		139,920	
			$240,052
Local Assessment (1861)		261,530	
Fees, etc., do		264,689	
			526,219
			$766,271

III. *Progress in Lower Canada*, 1852-1861.

Year	Educational Inst. of all kinds	Pupils	Assessments and Fees
1853	2,352	108,284	$165,848
1854	2,795	119,733	238,032
1855	2,868	127,058	249,136
1856	2,919	143,141	406,764
1857	2,946	148,798	424,208
1858	2,985	156,872	459,396
1859	3,199	168,148	498,436
1860	3,264	172,155	503,859
1861	3,345	180,845	526,219

Magdalen de la Peltrie was born at Alencon, France, in 1603. Her early inclinations to enter a convent were over-ruled, but as far as can be learned she had decided from the first to devote the wealth she was to inherit, and her services, to the cause of religion in Canada. When but seventeen years of age she became the wife of Charles de Grival, Seigneur de la Peltrie, of the house of Tourvoys, who died five years after their marriage. Her name is one of the best known in Canadian ecclesiastical history owing to her munificent benefactions to the Church and her success in surmounting the difficulties she met in founding the Order of the Ursulines at Quebec. Numerous attempts to establish this Society there had been made, but all were futile until this young widow of rank came forward endowed with the courage and ability to complete the desired project. Madame de la Peltrie's father wished her to marry again or renounce the family succession, but she would do neither, and in order to safeguard her intended work and free herself from the legal control of her family she underwent a formal marriage ceremony with M. de Bernières, a French Government official. By practicising this deception on her family she prevented their attempted interdict and was able to control herself and her property.

To make this mock marriage fully operative she did not become a member of the Ursuline Order, lived a residential life in Paris, and went into society accompanied by M. de Bernières, who appeared as her husband everywhere. Her defence of this questionable arrangement rested on the contention that without such a pretended marriage she could not have completed her plans or gone to Canada, as her family, with whom she was having much litigation, could and would have detained her. Apart from the nature of this remarkable transaction it cannot be denied that her absorbing ambition to found a great religious body in Canada was worthy of all praise and the result of her work was certainly a great blessing to the struggling Colony. She finally obtained some Ursuline Nuns and from Tours secured the valuable help of the eminent Marie de l'Incarnation, so famed in after Canadian history for her virtues and charms. At Dieppe she chartered a vessel, secured another Ursuline, and on May 4th, 1639, embarked for Quebec, which was

reached on August 1st following after a long and perilous voyage. On their arrival the Nuns were conducted to an Indian cabin, the poverty and untidiness of which seemed only to inspire them with new zeal for their arduous and much needed labours. Madame de la Peltrie, who had so cheerfully made herself poor that others might become better fitted for this world and the next, now spared no effort in missionary and educational work. With her own hands she tilled the soil to enable her to relieve the poor, and reduced herself to actual want in order to assist the sometimes destitute and starving settlers. Her whole life was a series of heroic acts which endeared her to the people and perpetuated her memory and good work in the Colony. She died at the Ursuline Convent in Quebec on November 18th, 1671, aged 68 years.

Margaret Bourgeois was born at Troyes, in Champagne, France, April 17th, 1620. She was the daughter of trades-people of comparatively small means. In early life she experienced considerable disappointment over not being able to enter a religious community in which she was greatly interested. Having also made an unsuccessful attempt to form a Congregation of Sisters in her own land she was obliged to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which came in 1653, when M. de Maisonneuve arrived at Paris from Montreal on a mission concerning the further settlement and development of his Colony on the St. Lawrence. During his visit he met Margaret Bourgeois, whom he induced to return with him to Canada. This arrangement afforded her the opportunity for which she was longing, and some four years later she succeeded in founding the Congregation de Notre Dame—an Order which has continued to grow in usefulness and power ever since. On her arrival in Quebec in September, 1653, Mdlle. Bourgeois entered upon her educational and Christian work with a name already respected for piety and good deeds. In her own land she had been at the head of a young women's society for the cultivation of austerity of life, and when she reached Quebec was very naturally urged to join the Ursulines. But this she declined and proceeded to Montreal, where in two months after her arrival she had organized and begun a school with no better accommodation than a stable. In 1657, in connection with other French ladies, she formed the above-mentioned institution, which was re-organized in 1669, and formally established seven years later. After having had the pleasure of living to see the Order contribute greatly to the extension of the blessings of education, she died on January 12th. Mdlle. Bourgeois was greatly beloved by the entire Colony, and will be ever remembered for her eminent virtues and the remarkable unselfishness of her life.

Buller's Report upon Education in Quebec. In 1838 Mr. Arthur Buller was appointed by Lord Durham to enquire into the condition of Education in the Province of Quebec, or Lower Canada. On November 15th the Report was duly submitted and is a most comprehensive and valuable record of the early developments in this connection. Mr. Buller first pays a high tribute to the dominant religious influence and declares that "To the Catholic Church Lower Canada is indebted for all its early scholastic endowments, indeed with the exception of McGill's College, for all that at present exist. The ample estates and active benevolence of the Jesuits, of the Seminaries of Montreal and Quebec, and of various Nunneries and their missions, were devoted to the education of the people. It is impossible to pay too high a tribute to the merits of this most exemplary Church. Its existence has ever been beneficially felt, and its career has been marked throughout by the most faithful discharge of its sacred duties and the most undeviating allegiance to the British Crown." Lengthy reference is made to the Jesuits' Estates and their temporary diversion from educational purposes by the Imperial Government, and the following is quoted from the Governor's Speech to the Legislature in 1801: "With great satisfaction I have to inform you, that His Majesty, from his paternal regard for the welfare and prosperity of his subjects of this Colony, has been graciously pleased to give directions for the establishing of a competent number of free schools, for the instruction of their children in the first rudiments of useful learning and in the English tongue, and also, as occasion may require, for foundations of a more enlarged and comprehensive nature; and His Majesty has been further pleased to signify

his Royal intention that a suitable proportion of the lands of the Crown should be set apart, and the revenue thereof be applied to such purposes."

Mr. Buller then proceeds: "The 41 Geo. 3, c. 17, an Act founded on these promises and intituled 'An Act for the Establishment of Free Schools and the Advancement of Learning in the Province,' was immediately passed. The following are its principal provisions: The Governor is empowered to erect a corporation, 'The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning,' with all necessary powers for holding land in mortmain, etc., to be composed of Trustees to be appointed by the Governor. To this corporation the entire management of all schools and institutions of Royal foundation in the Province, as well as the administration of all estates and property which may be appropriated to the said schools, is committed. The sanction of the Governor is required to all rules and statutes which may be made for the schools by the Trustees, and for the government of the masters and scholars. He may establish one or two more free schools in each parish or township as he may see fit upon the application of the inhabitants, or a majority of them, to that effect, and he appoints the masters and orders their salaries, after the conveyance of the school-house to the Trustees, which is to be done immediately upon their completion—the expense of the erection of the houses to be equally apportioned among the inhabitants.

In 1803 the promised grants of land, by which the contemplated schools were to be supported, never having been made, the Executive Council recommended to the Governor that 16 townships of the waste lands of the Crown should be appropriated for this purpose. In answer to this recommendation, the Province received the same year an assurance that 20,000 acres should be granted to each of the cities of Quebec and Montreal for the support of a Seminary, and that immediate steps should be taken in the matter. These steps, however, never were taken, the grants of land never made, and the Act of 1801 remained a dead letter. Complaints of this bad faith have never ceased. In answer to one of them, as late as 1831, Lord Goderich, after admitting that grants of land had been promised by the Crown, adds, 'that of course such promises are binding and must be carried into effect unless there are circumstances, of which he was not then apprised, which might have cancelled the obligation contracted in 1801, or which may have rendered the fulfilment of it at that time impracticable.'

However, this admission was followed by no better results. Up to this moment the only Acts of the British Government in respect to Canadian instruction have been the wholesale seizure and the partial restoration of the Jesuits' Estates. At length the House of Assembly determined to take up this question and passed a Bill which, however, was thrown out by the Legislative Council. Its principal features are the same as those which distinguish the Elementary School Acts that subsequently came into operation, and to which I shall shortly call Your Excellency's more particular attention. Two of its provisions, namely, those contained in the 11th section, are worthy of notice. They both relate to the master, one requiring that, among other qualifications, he shall bring a certificate of loyalty, and the other fixing his salary at sixty pounds. This latter particular I advert to, because it shows that far juster notions were entertained in those days of the competent provision for a teacher than appears to have been the case in later times.

In 1818 another Bill was passed by the Assembly. This, after reciting the necessity of elementary schools and the advantage of subjecting them to local control, vests the trusteeship of those created under its provisions in a corporation consisting of the rector, curate or priest, etc., with the four churchwardens last appointed of the Church of England or the Roman Catholic Church, the seigneur primitif and senior justice of the peace, who were to report annually to the inhabitants. A sum of £200 was to be granted from the Provincial treasury to the Trustees of every parish or township in which a house had been built and opened, sufficient for the residence of a master and the instruction of thirty children. The school was to receive no further support from the Legislature, but was entitled to one-fourth of the yearly revenues of the fabrique, until its yearly income from other sources should amount

to £100, and the master was to be paid by fees from the children, never, however, at a rate exceeding 5s. per month from each. This Bill, after some amendments by the Council which were concurred in, was reserved for the Royal Assent, since which it was never heard of. A similar fate attended two similar Bills the two following years.

Up to this period the corporation contemplated by the 41 Geo. III., having never been erected, letters-patent were issued for that purpose in October, 1818. The Protestant Bishop of Quebec was named the Principal of the institution, and certain of the Trustees from time to time appointed to act with him. Great stress has been laid upon the two following rules, which are among the first they made, as indicative of the liberal spirit in which they entered on their duties: 'That every school should be placed under the immediate inspection of the clergy of the religion professed by the inhabitants of the spot, and that, where they might be of different persuasions, the clergy of each Church should have the superintendence of the children of their respective communities.' 'That a regular superintendence of the schools was assigned to Visitors named by the corporation (one or more to be the minister or ministers of the parish or township), who were to report to them every six months the number and progress of the scholars, the conduct of the masters, and generally on the state of the schools.'

The Institution entered upon the management of all the then existing schools supported by Government, and continued from year to year, but very slowly, to augment their number. This remained the sole Legislative provision for education up to the year 1824. It will be perhaps better again to break in upon the regular course of events, and pursue the history of the Royal Institution to its end, disencumbering it from the other systems which were for some years co-existent with it, and by which it was finally absorbed. That it failed entirely is admitted on all hands, and there is no disagreement as to the immediate cause of failure, namely, its unpopularity with the French-Canadians and the Catholic Church. This unpopularity was founded on the exclusively British and Protestant character by which, it was asserted, its organization and management were distinguished. A Committee of the House of Assembly, appointed in 1824 to enquire into its operation, reported, among other things, that, out of its twenty Trustees, only five, and only twenty-two out of its eighty-one School Visitors, were (French) Canadians. In spite of the apparent liberality of the rules, this constitution of the authorities by whom they were to be carried into effect, inspired such jealousies and so offended the religious and national antipathies of the Canadians, that they withdrew their confidence from the Institution and rarely applied for schools under its direction. And, indeed, this was a natural enough result. Suppose the proportions of the members of the corporation and of the Visitors, as regards their national origin, had been reversed, and that the Catholic Bishop had been placed at its head, what would have been the popularity of such an institution with the Protestants and the British?

In the townships the system naturally worked better, and the demand for schools was proportionately great. In 1827 an attempt was made to divide the Board of the Institution into two Committees, composed of an equal number of members, and possessing equal privileges; the new one to be entirely Catholic, under the presidency of the Catholic Bishop, and to have the exclusive management of all Catholic schools. After the two parties had with some difficulty been brought to acquiesce in this arrangement it was discovered that there were some legal impediments in the way of carrying it into effect, and a Bill for the repeal of such parts of the 41 Geo. III., as interposed these impediments, was suggested by Sir James Kempt and brought into the Assembly, but soon after dropped. It appears from successive Reports of Committees that the number of schools under the Royal Institution, after a certain time, diminished rather than increased. In 1827 they amounted to eighty-two, of which sixty-four were Protestants, and only eighteen Catholic. In 1832 there were but seventy-two, in which there were only five Canadian masters; and 1834 the whole number was reduced to sixty-three. The last application for a new school to the Institution was in 1828. This decline is easily to be accounted for by the

greater popularity of the school system which came into operation in 1829, and of those which succeeded it. A sum varying usually from 1,800 pounds to 2,000 pounds was annually voted to the Trustees of the corporation for the support of their schools up to 1832, when it was reduced to 1,265 pounds. Since this latter period the Royal Institution fell into the general elementary school system, and its schools were supported and managed in the same manner as those thereby created, with the exception that the corporation was still permitted to exercise the powers in other cases intrusted to Trustees elected by the localities.

The corporation has now no other function than the Trusteeship of McGill College. I have shown that, from the moment the Royal Institution came into operation, systematic attempts were annually made by the House of Assembly to substitute some other more popular management. In addition to the Bills, with this view, of 1818, 1819, and 1820, which, after being passed by both Houses of the Provincial Legislature, were left unnoticed by the Home Government, two others, brought up in 1821 and 1823, were thrown out by the Legislative Council. At this period a Committee, reporting upon the then lamentable state of education in the Province, represent that in many parishes not more than five or six individuals can write and that, generally, not above one-fourth of the entire population can read, and one-tenth write, and that very imperfectly. At length, in 1824, the Assembly so far succeeded as to carry through a Bill which became the 4 Geo. IV., c. 31, and is commonly known by the name of the 'Fabrique Act.' By this the fabriques, or local corporations, established in each Roman Catholic parish, by which the temporalties of the parish church are administered, are authorized to establish one or more schools in each parish of the Province according to its population, and to have the sole management of them.

They are further authorized to purchase and to hold property to a certain amount, real and personal, for the support of these schools, and, until such property is acquired, may apply to that purpose one-fourth of their revenue. But it can hardly be said to have ever come into operation. In some parishes the fabriques were too poor, and in most, I have been assured, the existence of the Act was unknown. Like that established under the Royal Institution, the fabrique school-system became absorbed in those of a more general and popular character which were shortly after established. The first of these, which forms a remarkable epoch in the history of Canadian education, was established by the 9 Geo. IV., c. 46. It will be observed that all the abortive attempts made from 1818 up to this period, as well as the Act of 1824, had alone in view the wants of the French-Canadians, which were virtually untouched by the Royal Institution, and which undeniably called for urgent relief. It is true, that, as regards the receipt at starting of a certain sum of public money, the Protestant settlements were put on the same footing as the Catholic; but reliance for the subsequent support of the schools was placed first of all upon the fabriques, a fund which only existed in Catholic parishes, and eventually on charitable endowments, which were only to be expected from the greater wealth and zeal of the Catholic Church.

Imperfect as the provisions of these Bills were for the erection of anything approaching a sound and general system of education, no fault can be found with the spirit in which they were devised by the Assembly. It appears to have been one of fairness and sincerity, and liable to none of the imputations which attach to similar proceedings of that body in later times. By the Act of 1829 the establishment and sole management of schools in their respective parishes and townships was confided to five Trustees, elected by the resident landholders eligible to vote at elections. These Trustees were empowered to hold property belonging to the school and to receive benefactions. Half the expense of erecting school-houses, if not above fifty pounds, is to be advanced from the public chest on the certificate of the Trustees. A salary of twenty pounds is to be given to every master teaching twenty pupils, and a further allowance of ten shillings a head for poor children, provided their number does not exceed fifty, nor fall short of twenty. The Trustees were required to report annually to the Legislature. Under this Act, which was to be in force for three years, there was no provision for visitatorial inspection. The Trustees, who in

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very few instances could write themselves, as is proved by the almost invariable use of marks instead of signatures in their returns, had the power of appointing and removing the masters—in short, the entire control of the schools. It is true that they were required to make annual returns to the Legislature; but then nothing was more easy, and, I have been informed by many persons, nothing was more common than for them to make false returns.

In many schools where there were not twenty scholars *bona fide* taught gratis (the number requisite before the gratuity of ten shillings a head was to be granted) I was assured that it was a very usual device for the master to ask of his neighbours, or of another school, the loan of a sufficient number of children to satisfy this condition. Indeed, where children were scarce, parents were known to lend themselves to this good-humoured arrangement. The Trustees, when they knew all this, generally connived at it willingly enough because they generally wished well to the master, who was of their own appointment, and because the gratuity did not come out of their pockets, but, on the contrary, was pretty sure to find its way into them, the master being very frequently in their debt, and, as they well knew, having no other means of paying them.

In 1830 and 1831 two other Acts were passed, slightly amending and explaining the provisions of that of 1829. By the latter, the Governor was empowered to appoint nineteen Visitors, who with the members of the House of Assembly resident in the country, and the resident rector or curate of the parish, were to divide the country into two school districts, visit the schools annually, and report their state to the Legislature, with any recommendations they might be disposed to make. Schools rose rapidly under the Act of 1829. In that year forty-eight houses were built under its provisions, and 381 schools received the Government allowance. In 1830 sixty more houses were built, and the number of elementary schools increased to 899. In 1829 the whole cost of education to the Province was £13,785 16s. 3d., including, in addition to the expenses of the elementary schools, £2,115 10s. for the eighty-four under the Royal Institution, and £5,250 3s. for special grants. In 1830 the gross amount under these same heads was increased to £26,019, and in 1831 the whole number of elementary schools was 1,216, and the whole cost of education £32,470.

It is time here to explain the meaning of these special grants. The general Educational Acts, which have been noticed, were meant to embrace only the elementary schools in the rural districts. Many of those originally established by voluntary associations in the three towns of Montreal, Quebec and Three Rivers, as well as sundry superior academies and colleges dispersed over various parts of the Province, were the subjects of separate annual appropriations. The first of these was in 1823, when £200 was granted to a school in Quebec under the management of the Education Society in that town. In the following year there was only this same grant. In 1825 a like sum was also given to the British and Canadian School at Montreal. Every subsequent year fresh institutions received similar aid, and the grants under this head have been shown, in 1830, to have increased to £5,250 3s. In 1831, the House of Assembly appointed a standing Committee of eleven members (five to be a quorum) to report from time to time on all subjects connected with Education. The Act of 1829 having expired in May, 1832, the 2 Will. IV., c. 26, was passed for the continuance of the system for two more years.

In this Report (1831) the Committee remark that the proportion of children attending school in Lower Canada is one in twelve, whereas in the neighbouring State of New York it is one in four. By the 2 Will. IV., c. 26, founded on this latter report, 1,321 districts were adopted as laid out by the Visitors appointed the preceding year. To a school in each of these districts, and also to a separate girls' school in that district in every Roman Catholic parish in which the church was situated, an allowance was given of 20 pounds per annum, provided that no more than 2s. per month was demanded from each scholar, and that twenty scholars from five to fifteen years of age had been in regular attendance for 190 days in the year. Ten shillings were to be distributed yearly, as prize-money, among the best scholars in each school, by the first resident member for the county,

on the return; otherwise by the non-resident one. The management of the schools was intrusted to Trustees, as in the Act of 1829. The teacher, before appointment, must produce a certificate signed by the minister of the most numerous religious Denomination in the parish, according to the latest census, and by one justice of the peace, and of the militia officer of highest grade in the parish, or by two others, that he is known as of good character, and that he has been examined by them and found capable of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, in the language of the majority of the inhabitants. He might be removed, either on the representation of a majority of the county Visitors, or, after hearing, by the Trustees on the complaint of three electors. A public examination was to be held yearly and three at least of the Visitors were to make an inspection of the school, which they were to certify as directed by a Schedule annexed to the Act. No more than ten free scholars were to be admitted to any one school, and then only when their parents had another child at school for whom they paid. The Visitors were to be the Legislative Councillors resident in the county; its Members in the House of Assembly, whether resident or not; the senior acting justice of the peace; the militia officer of highest rank, and the minister of the most numerous religious Denomination. These Visitors, in addition to the duties before mentioned, were to determine all questions relating to districting and building houses, etc., and they alone were to have their expenses paid.

The schools of the Royal Institution were embraced in this Act. The other most remarkable alterations introduced by it consisted in the additional powers which it vested in the members of the House of Assembly. They were to have the distribution of the ten-shillings prize money; ndeed the whole powers of Visitation may be said to have centred in them, because their political importance generally enabled them to do as they chose with those of their co-Visitors who resided in the parish, and because the members of the Legislative Council were few in number, and rarely fulfilled the condition of residence in the county. Complaints were frequently made of the improper application of the prize-money entrusted for distribution to the members. Complaints were also very frequently made that the provision which required the master's certificate to be signed by the county members, before his allowance could be drawn, gave them a power over him which was too often propitiated by acts of political subserviency. I frequently heard these charges made, and in no few instances attempted to be substantiated by facts. Though it is necessary in Canada to be very suspicious of statements advanced by political parties in disparagement of their adversaries, or in vindication of themselves, no one who is conversant with the fury of Canadian partizanship can help recognizing in the provisions of this Act temptations to abuse, sufficient, under such circumstances, to overcome the scruples of belligerent Legislators.

The 3 Will IV., c. 4 made some alterations in the school districts, as laid out in the previous year, and reduced the whole number to 1,294. It also contained a very judicious provision for granting four pounds extra to every master who should teach both languages. The Education Committee in their Report in 1834 still complain of the extravagance of the school grants, and express a hope 'that the time is not far distant when the whole country will be persuaded that it is much better to trust to themselves for the discharge of the duty of affording useful instruction to their offspring, rather than depend upon Legislative appropriations.' The 4 Will. IV., c. 9, continued the Act of 1832 to May, 1836. By this the school districts were again increased in seven counties, and the Visitors were empowered to grant ten pounds extra to the best master in every county, namely the one who had the largest and best conducted school; provided that in addition to the ordinary course of elementary instruction he also taught geometry, French or English grammar, and book-keeping.

In 1835 the House of Assembly having come to the resolution of not proceeding to business, no Education Bill was passed. In the Session, 1835-36, special grants were made amounting to nearly 12,000 pounds, being, in point of fact, the allowance for the previous as well as the current year. The Reports of the Education Committee this year are much in the same strain as those before refer-

red to. They state 'that the liberality of the Legislature, far from having stimulated the efforts of the members of the institutions connected with education, appears on the contrary to have paralyzed them.' They go on to represent the unreasonable demands made by the inhabitants in many places for new school districts. 'These applications,' they say, 'do not, generally speaking, come from places which appear by their population to be entitled to a greater number than now allowed them; but, on the contrary, from places where the proportion of the number of school districts is four times greater than some others. The single fact that a school district is asked for a place in which there are only three families, will be sufficient to satisfy your Honourable House of the necessity of examining applications of this nature with the most scrupulous attention. Your Committee have come to the determination to recommend that for the future the number of school districts in each county be regulated by its population.' It appears from these Reports that the cost of education in the three preceding years had been as follows: In 1833, 22,154 pounds; in 1834, 24,543 pounds; in 1835, 25,810 pounds. In the last year there were 1,202 schools and 38,377 children in attendance, of whom 14,048 were gratuitously instructed, and 24,329 paid, or professed to pay, at the rate prescribed by law. The Committee, after commenting upon the universal incompetency of school-masters, etc., conclude by recommending two bills: the one for the establishment of Normal Schools, and the other for the continuance of the general elementary system. The first of these became law (6 Will. IV., c. 12).

Such, then, have been the attempts at education hitherto made in Lower Canada, and can it excite wonder that this combination of imperfections and vices should have produced no good result; that education should have languished under systems where the masters were illiterate and needy; the supervision careless and dishonest; the school-houses unfit for occupation and ill-supplied with fuel; the children unprovided with books; and parents utterly indifferent to an institution of which they could not appreciate the importance, and the trouble and cost of which, at all events, they deemed the province of the Legislature?"

Jean Baptiste Meilleur, M.A., M.D., LL.D., was born May 9th, 1796, at St. Laurent, Island of Montreal. After a College course in Montreal he entered upon the study of law, which he finally abandoned for the Medical profession of which he began the study at Castleton College, Vermont, U.S. Concurrently with this he had placed himself under Professor Hall, at Middleburg, Conn., as a student of philosophy, and was also interested in geology and mineralogy. In 1825 he obtained his M.D. at the University of Dartmouth, N.H., where he was for a time employed as a Professor. In the latter institution he wrote his maiden work "An Analysis of the French Alphabet," which did him credit and was approved by various philosophical and medical societies. When he returned to Canada Dr. Meilleur did excellent work on sundry journals and gave the first contribution in Bibaud's "Canadian Library," dealing with geology. In 1833 he published a chemical treatise entitled "Cours abrégè de Lecous de chimi coutenant une exposition precise et Methodique des principes de cette science." In that year he also became corresponding member of the Natural History Society of Montreal, and published his first edition of "Nouvelle Grammaire Anglaise, redigee d'àpres les Meilleurs auteurs." His work "l'Extrait du Recensement du comté de l'Assomption," containing a summary of the statistical, topographical and geographical returns of that county, was highly praised at the time.

Dr. Meilleur was a founder of and Professor in the College of l'Assomption, and also represented the County in Parliament in 1834. His "Memorial de l'Education" of Lower Canada, published in 1860, was much valued by the friends of Education. Through speaking and writing on this subject, he soon wielded considerable influence in the Assembly, although the general admiration for his work was not largely shared by M. Papineau and his immediate followers. This greatly contributed to his defeat in the County of l'Assomption. He wrote still more extensively upon Education under the early administration of the Union of 1841. He became Chief Superintendent of Public Instruction under Sir Charles Bagot in May, 1842, and was promised that the position should not be made a political one.

During thirteen years of service in this high office of Superintendent he was instrumental in the erection and promotion of nearly fifty educational institutions of importance and merit. After his retirement from the Superintendency of Public Instruction Dr. Meilleur became Postmaster of Montreal—a position which he retained until 1862, when he retired. He died in Montreal, December 6th, 1878. To his unceasing exertions Lower Canada owes very much of the excellence of its Educational system.

The Hon. Pierre Joseph Olivier Chauveau, Q.C., LL.D., D.C.L., was born at Quebec, May 30th, 1820. Owing to the death of his father when he was a mere child his training and education received much attention from his uncle and grandfather, who were wealthy and influential citizens of Quebec. After completing a thorough course at the Seminary he entered upon the study of law and became an advocate in 1841 and a Q.C. in 1851. He never practised, however, to any extent. Between 1838 and 1841 the young man aroused public attention by some political articles which appeared in *Le Canadien*. His first election to Parliament was in 1844, when he achieved a remarkable victory in Quebec City over the Hon. John Neilson, an old and much respected politician and Editor, defeating him by more than one thousand majority. In 1848, at the next election, he was returned by acclamation. M. Chauveau took a very active part in the proceedings of the House and was steadily in opposition to the Baldwin-Lafontaine Government with the exception of the time during which the Hon. R. E. Caron attempted to wrest the leadership of the French-Canadians from M. Lafontaine.

At the memorable elections of 1848 the Liberals obtained a sweeping victory, which was largely attributed to the success of the Reform manifesto previously prepared by M. Chauveau. He subsequently joined M. Papineau in demanding representation by population, and when the Rebellion Losses Bill was under discussion in 1849 he strongly opposed the exclusion of the Bermuda exiles and rebels. During the same year he was active in securing a Committee of Enquiry into the causes of French-Canadian emigration to the United States. In 1851 he became Solicitor-General, and Provincial Secretary in 1853. Upon the resignation of M. Morin in 1855, he withdrew from the latter office, and received the appointment of Superintendent of Education in July of that year. In 1856 *Le Journal de l'Instruction Publique* and *The Journal of Education* were founded under his auspices. He was the Editor of the former and a frequent contributor to the latter. During his Superintendency he visited Europe, the British Isles and the United States, for the purpose of studying the various educational systems in those countries, with a view towards the adoption in Canada of the better points of each. He remained at the

The Hon. R. E. Caron.

head of the schools until Confederation, when he was returned as the representative of Quebec County to both the House of Commons and the Quebec House of Assembly. He took his seat in both Houses. In August, 1867, M. Cauchon being unable to form a stable Government in Quebec, made way for M. Chauveau, who at once undertook the responsibility, and formed a strong Ministry in which he assumed the portfolio of Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education. In 1873, owing to a difference between himself and his colleagues, he resigned his seat in the Cabinet,

and subsequently was defeated in Charlevoix by M. Tremblay. On the 21st February he was appointed Speaker of the Senate, and remained in that position until the 8th of January, 1874, when the Administration of Mr. Mackenzie came into power. He then resigned his seat in the Upper House. In September, 1877, he was nominated Sheriff of Montreal, which office he filled with great acceptance for many years. On the 22nd of May, 1878, Laval University conferred on him the hon. degree of LL.D. Dr. Chauveau was also an LL.D. of McGill, and D.C.L. of Lennoxville, and Professor of Roman Law at Laval. He died on April 4th, 1890.

His literary life had been very active, and he left a name for himself which extends beyond the limits of his home. His poems—delicate and graceful compositions—first brought him into fame. These were followed by his letters to *Le Courrier des Etats Unis*, which were regularly copied into the Canadian papers of the time, from 1841 to 1852. From 1847 to 1850 he wrote in poetry and prose, for *Le Castor*, *La Fantasque* and *La Revue Canadienne*. Later he contributed to various Lower Canadian periodicals. His novel, "Charles Guérin," was a clever story, which appeared in 1852, and created much interest in Montreal and Quebec. His oration in July, 1855, at the laying of the corner stone of the monument dedicated to the memory of those who fell on the Plains of Abraham, was a performance which placed him in the front rank of Canadian orators. It was afterwards published in pamphlet form. A sketch of the Prince of Wales' Tour in America followed, in French and English, in 1861, and in Sept., 1867, he pronounced the funeral oration over the grave of his dead friend, F. X. Garneau, the historian. *L'Instruction Publique au Canada*, a statistical and historical account of the progress of Education in Canada, was published in 1876. Of his educational services Mr. Fleming Taylor wrote in 1868—Volume III., "Portraits of British Americans":

"The duties of Chief Superintendent of Education under the most favourable circumstances are not, we venture to think, easily discharged, but in a community of mixed races, of different languages and of antagonistic forms of religious faith, where men are on the alert to discover concealed leanings, to detect latent weaknesses, or to descry hidden faults, it is almost a matter for surprise that they are discharged at all. That Mr. Chauveau has been able to perform such duties with credit and satisfaction is of itself no small matter for congratulation. The fact may be accepted as an evidence that those essential administrative qualities, wisdom, temper and discretion, are never absent from his mind or from his office. Of a sensitive, and as we should conjecture, of an impulsive temperament, Mr. Chauveau has nevertheless had the sagacity to discipline his thoughts to patience, and, though he may occasionally have been tempted to be partial, he has always, so far as we are informed, shown the courage to be just. The Chief Superintendent of Education is rather the moderator for a Province than the minister of a party, and, therefore, his proceedings should be conducted with the fairness of a judge rather than with the feeling of a politician. The equitable habit of thought which is inseparable from a proper conduct of affairs has enabled Mr. Chauveau to distinguish between prejudice and wrong, while his position and force of character have given him the opportunity, directly or indirectly, to allay the former with an explanation, and to remove the latter by law. In striving to deserve success men may occasionally command it. Mr. Chauveau has, we think, thus striven. He has done more than his duty, for he has not been content to perform only the minimum amount of work which his office requires, on the contrary he has laboured with enthusiasm as well as industry, to be generally useful as well as actually efficient. If we would read the history of his exertions, we must do so not only in the records of his office, in his numerous contributions to contemporary literature, in his Journal of Education, and in the school history of Lower Canada, but in those outside and extraneous efforts with which his career is conspicuously marked. As in the case of Mr. D'Arcy McGee, so also in that of Mr. Chauveau, where speeches are to be made, essays to be prepared, or papers to be read, the English-speaking part of the community seem, as a matter of course, to call on the former, while the French-speaking portion of the community pay the like compliment to the latter. In both cases they appear to suppose that gifted men are like musical boxes who can involuntarily, and without preparation, in obedience to a sign, or in answer to a touch, charm, amuse and instruct any number of all sorts of people."

The Hon. Charles Eugene Boucher de Boucherville, C.M.G., M.D., M.L.C., is descended from Lieut.-General Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Grosbois, who became Governor of Three Rivers in

1863 and was also Grand Seneschal of New France. A son of the late Hon. P. B. de Boucherville, M.L.C., he was born at Boucherville, P.Q., May 4, 1822, was educated at the Montreal (St. Sulpice) College, graduated M.D. at Paris in 1843, and practised his profession for many years in his native district. A Conservative politically, he was returned in that interest to the Canadian Assembly in 1861, and sat in that body till the Confederation of the Provinces in 1867, when he was called to the Legislative Council of Quebec and entered the Chauveau Administration as Speaker of the Council. Retiring with M. Chauveau in 1873 he remained out of office till September, 1874, when he succeeded M. Ouimet as Premier of Quebec, and assumed the portfolio of Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education. He was dismissed with his colleagues by Lieut.-Governor Letellier de St. Just on January 26th, 1876, and a most important constitutional issue raised and discussed. M. de Boucherville was called to the Premiership a second time by Lieut.-Governor Angers, after the dismissal of M. Mercier on December 21st, 1891, and remained in office up till December 16th, 1892. He was appointed to the Senate by the Marquess of Lorne in 1879, and was created a C.M.G. in May, 1894. In religious belief he is a Roman Catholic and an Ultramontane.

The Hon. Gédéon Ouimet, Q.C., LLD., M.L.C., was born at Ste. Rose, P.Q., June 3, 1823, was educated at the Colleges of St. Hyacinthe and Montreal, and was called to the Bar in 1844. Practising almost continuously at the Montreal Bar, he rose to eminence in his profession, was created a Q.C. by Viscount Monck, 1867, and filled subsequently the office of Batonnier. Entering political life he sat in the Conservative interest for Beauharnois in the Canadian Assembly of 1857-61, and for Two Mountains in the Quebec Assembly, after Confederation, 1867-76. He was Attorney-General in M. Chauveau's Provincial Administration of 1867-73 and succeeded him as Premier in the latter year, taking the offices of Minister of Public Instruction and Provincial Secretary. These he held until September 22nd, 1874. After the Legislature had re-established the office of Superintendent of Education he was appointed thereto and continued to discharge its duties from January 26th, 1876, up to April 10th, 1895, when he retired on a pension and was appointed to a seat in the Legislative Council. Among the other expressions of regret which his resignation evoked was one from the Protestant Committee of Public Instruction.

In the resolution adopted by this body on the occasion, they bore testimony to Dr. Ouimet's devotion to duty, to his courtesy of manner and to the perfect impartiality with which he had assisted the Committee in its endeavours to solve the complex problems arising from a mixed population differing widely in origin and religious views. As a public man his Province is indebted to him, amongst other Acts, for a Municipal Code, and for a work on District Magistrates. He was for some years President of the St. Jean Baptiste Society as well as of the Institut Canadien Francais. He received the Hon. degree of D.C.L. from Bishop's College and University, Lennoxville, and that of LL.D. from Laval University. In 1876 he was appointed by the Pope a Commandeur of the Order of St. Gregory, and, in 1878, he was named by the French Government an *Officier d'Instruction Publique.* He is also a member of the Academy des Arcades de Rome. In 1882 he served as Chairman of a Committee to investigate the constitution of the Board of School Commissioners, Montreal. In 1886 he was an Hon. Commissioner to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, and in the same year he attended the British and Colonial Temperance Congress held in London.

The Hon. Pierre Boucher de la Bruère, LL.D., son of the late Pierre Boucher de la Bruère, M.D., and descended from Lieutenant-General Pierre Boucher de Boucherville, the founder of the family in Canada and Governor of Three Rivers in 1653, was born at St. Hyacinthe, P.Q., on July 5th, 1837. He was educated there and filled for some years the office of Prothonotory of the Supreme Court for the District. This office he resigned in 1875, to devote himself to journalism. Besides editing *Le Courier*, M. Boucher de la Bruère has written many reports and pamphlets of an important character, including "Le Canada sous la Domination Anglaise" (St. Hyacinthe, 1863).

He was one of the chief promoters of the Provincial Dairymen's Association and its President in 1882-90; and is known also as having done much to promote the establishment of beet-root sugar factories in the Province of Quebec. Called to the Legislative Council in October, 1877, he entered the Chapleau Administration as Speaker of the Council on March 4th, 1882 and remained a member of the Government until May, 1889. He was again appointed Speaker under the De Boucherville Administration in 1892. He became Superintendent of Education for the Province on April 10th, 1895. M. Boucher de la Bruère is a Director of the Dominion Educational Association and President of the Council of Public Instruction. He is in possession of two flags given to the Regiment of his grandfather, Rene Boucher de la Bruère, during the War of 1812, by Princess Charlotte of England.

The Hon. Adam Crooks, LL.D., Q.C., was born in Wentworth County on Dec. 11th, 1827. Prior to his entering the University of King's College in 1846, he attended Upper Canada College. In taking his B.A. he won the gold medal for being first in Classics, and the silver medal as first in Metaphysics. He took the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1850, Master of Arts in 1851, and became a member of the Senate of the University of Toronto in 1853. In 1864 Mr. Crooks became Vice-Chancellor of the latter Institution and retained the office until December, 1871, when he became Attorney-General in the Provincial Government of Ontario. About this date he was made a Queen's Councillor, and was also nominated a Bencher of the Law Society of Upper Canada, in which he had already been Lecturer and Examiner in Commercial Law and Equity. In 1867 he was defeated in West Toronto by Mr. John Macdonald. However, in 1871, Mr. Crooks defeated the same opponent in the same constituency by a considerable majority. In December of that year he accepted office under the Hon. Edward Blake as Attorney-General of Ontario, with charge also of the Education Department. In 1875 he contested East Toronto against the Hon. M. C. Cameron for the Legislature, but was unsuccessful. Owing to the election in South Oxford being set aside he ran in that constituency in the Reform interest, and defeated Mr. Benjamin Hopkins by a majority of nearly three hundred. In 1879 he again represented South Oxford by nearly one thousand majority.

Mr. Crooks had no easy position to fill in the Legislature. He was Chairman of the Private Bills and Railway Committees during a time when much skill and patient discrimination were needed to avoid conflict with various and important interests. He discharged the duties of Provincial Treasurer, an office which he held from October, 1872, to May, 1877, to the satisfaction of the Government and the Province—if the maintenance of his party in power may be considered, as it usually is, a mark of popular approval. When Mr. Crooks became Minister of Education on February 19th, 1876, he found the Ontario system in need of much improvement. The law and regulations were still somewhat confused, text books were inferior, the qualifications of teachers under the mark, and the Normal Schools not as efficient as might be desired. However, many of these defects disappeared under his administration, and both public and high schools received an impetus to greater usefulness. The policy of Mr. Crooks as a legislator is seen in some of the Acts which he originated or passed through the Provincial Parliament, notably the "Mechanics' Lien Act," under which married women can hold property in their own right, and the "Liquor License Act," which compromised the issue between liquor dealers and prohibitionists. He remained Minister of Education until 1883, when, his health giving way, he was obliged to retire for a time to a private Asylum at Hartford, Conn. He died on December 27th, 1885.

The Hon. George William Ross, LL.D., was born in the County of Middlesex, Ontario, on Sept. 18th, 1841; received his early education in the public schools; and, after obtaining a first-class Board certificate empowering him to teach, took a course at the Normal School, Toronto, where, in 1871, he secured a first-class Provincial certificate. At a later period he matriculated in law at Albert University, graduated LL.B. in 1883, and was called to the Bar in 1887. In 1871 he was appointed Inspector of Public Schools for

the County of Lambton, and acted subsequently in a similar capacity for the towns of Petrolea and Strathroy. When the establishment of additional Normal Schools was agitated in Ontario, he took a leading part in the creation of the County Model School system. After their organization, he prepared a syallabus of lectures for their direction, and for a time filled the position of Inspector. From 1876 to 1880 he was a member of the Central Committee of Examiners. He steadily contended for the uniformity of text-books, and favoured the limiting of Normal Schools to professional work. A Liberal in politics, Mr. Ross was elected in that interest to the House of Commons for West Middlesex in 1872, and continued to represent that Riding at Ottawa up to November, 1883, when he entered the Mowat Administration in Ontario as Minister of Education. This office he retains under Mr. Hardy (1898), being also member for West Middlesex in the Legislature.

He devoted some years to journalistic work, being some time Editor of the *Strathroy Age*, and at one time part proprietor of the *Huron Expositor*. He was also the conductor of the *Ontario Teacher*, a publication which proved of service to the Educationists in all parts of the Province. For many years he was prominently identified with the Temperance cause, was elected Most Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance of North America in 1879; founded the Temperance Colonization Company in 1882; attended the British and Colonial Temperance Congress held in London in 1886; was elected President of the Temperance and General Life Assurance Company in 1885; and was elected a Vice-President of the Ontario Prohibitory Alliance in 1896. As a legislator and administrator his record has been a busy one. In 1882 he introduced a resolution in the House of Commons asking for the opening of negotiations looking to the establishment of reciprocal trade between Canada and the United States. In 1885 he introduced a Bill in the Ontario Legislature providing for the consolidation of the Public Schools Act, the High Schools Act, Separate Schools Act, and the Act respecting Mechanics' Institutes. In 1887 he introduced a Bill authorizing the federation of the University of Toronto and the affiliation of the Denominational Colleges with that Provincial institution. He was also instrumental in placing on the statute book a Bill respecting truancy and compulsory attendance at school. He wrote (1892), in conjunction with Mr. William Buckingham, a Biography of the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. Amongst his other books are: "The History of the School System of Ontario," written for the International Series of Educational Works, published by the D. Appleton Company, N.Y.; a Report on the Schools of England and Germany; and "Patriotic Recitations for the use of Schools and Colleges."

In 1893 Mr. Ross was appointed Chairman of the Committee having for its object the preparation of a History of Canada for the use of the schools of this country; and in 1897 served as a Vice-President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He was also President for some years of the Dominion Educational Association. In acknowledgment of his services in behalf of Education he received the degree of LL.D. from St. Andrew's University, Scotland, in 1888; a similar honour from Victoria University, Toronto, in 1892; and from Toronto University in 1894. In 1896 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and in the same year was appointed one of the Commissioners for the revision of the Ontario Statutes. He is a member of the Council of the Toronto Astronomical and Physical Society, and is also interested in the Dominion Sanitarium Association, of which he was one of the founders. In 1886 he served as an Hon. Commissioner to the Indian and Colonial Exhibition held in London. As a public speaker Mr. Ross holds high rank.

The Rev. Alexander Forrester, D.D., was born in 1805, and received an University education in Edinburgh, Scotland, his native land. He obtained license to preach in 1831 and was ordained to the ministry in 1835. From the time of his ordination until 1843 he was pastor in Wightonshire, Parish of Sorbie, but in that year he withdrew from the Established Church. Soon after the Disruption he accepted the pastorate of the Free Middle Church, Paisley, and remained in that connection during four years. Some time in 1848 he visited Nova Scotia as a representative

of the Free Church and during his stay supplied St. John's Church, Halifax. He also during that visit laid the foundation of the Free Church College, which toward the close of the year 1848 was opened, and in which he lectured on Natural Science. Chalmers Church, which was built by the congregation of St. John's, was opened by Dr. Forrester in 1855, and was under his pastorate when he became Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia in that year and Principal of the Provincial Normal College. During his connection with Chalmers Church he went on a preaching and lecturing tour in Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Bermuda, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. This journey resulted in a marked increase in the enthusiasm of the public mind upon the subject of education, and gave great inspiration and a substantial impetus to the cause. Dr. Forrester's labours throughout the Province succeeded in permanently elevating the standard of education and improving the moral and spiritual life of the people. "The Teacher's Text Book" will also perpetuate his connection with popular education, and his memorial stone in Truro attests the warm place which he held in the hearts of the teachers of the Province, who have since so fully shared the benefit of his helpful life and labours. He retired from the office of Superintendent in 1864, and early in 1869 he went to New York for medical treatment, but died there on the 20th of April in the same year.

Alexander Howard MacKay, B.A., B.SC., LL.D., Chief Superintendent of Education in the Province of Nova Scotia, was born May 19th, 1848, at North Dalhousie, Pictou County, and began teaching in 1865. He graduated from the Provincial Normal School in 1866, from the Pictou Academy in 1868, from the Dalhousie University in 1873, and from the University of Halifax in 1880—B.SC. with honours in Biology. He was Principal of Annapolis Academy in 1873, of Pictou Academy from 1873 to 1889, and of Halifax Academy from 1889 to 1891. He was an Editor of the Dalhousie College *Gazette* from 1870 to 1873, and of the *Educational Review* from 1887 to 1891. Dr. MacKay was elected President of the Provincial Educational Association in 1874 and in 1876, and was the first President of the Summer School of Science for the Maritime Provinces of Canada—a society organized in 1887. He has been elected a Life Fellow of the Society of Science, Letters and Art of London (1886) and Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (1888). He is a member of the American Ornithological Union, the Entomological Society of Ontario, and the Natural History Societies of Montreal and Ottawa. He is also Corresponding Secretary of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, Dominion Secretary of the Botanical Club of Canada, a Director of the Victoria School of Art and Design, a Director of the Halifax Ladies' College, and a Governor of Dalhousie University. He held the appointment of Lecturer in Zoology at Dalhousie, and in Bacteriology in the Halifax Medical College in 1891. In 1892 the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Dalhousie, and in 1893 he was appointed one of the Honourary Vice-Presidents of the World's Educational Congress at Chicago. In religion Dr. MacKay is a Presbyterian, being Member of Senate of the Presbyterian College at Halifax. To the Transactions of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science, and those of the Royal Society of Canada, he has contributed a large number of papers on geological, botanical and educational subjects. In a paper, printed in 1896, he advocated "three great reforms" in connection with public education, viz., the reform of our weights and measures so as to bring them under the decimal system; the reform of English spelling; and instruction in phonographic writing.

The Rev. Abraham Spurr Hunt, M.A., was a native of Annapolis County in the Province of Nova Scotia; but his family removing to St. John, N.B., his childhood and youth were passed in that city. Early in life he became the subject of deep religious feeling, was baptized by the Rev. Dr. Tupper and shortly after became convinced that he was specially called to give himself to the work of the ministry. As a preparatory step he went to Wolfville and pursued his studies in Acadia College. He graduated from that institution (in the second graduating class) with much credit, and with fair promise of future usefulness. He was an earnest, painstaking student; while

his affectionate disposition, his devoted piety and his evident earnestness endeared him to his fellow-students, and rendered him a welcome visitor in the many preaching tours he made in the settlements near Wolfville. In the year 1844 Mr. Hunt commenced his life-work in connection with the Dartmouth Baptist Church, over which he was ordained pastor on the 10th November. There he laboured with great acceptance and much success for a period of two years, when, being desirous of pursuing uninterruptedly his theological studies, he resigned his charge in Dartmouth, returned to Wolfville and placed himself under the tuition of the Rev. Dr. Crawley. After some time spent at the College, Mr. Hunt was solicited to become co-pastor of the Canard Church, Cornwallis, in conjunction with the Rev. Edward Manning, whose advanced years and failing health required the assistance of a younger and more active man. Up to the close of Mr. Manning's life Mr. Hunt laboured in the closest amity and friendship with that distinguished Baptist divine. After his death Mr. Hunt assumed entire charge of the church and, for a period covering more than twenty years, was the loved and respected pastor of one of the largest, most influential and flourishing churches in Nova Scotia.

During this long period, Mr. Hunt was a leading member of the Baptist Education Society. His activity and untiring zeal in this department of work were particularly noticeable. He also for many years filled the office of Governor of Acadia College; and in the cause of education in connection with these institutions in Wolfville his Church and Province owe him a debt of deep gratitude for his labours and persevering energy at a time when the educational prospect looked dreary in the extreme. His arduous labours in these varied directions at length told upon his health and compelled him, though reluctantly, to seek a charge where the labour would not make such demands upon his strength. Accordingly in the autumn of 1868, he accepted a call from the Dartmouth Church, over which he had in early life been ordained, and where he continued to labour with acceptance and success until his death. In 1870 the office of Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia was offered to Mr. Hunt; which, at the solicitation of numerous friends, he accepted, with the proviso that his Sabbath ministrations should not be interrupted, declining to take any office that would interfere with the regular performance of his ministerial and pastoral duties which to the last he considered to be his life work. The duties of this office Mr. Hunt continued to perform with ability and industry for a period of nearly eight years. In the month of October, 1878, while in the active discharge of his duties, he was attacked by a disease from which his constitution, broken by incessant application, could not rally. On the 23rd of the month he died.

Theodore Harding Rand, M.A., LL.D., was born at Cornwallis, N.S., in 1835. Educated at Horton College Academy and at the University of Acadia College (B.A. 1860; M.A., 1863), he first became an assistant teacher at Horton. Soon after he was appointed to the Chair of English and Classics in the Provincial Normal School, Truro. Here, says Mr. H. J. Morgan in his valuable volume, "Canadian Men of the Time," he gave himself to his work with the zeal and enthusiasm which have marked his entire career. He took an active part in the preparation of the Free School Act of 1864, which wrought a great reform in the public school system of Nova Scotia; and was subsequently made Superintendent of Education. His task was for a time an arduous one, for at first the Act was misunderstood and consequently unpopular. In the end, however, all difficulties were overcome and Mr. Rand, in 1871, felt free to take up similar work in New Brunswick, where he had accepted the office of Superintendent of Education for that Province. In 1874 the Hon. degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon him by his Alma Mater. He resigned his Provincial office in 1883 to accept the Chair of Education and History in Acadia College. Here he remained until 1885, when he removed to Toronto to take the Chair of Apologetics and Didactics in McMaster Hall.

After a year spent in this work he consented, at the solicitation of the late Senator McMaster and others, to assume the Principalship of the Baptist College, Woodstock. He discharged the duties of this position until 1888, when he returned to the work in McMaster Hall, which had been

re-organized and by Act of Parliament raised to the rank of an University. The Toronto and the Woodstock Colleges became constituent parts of the University. The Collegiate year, 1889-90, which intervened before the opening of the Arts Department of the University, in which he had been designated as Professor of Education and Ethics, was spent in England, whither he had gone for purposes of study and observation in connection with University work. In 1892 he succeeded Dr. McVicar as Chancellor, but was compelled to resign the office owing to ill-health in May, 1895. Since then he has filled the Chair of Education and English History in the University. While in Nova Scotia he established the *Journal of Education* there. In New Brunswick he organized an Educational Institute for the Province, of which he became President. He was also a member of the Senate of the University of New Brunswick and was President of the Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces, 1875-76. In 1897 Dr. Rand published "At Minas and other Poems," a volume which has been very well received and has reached a second edition.

James Robert Inch, M.A., LL.D., the youngest son of Nathaniel Inch, who emigrated from near Enniskillen, Ireland, to New Brunswick, in 1824, and settled at Petersville, Queen's County, was born at the latter place on April 29th, 1835, and was educated at Gagetown Grammar School and Mount Allison College. (B.A., 1864; M.A., 1867; LL.D., 1878.) Before entering College he had received the license of a first-class teacher and spent some years in the public school service. He became Principal of Mount Allison Ladies' College in the year of his graduation; President of the University in 1878; a Fellow and Member of the Senate of Halifax University in 1887; and Superintendent of Education and President of the University of New Brunswick—the two last named offices being amalgamated by legislation—in 1891. In 1886 Dr. Inch was elected Vice-President for New Brunswick of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy, and in 1895 became a Vice-President of the Dominion Educational Association. An active adherent of the Methodist Church, he has been a member of all the General Conferences of that body since 1878. He is an able and experienced educationist, and has been the means of conferring important benefits, not only on the several institutions with which he has been connected, but on the whole school system of New Brunswick.

The Hon. George Edwin King, M.A., LL.D., D.C.L., second son of the late George King, shipbuilder of St. John, N.B., was born in that place on October 8th, 1839, and was educated at Mount Allison College, Sackville, and at the Wesleyan University, Conn., U.S., (B.A. 1859; M.A. 1862.) He was called to the Bar in 1865, and practised successfully at St. John. Entering politics as a Liberal and a Federationist Mr. King was returned to the New Brunswick Assembly in 1867, and remained a member of that body up to 1878, when he resigned and unsuccessfully contested St. John for the House of Commons. He entered Mr. Wetmore's local Administration without office on March 2nd, 1869, and on Mr. Wetmore's elevation to the Bench in June, 1870, succeeded him as Attorney-General, an office he continued to fill while he remained in public life. On Mr. Hatheway's death, 1872, he became Premier, and held the position until 1878. He was appointed a Q.C. by the Earl of Dufferin in 1873 and a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Canada on September 21st, 1893. In 1896 he was chosen Her Majesty's Commissioner under Article I. of the Convention of February 8th, 1896, between Great Britain and the United States for the submission to arbitration of British claims in connection with the Behring Sea seal fishery. He received the Hon. degree of LL.D. from the University of New Brunswick in 1886, and that of D.C.L. from Mount Allison University in 1893. Among the Acts introduced and passed during Mr. King's Administration in New Brunswick were the Controverted Election Act of 1869 (being the first measure passed in any of the British Colonies for the trial of election petitions by judges); the Free Schools Act of 1871; the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt Act; the General Assessment Act, and the Municipality Act of 1877. The work of defending the New Brunswick Schools Act in the Legislature, in the country, before the Courts, and against aggressive action taken in the Parliament of Canada, fell

largely upon him. Upon the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case raised upon the constitutionality of the Act, Mr. King was counsel for the respondents and visited England in their interest. As Attorney-General he personally conducted the trial for murder in the cases of the Queen v. Chasson, the Queen v. Rodgers, the Queen v. McNutt, the Queen v. O'Neil, the case against the Caraquet rioters, growing out of the School Act in 1875, and the celebrated bigamy case of the Queen v. Wright. The securing of a verdict against the rioters from a jury chosen in a community that had been greatly influenced against the School Act was regarded at the time as a great professional triumph.

Canadian Educational Figures in 1880. The following table, carefully prepared from the voluminous official returns annually presented to the different Legislatures of the Provinces of Canada, is given by Dr. (now Sir) John George Bourinot, in his monograph upon "Canadian Intellectual Development":

Total number of educational institutions in the Dominion, 13,800.

Number of pupils in attendance throughout the year, 925 000.

Amount now annually contributed by the State and people, $6,700,000.

Number of Colleges and Universities, 21.

Number of undergraduates in Arts, Law, Medicine, Theology, about 2,200.

Number of Superior and High Schools, including Academies and Collegiate Institutes, 443.

Aggregate attendance in same, 141,000.

Number of Normal Schools, 8.

Number of students in same, 1,400.

Amount expended in Ontario alone during thirty years (1850-1880) for erection and repairs of school-houses, fuel and contingencies, about $15,000,000.

Total amount expended in same Province, for all educational purposes during same period, upwards of $50,000,000.

Total amount (approximate) available for public school purposes, in all Canada, since Confederation (1867-80), $64,000,000.

Religion in the Schools of Ontario. A valuable and comprehensive Report was prepared and presented in 1866 to an Imperial Commission of Enquiry into the Common School System of the United States and Upper and Lower Canada. It was compiled by the Rev. James Fraser, M.A., of Reading, after visiting both of those countries, and contains much essential information. Upon the point of religious instruction in the schools he writes at length, beginning with the following quotation from the general regulations for the organization, government and discipline of common schools, prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada, in a Minute of 3rd October, 1850:

"As Christianity is the basis of our whole system of elementary education, that principle should pervade it throughout. The Upper Canada Consolidated Common School Act, 129, securing individual rights as well as recognizing Christianity, provides that in any model or common school established under this Act, 'No person shall require any pupil in any such school to read or study in or from any religious book, or to join in any exercise of devotion or religion objected to by his or her parents or guardians; but, within this limitation, pupils shall be allowed to receive such religious instruction as their parents or guardians desire, according to any general regulations provided for the government of common schools.' In the section of the Act thus quoted, the principle of religious instruction in the schools is recognized, the restrictions with which it is to be given are stated, and the exclusive right of each parent and guardian on the subject is secured. The common school being a day and not a boarding school, rules arising from domestic relations and duties are not required, and, as the pupils are under the care of their parents and guardians on Sabbaths, no regulations are called for in respect to their attendance at public worship."

Mr. Fraser then points out that "in 1855 a further step was taken in the direction of a greater definiteness. A Minute was adopted which recommended that 'with a view to secure the Divine blessing and to impress upon the pupils the importance of religious duties and their entire dependence on their Maker, the daily exercise of each common school should be opened and closed by reading a portion of Scripture and by prayer.

The Lord's Prayer alone, or the Forms of Prayer hereto annexed, may be used, or any other prayer preferred by the Trustees and master of each school. But the Lord's Prayer should form part of the opening exercises, and the Ten Commandments be taught to all the pupils and be repeated at least once a week. But no pupil should be compelled to be present at these exercises against the wish of his parent or guardian, expressed in writing to the master of the school.' An additional Minute was adopted in 1857, giving the clergy of the different Denominations a right of access to the schools for the purpose of giving religious instruction, which, however well intended, has proved, with not more I believe than two exceptions, practically inoperative. The terms of the Minute are as follows:

'That in order to correct misapprehension, and define more clearly the rights and duties of Trustees and other parties in regard to religious instruction in connection with the common school, it is decided by the Council of Public Instruction that the clergy of any persuasion, or their authorized representatives, shall have the right to give religious instruction to the pupils of their own Church, in each common school-house, at least once a week, after the hour of four o'clock in the afternoon; and, if the clergy of more than one persuasion apply to give religious instruction in the same school-house, the Trustees shall decide on what day of the week the school-house shall be at the disposal of the clergyman of each persuasion at the time above stated. But it shall be lawful for the Trustees and clergymen of any Denomination to agree upon any hour of the day at which such clergyman or his authorized representative may give religious instruction to the pupils of his own Church, provided it be not during the regular hours of the school.'

This Minute, says Dr. Ryerson, was drawn up 'on the application of a Roman Catholic clergyman, who afterwards expressed his satisfaction with it, as have all the Protestant clergymen with whom I have conversed on the subject.' If, however, the Protestant clergy are satisfied with the Minute, they do not, and I think it is a matter much to be regretted that they do not, use their privilege. I could only learn of two cases, one in Toronto, and the other in Hamilton, in which the clergy regularly visit the schools for the purpose of giving religious instruction to children of their own persuasion. They probably are satisfied with the opportunity of the Sunday School; or else put forward the plea that as the visit must be 'after the regular school hours' the children would be jaded by their previous six hours' work, and would be in no humour, nor indeed in any condition, to receive religious instruction. It is not very easy to state with any accuracy to what extent religious instruction is given in the Upper Canadian schools, or how far the recommendations of the Council of Public Instruction on the subject of opening and closing school with reading of Holy Scripture and prayer are complied with. Of course the authority in the matter rests wholly with the Trustees; the practical effect of what may be authorized depends wholly on the teacher. In the Chief Superintendent's Report for 1863 there are extracts from the Reports of 152 of the 341 local Superintendents who have the supervision of the schools in Upper Canada. Many of them do not notice the subject at all; those that do notice it do not paint a cheerful picture. I have read them carefully through and . . . it is evident to me that what is understood as 'religious instruction' in most cases is nothing more than the 'exercise' (as it is called) of reading a portion of Scripture at the opening of the school, and that the great obstacle to anything more definite being attempted is the existence of sectarian jealousies and the resolution of people to regard rather the points in which they differ than those in which they agree—a temper for which, so far as I know, no remedy has yet been discovered in Canada or in England."

Upon this general point the following extract from the Report in 1857 of the Rev. Dr. Ryerson, Chief Superintendent, is interesting:

"The State is not the individual parent of the child, nor is the State the Christian Church, nor was it intended to supersede either the parent or the Church. . . . Though religion is essential to the welfare of the State, and even to the existence of civil government and civil liberty, the State is not the Divinely-appointed religious instructor of the people. Nor can the State perform that work without determining the kind of religious instruc-

tion to be given, and appointing the religious instructors. This may be done where the State is the Church, and the Church the State, as in the Roman States of Italy and in Turkey; but it is at the expense of all civil and religious liberty on the part of the people. It may also be done where but one form of religion is established and supported by the State, and where the clergy are officers of the State, but in such circumstances there is no provision for dissentients, educationally or religiously, except at the expense of their religious rights and convictions. In none of these cases is there any instance in which civil or religious freedom has been enjoyed, or the people of a country educated; on the contrary, in every instance the mass of the people have grown up in ignorance, and in most instances a Government of absolute and oppressive despotism has prevailed.

There remains three other alternatives. The first is to do as has been done in some of the neighbouring States, to ignore religion altogether in a system of public instruction, an example that I should lament to see followed, or even to think of as necessary in Upper Canada. The second is to commit the public schools to the care of the religious Denominations as has been attempted in England, where £600,000 sterling is granted by Parliament for elementary education, and where there are only 700,000 children in the schools out of 4,000,000 children of school age. The third alternative is for the State to provide for the education of the youth of all religious persuasions in secular subjects, and at the same time to provide facilities by which such religious instruction may be given to the children of each religious persuasion as is desired and provided for by their respective parents and pastors. This is the system which was proposed and established for Ireland in 1831, but which now exists in only 1,600 out of the 5,000 schools aided by the National Board of Education in Ireland. This is the system which has been established in Upper Canada, and which now prevails with the single exception of the 104 (120 in 1863) separate schools. In this system, as was the case in Ireland in regard to all the national schools, the Commandments are taught, the daily exercises of the school are allowed and recommended to open and close with a recognition of Almighty God in such form of thanksgiving and prayer as the authorities of each school prefer: but no pupil is compelled to join in them contrary to the wish of his parents or guardians; the rights of conscience in regard to each child are equally protected; each parent's authority and wishes are supreme on the subject, and provision is made by which each child may receive religious instruction according to the wishes of his parents or guardians, or from his own pastor or his authorized representative. The authorities of each school decide what version of the Scriptures shall be read at the opening and close of the daily exercises of the school, or whether any version shall be used. The forms of prayer prepared for the convenience of local school authorities who wish to use them consists of collects and petitions, which are used alike in both Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches; but it is at the discretion of the authorities of each school to use that or any other form of prayer they think best. There is no compulsion in the matter, nor has the State any right to compel in matters of religion. The State aids parents in teaching their children the secular subjects of a necessary education during six or seven hours each week-day, but the religious part of the education of children, as well as their food and clothing, and their education during more than two-thirds of each week-day and the whole of Sunday, must rest exclusively with parents and their clergy, who, both by the injunction of Scripture and their respective books of faith and discipline, are required to teach their children their catechisms, and 'bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.'"

After the lapse of forty years the same question is discussed along much the same lines and seems to be no nearer a settlement. The Rev. Dr. William Cochrane in an address at Knox College, Toronto, on February 4th, 1898, gave the following summary of the situation. "There are," he said:

"I. Those who advocate complete secularization of our Public School system—the entire exclusion of the Bible and all religious exercises. While it may be but a small minority that holds this view, that minority is increasing very much because of the continued and persistent efforts of certain parties to have other religious exercises added to what the schools have at present. This they regard as but the initiative to a denominational and dogmatic teaching, as in the Separate Schools, and eventually to a system of State-aided schools for every Denomination.

II. Those who insist upon the Bible being used to explain and enforce doctrines and polity, according to the creeds and discipline of the various Denominations as they are represented in the public schools. Now, it is freely granted that there is no better body of men and women in our country than the teachers in our public schools.

The great majority of them are, we presume, members of some evangelical Church. They seek not only the secular and mental welfare of their pupils, but their higher interests. But how few have been trained in historical theology, to fit them to be the guides of youth in matters of doctrine and Church government! The best educated among them would shrink from discharging such a duty, even in the most elementary manner. What would it be if teachers were expected to explain the dogmas of the several Churches, according to their individual religious preferences? How long would such a state of things be tolerated? The thing is possible in parochial Church schools, supported by religious bodies, but not otherwise. There are those, I am aware, who, while not insisting upon dogmatic teaching in our public schools, because of its almost impossibility in present circumstances, would have the life of Christ (necessarily from a human standpoint) made prominent as the highest possible ideal for the pupils to aim at—as it certainly is. Now, I submit, to take the life of Christ and teach it as simply the noblest specimen of mere manhood, apart from His divinity, is simply Unitarianism, which certainly is not the belief of the great mass of public school supporters.

III. Those who advocate the use of the Bible as a text-book for instruction in morality, or such moral training in some way as shall develop the moral faculty, and in accordance with sound pedagogical principles. In our public schools the regulations do not prescribe moral instruction, but the teacher is expected to imbue every pupil with respect for those moral obligations which underlie a well-formed character, such as manliness, reverence, temperance, truthfulness and honesty, and to conduct the religious exercises of the school with reverence and decorum. But those who advocate regular systematic training in morals demand more than this. With all deference to such arguments may I not ask: Can we separate the morality of the New Testament from its spirituality? Can precepts be taught apart from doctrine, or the duty that men owe to society be enforced upon the conscience apart from teaching of the divinity of Christ and the great truths that centre around the Atonement? It is possible that a kind of morality based upon expediency can be taught independently of the Scriptures, but not Bible morality, which is but another name for the revealed will of God. Doctrines and virtues are inseparably blended in the Word of God, the latter deriving all their vitality from the former. If morality is taught at all it must have respect to religion, unless we aim at nothing higher than mere natural theism. Such a kind of training, moreover, is impracticable, for all attempts to draw the line between morals and religion, the teaching of men to love their neighbours and live justly in the present world, but as indifferent or insensible to the next, have been miserable failures.

IV. Those who are satisfied with the present regulations of the Education Department, the reading of the Bible selections, accompanied with other religious exercises, and liberty given to the Trustees of each school to give further religious instruction at certain prescribed hours by the ministers of different Denominations—should they see fit. The arrangements made for the religious exercises in the public schools of Ontario are just what the representatives of the Presbyterian Church and other Denominations requested of the Ontario Legislature in 1882. Subsequently the Teachers' Provincial Association of Toronto sent resolutions of an exactly similar kind to the Government, and on such representations the present book of 'Scripture Readings' was prepared and revised, and received at that time the hearty approval of all political parties as a compilation such as Christians of every Denomination could accept."

Some Recent Educational Statistics. The following tables compiled from the Dominion Statistician's Year Book for 1896 will afford some useful figures not elsewhere given in this Section:

I. *Ontario Receipts for Public School Purposes.*

Year	Legislative Grant	Municipal School Grant and Assessments	Clergy Reserve Fund and Other Sources
1877	$251,962	$2,422,432	$730,687
1878	258,539	2,278,040	694,986
1879	252,566	2,307,223	654,051
1880	263,454	2,321,929	669,447
1881	258,297	2,352,556	648,385
1882	265,738	2,447,214	757,038
1883	265,467	2,538,042	767,222

Year	Legislative Grant	Municipal School Grant and Assessments	Clergy Reserve Fund and Other Sources
1884	$267,084	$2,675,621	$ 780,433
1885	264,419	2,680,121	868,526
1886	265,912	2,826,376	901,195
1887	268,722	3,084,352	978,283
1888	274,511	3,080,995	1,100,846
1889	276,305	3,342,436	1,232,320
1890	284,327	3,411,654	1,320,231
1891	289,610	3,168,498	1,313,203
1892	283,791	3,300,512	1,227,596
1893	287,852	3,265,292	1,193,108
1894	299,217	3,460,328	1,212,962
1895	298,419	3,332,995	1,236,901

II. *Educational Progress in New Brunswick Public Schools.*

Term Ended	No. of Schools	Teachers' Assistants	No. of Pupils	Average Attendance
1877-8	1,305	1,350	54,472	28,275
1877-8	1,258	1,301	52,763	29,866
1878-9	1,345	1,386	55,378	30,505
1878-9	1,305	1,348	53,743	30,901
1879-80	1,404	1,433	56,716	31,655
1879-80	1,283	1,333	50,308	29,690
1880-81	1,368	1,410	52,739	29,607
1880-81	1,297	1,356	49,550	29,203
1881-82	1,386	1,453	51,921	29,002
1881-82	1,317	1,371	48,805	28,562
1882-83	1,411	1,480	52,758	29,676
1882-83	1,378	1,438	50,662	31,843
1883-84	1,451	1,527	54,883	32,742
1883-84	1,414	1,502	53,509	31,936
1884-85	1,508	1,601	57,068	33,368
1884-85	1,549	1,695	63,001	33,612
1885	1,441	1,509	52,753	31,245
1886	1,515	1,590	61,802	34,628
1886	1,504	1,568	53,932	32,729
1887	1,522	1,598	59,796	33,972
1887	1,542	1,613	55,492	33,315
1888	1,532	1,587	59,636	32,465
1888	1,548	1,609	54,099	30,219
1889	1,505	1,597	59,819	33,785
1889	1,565	1,657	56,385	34,822
1890	1,517	1,617	58,570	32,542
1890	1,557	1,641	55,622	33,512
1891	1,536	1,632	59,568	34,394
1891	1,604	1,674	56,217	35,203
1892	1,585	1,669	60,786	35,220
1892	1,633	1,710	57,547	37,373
1893	1,614	1,693	60,154	35,940
1893	1,644	1,725	57,195	35,381
1894	1,653	1,749	61,280	37,260
1894	1,685	1,761	57,282	36,295
1895	1,695	1,790	62,518	38,447
1895	1,724	1,799	57,889	37,876
1896	1,720	1,829	61,918	37,176

III. *Educational Progress in Prince Edward Island.*

Year	No. of Teachers	Pupils Enrolled	Average Attendance	Goverment Grants	School Board Grants
1885	494	21,983	12,166	$109,317	$36,282
1886	498	22,414	12,612	111,992	36,787
1887	505	22,460	12,325	110,485	36,294
1888	509	22,478	12,248	108,846	38,609
1889	518	23,045	13,159	108,092	37,810
1890	529	22,530	12,490	113,626	37,610
1891	531	22,330	12,898	111,154	35,629
1892	538	22,169	12,986	114,570	36,542
1893	543	22,292	12,960	118,106	34,592
1894	553	22,221	12,849	122,077	37,854
1895	559	22,250	13,254	121,781	39,426
1896	569	22,138	13,412	124,084	34,809

IV. *Educational Progress of Manitoba.*

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Teachers	School Population	No. of Pupils
1883	256	246	12,346	10,831
1884	326	359	14,129	11,708
1885	390	476	15,850	13,074
1886	422	525	16,834	15,926
1887	464	581	17,600	16,940
1888	495	575	18,850	18,000
1889	524	668	21,471	18,358
1890	627	840	25,077	23,256
1891	612	866	28,678	23,871
1892	660	902	29,564	23,244
1893	718	997	34,417	28,706
1894	884	1047	36,459	32,680
1895	982	1093	44,932	35,371
1896	1032	1143	50,093	37,987

David Allison, M.A., LL.D., late Superintendent of Education in Nova Scotia, the son of James W. Allison, formerly M.P.P., is of Irish descent, and was born at Newport, N.S., on July 3rd, 1836. He received his primary education at the Halifax Academy, and at the Wesleyan Academy, Sackville, N.B. Subsequently he entered the Wesleyan University, Middleton, Conn., from which

he obtained his B.A. in 1859 and M.A. in 1862. After having been classical instructor at Sackville Academy, he was appointed in 1862 to a similar position at Mount Allison College. This office he resigned in 1878 to become Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia. Dr. Allison has also been a Senator of Halifax University and Vice-President of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. He received the Honourary degree of LL.D. from Victoria University, Cobourg, in 1873. After nearly fourteen years' active and useful work as Superintendent of Education he retired in 1891 and became President of Mount Allison University. Dr. Allison is a member of the Methodist Church and served as a delegate to the Congress of Methodism held in London in 1881.

The Rev. George Bryce, M.A., LL.D., was born of Scottish parents at Mount Pleasant, Ontario, on April 22nd, 1844. Educated at Mount Pleasant Academy, at Brantford High School, and at the University of Toronto (B.A., with honours, 1867, M.A. in 1868; LL.B. in 1878; LL.D. in 1884), he studied Theology at Knox College, Toronto, where, in his last year, he took five out of the six prizes open to him. Ordained in 1871, he was appointed in that year to organize Presbyterianism in Winnipeg and help to form a denominational College in Manitoba. He was the first pastor of Knox Church, Winnipeg, formed in 1872, and afterwards organized St. Andrew's Church in the same city. In educational matters he became Chairman of the Board of Examiners of Public School Teachers of the Province, Chairman of the City School Board, and Inspector of Schools for Winnipeg, being the first to hold the latter office. His chief work was in the founding of Manitoba College, which has now a Theological as well as an Arts department, and in assisting to found Manitoba University. He is a Professor of Science and Literature in Manitoba College, and one of the Council of the University.

Professor Bryce has held the Presidency of the Manitoba Historical Society, which was founded by him and others. He visited Europe in 1881, and while there published a work entitled, "Manitoba: its Infancy, Growth, and Present Condition." He has written also a "Short History of the Canadian People" (London, 1887), and has contributed a large number of papers on the early history of Manitoba and the North-West to the "Proceedings of the Manitoba Historical Society" and other organizations. He is a Vice-President of the Dominion Alliance. As a young man he graduated from the Military School, and, in 1861, at the time of the Trent affair, raised an infantry company at Mount Pleasant. Afterwards he was a member of the Toronto University Company Queen's Own Rifles, and was present with his corps at Ridgeway in 1866.

The Hon. Thomas Alfred Bernier, Senator of Canada, was born at Henriville, P.Q., August 15th, 1844; was educated at the College of St. Hyacinthe, and called to the Bar in 1869. He practised at St. John's, P.Q., where he was Crown Prosecutor for three years, after having for some time previously edited the *Courier de St. Hyacinthe* in the Conservative interest. Removing to Manitoba in 1880, he was appointed Superintendent of Education (Catholic Section) in 1881, and held that post up to 1890, when the new school legislation abolished the office. He has taken a deep interest in the promotion of education in Manitoba and has written much in relation to the subject. Appointed to the Senate of Manitoba University he also became the Registrar of that institution, and this office he continued to fill until his appointment to the Senate of Canada on October 27th, 1892. Mr. Bernier was the first Mayor of St. Boniface and has since been re-elected many times to the office. He was also President of the local Colonization Society, a member of the Executive Committee of the Provincial Board of Agriculture, and is the author of a *brochure* on the agricultural resources of the Province. He has written also notes in connection with the career of Verandrye, the explorer. A Conservative politically, he is in religious faith a Roman Catholic, and was, while at St. Hyacinthe, President of L'Union Catholique, as well as President of the St. Jean Baptiste Society. He has taken strong ground on the Manitoba School Question, believing that the legislation of 1890 was a violation of the constitution.

The Rt. Rev. William Cyprian Pinkham, Bishop

of Saskatchewan and Calgary, was born at St. John's, Newfoundland, November 11th, 1844. Educated at the Church of England Academy, St. John's, and at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, England, he was ordained deacon in London, Ont., by the late Bishop Cronyn in 1868 and a priest by Bishop Machray of Rupert's Land in 1869. He was curate and incumbent of St. James', Winnipeg, in 1868-81, and Superintendent of Education for the Protestant Public Schools of Manitoba from 1871 to 1883. He was appointed Archdeacon of Manitoba in 1882, and was acting

The Right Rev. Dr. Pinkham.

Rector of All Saints, Winnipeg, in 1883-84. He was appointed one of the Bishop's chaplains in 1884. In 1880 he received from the Archbishop of Canterbury the degree of B.D. for general services to the Church, and especially for services in connection with education. He was also given the degree of D.C.L. by Trinity University, Toronto, in 1887, and that of D.D. by the University of Manitoba in 1887. He was duly consecrated Bishop of Saskatchewan August 7th, 1887, in Holy Trinity Church, Winnipeg, by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, as Metropolitan. In 1888, by appointment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, he also became Bishop of Calgary. Dr. Pinkham was a member of the Board of Education of Manitoba from its formation in 1871 up to his consecration in 1887. Since that date he has been Chairman of the Board of Education for the North-West Territories, and is now a member of the Council of Public Instruction which has taken the place of the Board of Education. At the time of his consecration, and for several years previously, he was a member of the Council of the University of Manitoba, and of its Board of Studies. He attended the Lambeth Conferences in 1888 and 1897, and was a delegate to the Winnipeg Anglican Union Conference in August, 1890.

John Beaufort Somerset was born on March 2nd, 1843, near Dublin, Ireland. He received his education in Ireland, came to Canada in 1861 and taught school in Ontario until 1871, when he was appointed an Inspector of Schools, under the law passed in that year. He filled this position for the County of Lincoln, until 1882, when he accepted the position of Inspector for the City of Winnipeg, Manitoba, which then employed twelve teachers. From that time until October, 1883, he filled this position, and his ability as an organizer was tested by the increase of teachers to over fifty, the building of the necessary school-rooms and the grading of pupils from all parts of the world into proper classes. In 1883, he was appointed Superintendent of Education for the Protestant Schools of Manitoba, which numbered at that date less than 200. From that time until December 3rd, 1889, he occupied this position, during which, assisted by a Board of Education, he organized over 400 additional schools; introduced a system of Normal School training, the equal of that in any of the older Provinces; organized a thorough system of inspection and examination of teachers, and provided a code of regulation which remained practically the same after the abolition of the distinction of Protestant and Catholic schools and the organization of the new system of uniform Provincial education. From the date of the abolition of his office, as a result of the legislation introduced by Mr. Joseph Martin, he ceased to be

actively connected with educational matters, and in 1891 became secretary-treasurer of the *Manitoba Free Press*, which position he still (1898) holds. In religion, Mr. Somerset is a Methodist and a member of the Board of Wesley College, of which institution he was one of the original promoters.

The Hon. Joseph Martin was born in Milton, Ont., September 24th, 1852, and was educated at the local public school, the Toronto Normal School and Toronto University. In his early manhood he was a telegraph operator. He afterwards obtained a first-class teacher's certificate, and was appointed Principal of the Public School, New Edinburgh, Ont. Mr. Martin afterwards entered upon the study of law in Ottawa, but removed to Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, early in 1882, and in August of the same year was called to the Bar in Manitoba. In January, 1883, he was elected a Member of the Manitoba Legislature, an honour which he held continuously until 1892, when he retired from local politics. From January, 1888, until May, 1891, he had been Attorney-General and Railway Commissioner of the Province. While in the Government in the latter capacity he took charge of the fight against the alleged C.P.R. monopoly, and as Attorney-General, courageously introduced and carried through the famous School Act of 1890, abolishing Separate Schools in the Province of Manitoba. He was also responsible for the Act doing away with the official use of the French language in the Province. Mr. Martin argued the question of the constitutionality of the School Act of 1890 before Judge Killam in the first place, before the full Court of Queen's Bench in Manitoba, and before the Supreme Court of Canada. He also appeared with Sir Horace Davey and Mr. D'Alton McCarthy before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the same case. For a time he naturally had charge of the Provincial Department of Education under the new arrangements. Whatever may be the verdict of history concerning this legislation it is impossible not to respect the ability and courage of the man who carried it through. In February, 1891, he had temporarily retired from the Manitoba Cabinet to contest Selkirk for the House of Commons, but was defeated, and shortly afterwards re-elected to the Local Legislature. In November, 1893, he contested Winnipeg for the Dominion House and was elected. During the general elections of 1896 he was beaten by Mr. Hugh John Macdonald. Mr. Martin went to live in British Columbia during 1897.

Educational Works and References. There are several sources of not very accessible information upon the history and development of Canadian educational systems. M. Chauveau's Reports during the years he was Superintendent in Lower Canada are of special value, as are those of Dr. Ryerson during his tenure of office in Upper Canada. The Reports of the Chief Superintendents in all the Provinces should be consulted, though they are chiefly available in the respective Legislative Libraries. Those of the Minister of Education in Ontario since the creation of that office are of importance. The Rev. Mr. Fraser's Report to the Imperial Government Commission of 1866, referred to elsewhere, is a most elaborate document. His tribute to the Rev. Dr. Ryerson's services may well be quoted here:

"It is indeed very remarkable to me that, in a country occupied in the greater part of its area by a sparse and anything but a wealthy population, whose predominating characteristic is as far as possible removed from the spirit of enterprise, an educational system so complete in its theory, and so capable of adaptation in practice, should have been originally organized and have been maintained in what, with all allowances, must still be called successful operation for so long a period as twenty-five years. What national education in Great Britain owes to Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, what education in New England owes to Horace Mann, that debt education in Canada owes to Egerton Ryerson. He has been the object of bitter abuse, of not a little misrepresentation; but he has not swerved from his policy or from his fixed ideas. Through evil report and good report he has resolved, and he has found others to support him in the resolution, that free education shall be placed within the reach of every Canadian parent for every Canadian child."

An equally valuable work is "The Sketch of Education in Upper and Lower Canada" (1864) by Dr. J. George Hodgins. The *Journal of Education* in Quebec and similar publications in Nova

Scotia and New Brunswick should be consulted. So also with Sir William Dawson's lecture, "On Some Points in the History of Protestant Education in Lower Canada," published in 1864; the "Proceedings of the First Convention of the Dominion Educational Association," Montreal, 1892; "Education in Lower Canada," a document giving the Proceedings of the House of Assembly in 1815; a "Joint Report of both Houses of the Nova Scotia Legislature," published at Halifax in 1825; "L' Instruction Publique au Canada," by the Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau; the "History of the School System of Ontario," by the Hon. G. W. Ross, Minister of Education; Dr. Meilleur's "Memorial de l' Education in Lower Canada," published in 1860; and innumerable pamphlets upon controversial points in Educational development.

Canadian Scenery—In the Annapolis Valley.

SECTION IV.

WATERWAYS, CANALS, SHIPPING AND STEAMSHIP LINES

SKETCH MAP
OF THE PROVINCE OF
QUEBEC
English Miles
James Bay
East Main R.
Hamilton R.
Mingan
Anticosti I.
NEWFOUNDLAND
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Gaspé Peninsula
Baie Verte
Magdalen Is.
Cape Breton Island
NEW BRUNSWICK
PR. EDWARD ISLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
Portland
Quebec
Three Rivers
Montreal
Ottawa R.
L. Champlain
L. Ontario
UNITED STATES
PROVINCE OF ONTARIO
Height of Land
L. Chibagomau
L. Nitaudau
L. Mekatiche
La Trau Claire
Source of the Maurice
L. des Mises
L. des battures de Sable
L. Parisagama
L. Shangois
L. Travers
Chapelle
Kikendatch
St. Maurice
Source of the Gatineau
L. Menjobagoon
L. Esh. aham
L. Long
Capemechigamou
L. Kakouchouagan
L. Travers
L. Pitchipichican
L. Kakouchouagan
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John Bartholomew & Co. Edin.

THE WATERWAYS OF CANADA

BY

WATSON GRIFFIN.

THE Dominion of Canada is pre-eminently the Land of Waterways. Its system of waterways includes a most extensive coast line on three oceans, the great inland sea of Hudson's Bay, and a wonderful series of vast internal lakes connected with the three oceans by mighty rivers and obstructed at certain points by rapids and waterfalls, many of which have already been overcome by a costly system of canals.

Canada is bounded on the north by the Arctic Ocean, and although most of the channels between the mainland and the numerous islands are liable to ice blockades at all seasons, many points on the Canadian coast of this great sea are reached by adventurous whaling vessels in summer. From Cape Bathurst to the Alaskan boundary there is open water for three months of the year, and whaling vessels wintering near themouth of the Mackenzie River have quite a long season of navigation.

The Atlantic coast of Canada has many deep indentations and bays forming magnificent harbours, and it has been estimated that from the mouth of the St. Croix River at the United States boundary line, to Cape Chudleigh at the entrance of Hudson Strait, the mainland shore line of British North America measures over ten thousand miles. A portion of this belongs to Labrador, which is under the jurisdiction of Newfoundland, but both Labrador and Newfoundland must sooner or later become part of Canada, and as Baffin Land, north of Hudson Strait, belongs to Canada, even without Labrador, the Atlantic shore line of Canada may be estimated as about ten thousand miles in length, including all the sinuosities of the coast. The whole Atlantic coast is open to navigation during a great part of the year, and a number of fine harbours are open throughout the year.

Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick are commonly known as the Maritime Provinces of Canada on account of their extensive sea coast. There is an erroneous impression in the United States and some other countries that the seaports of these Provinces are closed to navigation in the winter, and that Canada is then dependent upon the United States for communication with the outside world, but in fact Nova Scotia has eleven harbours open throughout the year, the two most available for the Dominion at large being Halifax and Louisburg, while the New Brunswick harbours on the Bay of Fundy are free from ice at all seasons, those of St. John and St. Andrews being particularly fine and conveniently reached by railways from the central parts of Canada.

Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia have no rivers that are worth mentioning in describing the great system of Canadian waterways, but no part of these Provinces is distant from the sea. In Cape Breton Island, Bras d'Or Lake, an inlet of the sea, furnishes navigation for fifty miles inland. This salt water lake has two entrances at the north, only one of which is navigable for large ships. The lake is connected with St. Peter's Bay on the south-east coast by a ship canal 2,400 feet long with one tidal lock having a depth of 18 feet of water on the sills.

The Bay of Fundy, lying between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, is 170 miles long and from thirty to fifty miles wide. It has two great inlets, one being the famous Basin of Minas, which extends many miles inland, and the other, Chignecto Bay, reaching up toward Chignecto Isthmus. The Bay of Fundy is noted the world over for its peculiar tides, which are generally supposed to be even more extraordinary than they really are. The Canadian school geographies make them seventy feet, whereas official records show that they never

exceed fifty-five feet, at any point, and do not average more than thirty feet. The highest rise is along the Chignecto Isthmus and in the Basin of Minas. The great tidal waves rushing up the rock-bound bay turn inward wherever they find an opening and go roaring up the valleys under the name of tide bores, so that in Nova Scotia, river beds, which ordinarily contain nothing but rivulets, are full of water at flood tide. On the New Brunswick side, the rivers, being much more important, do not dwindle to rivulets when the tide is out, but there is great difference in the volume of water near their mouths at the high and low tides.

The Bay of Fundy has a very foggy reputation among people unacquainted with it, but the records of the keepers of the numerous fog whistles along the bay do not make a bad showing. An account kept by the keeper of the fog whistle on Partridge Island, at the mouth of St. John Harbour, for seventeen years, shows that during the six months beginning with November and ending with April, the fog averaged 19 hours and 22 minutes per month or only 38 minutes per day. The winter record is most important as it is only in the winter months that the Bay of Fundy ports are likely to be extensively used by the Dominion at large, which makes use of the St. Lawrence waterway in summer. In the summer months the Bay of Fundy is very often foggy, but the channel being wide, deep, and free from treacherous shoals or rocks, while there are fog whistles, automatic whistling buoys, and light-houses all along the coast, navigation is always safe. In ten years the tonnage of vessels arriving at and departing from St. John was over ten millions and the total loss from disasters and casualties in the Bay of Fundy was only 26/100 of one per cent.

The Bay of Fundy is separated from the Gulf of St. Lawrence by the Chignecto Isthmus, fifteen miles long, and uniting New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It was proposed at one time to connect these two great bodies of water by cutting a canal through the Isthmus. It was argued that by going through the Isthmus instead of passing through Canso Strait vessels bound to St. John, N.B., or for any port on the Atlantic coast of the United States from all points in the Gulf and River St. Lawrence would save five hundred miles, while there would be a saving of over seven hundred miles as compared with the route around Cape North so frequently taken to avoid the fog and winds which prevail in Canso at some seasons of the year. A few years ago this canal scheme was abandoned in favour of a ship railway across the Isthmus and the work of construction was begun and carried nearly to completion before it was suspended for want of capital.

New Brunswick has a most extensive system of navigable rivers. The chief of these is the St. John, which is navigable for large steamers as far as Fredericton, the capital of the Province, eighty-five miles above St. John city; and for lighter craft as far as the Grand Falls, 225 miles from the sea. It receives a number of navigable tributaries and has many lake expansions. In the lower part of its course it is very wide and remarkably deep, but before reaching the harbour of St. John it contracts and passes between two perpendicular cliffs, only three hundred feet apart. About a mile above the city, a ledge of rocks stretches across the river, forming a dam and a waterfall, which, under ordinary circumstances, would necessitate the construction of a canal. But a sort of natural lock is formed by the tides for at high tide the water level of the harbour is higher than that of the gorge, so that there is a fall inward instead of outward, and at half tide during both rise and fall the water gorge is level with the harbour, and vessels can pass through in safety. Besides the St. John, the Bay of Fundy receives the waters of the St. Croix, the Petitcodiac and a number of smaller rivers. The other important rivers of the Province are the Miramichi, Richibucto, and Nepisiquit, emptying into the Gulf of St. Lawrence; and the Restigouche, flowing into the Bay of Chaleurs. Excepting the St. Croix, which is only navigable for sixteen miles from its mouth on account of rapids, all these rivers are navigable for many miles, and most of them have a number of navigable tributaries, so that almost every part of the Province has communication with the sea.

The Province of Quebec might with accuracy be included among the Maritime Provinces, for the Gulf of St. Lawrence is really a part of the Atlantic, and salt water therefore washes the sinuous coasts of the Province for nearly 2,500 miles. The

influence of the tide is felt at Three Rivers, 900 miles from Belle Isle, and although the great blue river is estimated to pour two million gallons of fresh water into the Gulf every minute, the water is salt at St. Thomas, about thirty-six miles below Quebec City, and at Kamouraska, about forty miles farther down, salt was manufactured from the water by evaporation during the French regimé. But ocean navigation does not end where the water becomes fresh, large ocean vessels being able to ascend to the City of Montreal, which is 986 miles from the Straits of Belle Isle.

The St. Lawrence between Quebec City and the Gulf is from ten to thirty-five miles wide and very deep. It is skirted on the north by the Laurentian Mountains, which rise in some places near the shore to heights of over 3,500 feet, and on the south by the Alleghanies, whose peaks attain a height of nearly four thousand feet within a few miles of the river. Other countries have their lakes, rivers, and mountains, and are washed by sea waves, but Quebec is probably the only one where lake, river, and sea mingle between mountains in such a way that no man can tell where lake and river end or sea begins. There are many depressions in the mountains to let the rivers through, and at Tadousac, about 122 miles below Quebec City, some great convulsion of nature has cleft a chasm through a lofty mountain, and almost into the bowels of the earth, giving vent to black and gruesome Saguenay, the deepest river in the world. The bottom of the chasm through which the Saguenay flows is six hundred feet below the bed of the St. Lawrence, and for over sixty-three miles the river coming down from Lake St. John affords navigation for large ocean vessels, while river steamers can ascend to Chicoutimi, eight miles farther up, and no doubt the Saguenay could be made navigable for large ocean vessels as far as Chicoutimi. Between Chicoutimi and Lake St. John, of which it is the outlet, the Saguenay has so many rapids that it is only navigable by canoes.

In the vicinity of Quebec City, the St. Lawrence River contracts, and the mountains trend away to the north and south, leaving a fertile alluvial valley stretching from Quebec City to Montreal. Above Quebec City the river is generally about two miles wide, but sometimes contracts to one mile, and here and there expands. To a point forty-five miles above Quebec City, the depth is from forty-five to one hundred feet, while from there to Montreal there is a depth of from thirty to fifty feet in the ship channel, except in shoal places, of which there are twenty between the two cities, with an aggregate length of nearly forty miles. To enable ocean vessels to reach Montreal, it has been necessary to dredge channels through these shoals. The longest shoal is where the river expands to form Lake St. Peter, which is nine miles wide, twenty miles long, and has a general depth of from eleven to eighteen feet, with a few deep pools. Along the bottom of this lake a canal has been excavated for seventeen miles, giving a ship channel twenty-seven and a half feet deep, and from three hundred to five hundred and fifty feet wide. Over fifteen million cubic yards of gravel, sand, clay, and rocks have been taken out of the lake bottom in making this channel. The work is being continued, and it is expected that in a few years the ship channel from Montreal to the sea will be nowhere less than thirty feet deep. At present it is nowhere less than 27½ feet deep at low tides except at Cap Santé, the St. Croix Bar and the St. Augustin shoals, where not more than 21, 22 and 23 feet respectively can be counted upon at lowest tides, so that ships drawing more water must wait for the tide.

The season of navigation on the St. Lawrence varies somewhat in different years. A record of the opening and closing of navigation at the City of Quebec for sixty-eight years shows that the earliest date for the opening of navigation was April 12, and the latest May 11, while the earliest date of closing navigation was the 23rd of November, the average season being about seven months. At Montreal the record does not extend over so long a period, but during the last forty-eight years the earliest opening of navigation for river craft was March 30, and the latest, May 5, while the earliest closing of navigation was November 26, and the latest closing January 2. The earliest date for the arrival of the first vessel from sea at Montreal was April 23, and the latest May 20, while the earliest date for the last departure of vessels for sea was November 20, and the latest December 7. The river below Quebec City is

open throughout the year, but navigation is somewhat obstructed by floating cakes of ice, and along the south shore ice forms in all the harbours. On the north shore for some reason the water is more salt than on the south shore, and the prevailing winds being from the north, what ice forms usually drifts over to the south shore; but the Intercolonial Railway runs along the south shore, and the channel there is better lighted and buoyed, so that it is usually taken by vessels. The Saguenay River for seven miles from its mouth never freezes over, and it has been suggested that Tadousac might be made the winter port of Canada; but there is not room to build a large city there on account of the mountains, and the harbour is sometimes filled with floating ice in the winter. In the Gulf of St. Lawrence navigation seems to be most obstructed in the spring,when the ice in the many bays along the coast breaks up and floats out, sometimes almost blocking the channel.

Besides the St. Lawrence, Quebec has sixty-nine rivers, with an aggregate length of 6,837 miles. Sixty-four of these, with an aggregate length of 6,504 miles, empty into the St. Lawrence directly or indirectly through its tributaries; five flow into the Bay of Chaleurs. Because of the numerous rapids, very few of these rivers are navigable for long distances, but the rapids do not offer any serious obstacle to floating timber and they furnish almost innumerable water powers for manufacturing purposes. The Ottawa, St. Maurice, Yamaska, St. Francis and Richelieu Rivers are navigable for many miles.

The Richelieu River, the outlet of Lake Champlain, empties into the St. Lawrence at Sorel, forty-six miles below Montreal. To make this river navigable from the St. Lawrence to Lake Champlain for boats drawing six and a half feet of water, it was necessary to construct a dam and a lock one-eighth of a mile long at St. Johns, and a canal twelve miles long between Chambly and St. Johns. From Whitehall, at the lower end of Lake Champlain, the Champlain Canal, navigable for vessels drawing four feet two inches of water, extends to the Erie Canal, making connection with the Hudson River. The distance from Montreal to New York by this waterway is four hundred and fifty-seven miles, of which only eighty-five miles is by canals, the remaining three hundred and seventy-two being open navigation.

The lakes of Quebec Province have never all been named or numbered. There are thousands of them scattered through the Province, many of which furnish local navigation. The most notable is Lake St. John, the reservoir of the Saguenay River. This lake is 28 miles long, and to the northeast of it lies mysterious Mistassini, the great reservoir of the Rupert River, for many years supposed to be of vast extent but recently proved to be only about 100 miles in length.

The most peculiar natural feature of Canada is its system of river reservoirs, and this is strikingly illustrated in the Province of Ontario. The rivers in general are very irregular in their course, and at almost every turn in them is located a reservoir in the form of a lake, the stretches of river between the lake reservoirs being each known by a different name. The system is shown on a large scale in the St. Lawrence River and the great lakes. The St. Lawrence proper may be said to begin at Montreal, the head of navigation for ocean vessels, but the great river has its source somewhere in the wilderness of Northern Ontario, and its first big reservoir is Nepigon, a large lake of pure blue water, the outlet of which is Nepigon River, flowing into the second reservoir, Lake Superior. Without including Lake Michigan, which lies wholly within the United States, there are seven such reservoirs between Nepigon and Montreal, viz., Superior, Huron, St. Clair, Erie, Ontario, St. Francis and St. Louis, the first five lying between Canada and the United States, while the other two are wholly in Canada. This peculiarity is imitated throughout the Province by many other rivers, sometimes almost in miniature, sometimes on a scale nearly approaching that of the St. Lawrence and great lakes. Often the lake reservoirs of one irregular river are so close to those of another river system that a short *portage* or a few miles of canaling will shorten navigation by many miles.

The great lakes between Canada and the United States, which form the principal reservoirs of the St. Lawrence River, are famous the world over. Lake Superior has an extreme length of 400 miles, an extreme width of 160 miles, an area

of about 31,400 square miles, and a maximum depth of 1,200 feet. Lake Huron has an extreme length of 280 miles, an extreme width of 105 miles, an area of 23,800 square miles, and a maximum depth of 1,800 feet. Lake Erie has an extreme length of 240 m les, an extreme width of 58 miles, an area of 9,600 square miles, and a maximum depth of 270 feet, while Lake Ontario's greatest length is 190 miles, its greatest width 55 miles, its area 7,300 square miles, and its maximum depth 600 feet.

At Sault Ste. Marie the level of Lake Superior is 591 feet above the St. Lawrence at Montreal, and the water reaches the lower level by one great fall at Niagara, between lakes Erie and Ontario, and a series of rapids at different points which necessitated the construction of a number of canals. The aggregate length of these canals is seventy-one miles, with fifty-one locks, and a total lockage of 551 feet. The St. Lawrence system, including lakes, river stretches, and canals, provides a continuous navigable waterway, extending from the Straits of Belle Isle to Port Arthur, the head of Canadian navigation on Lake Superior, a distance of 2,260 statute miles.

The Sault Ste. Marie rapids in the St. Mary's River, between lakes Superior and Huron, are avoided by a canal 5,767 feet long, which has been cut through St. Mary's Island, on the north side of the rapids. This canal has only one lock, 900 feet by 60 feet, with a total rise or lockage of 18 feet, the depth of water on the sills at lowest known water level being 20 feet, 3 inches. The approaches to the canal have, as yet, only been dredged to a depth of 18 feet. Including the excavated channels of approach the canal is 18,100 feet long. From the lower end of this canal to the head of the Welland Canal, at the lower end of Lake Erie, there is deep water navigation through the River St. Mary, Lake Huron, the St. Clair River, Lake St. Clair, Detroit River, and Lake Erie.

The canals between Lake Erie and Montreal were at first designed for vessels drawing only nine feet of water, but some years ago it was decided to enlarge them, providing locks of the following dimensions: length, 270 feet between the gates; width, 45 feet; with a navigable depth of 14 feet of water over the sills. The Welland Canal, 26¾ miles long, connecting lakes Erie and Ontario, which were isolated from each other by the great Niagara waterfall, has already been enlarged to the new scale, and the work of enlarging the other canals is now in progress, and will be completed in a few years. The St. Lawrence canals, between Lake Ontario and Montreal, are the Galops, 7⅝ miles long; the Rapide Plat, 4 miles long; Farran's Point, ¾ of a mile long; Cornwall, 11½ miles long; Beauharnois, 11¼ miles long; and Lachine, 8½ miles long. The first three are known as the Williamsburg Canals, and overcome rapids of the upper St. Lawrence. The Cornwall Canal extends past the Long Sault Rapids, from the town of Cornwall to Dickinson's Landing. The Beauharnois connects Lake St. Francis with Lake St. Louis, passing the rapids known as the Cascades, the Cedars, and the Coteau, while the Lachine Canal extends from the town of Lachine, at the foot of Lake St. Louis, to Montreal, overcoming the St. Louis Rapids, commonly known as the Lachine Rapids. The Beauharnois Canal is on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, and instead of enlarging it to the Welland scale a new canal, to be called the Soulanges, is being constructed on the north shore. Before lake vessels can take advantage of these enlarged canals it will be necessary to dredge some stretches of the upper St. Lawrence, Lake St. Francis, and Lake St. Louis where shoals exist, but this work can easily be accomplished by the time the canals are finished.

The chief tributary of the St. Lawrence is the Ottawa, a great river 600 miles long which flows south out of Lake Temiscamingue on the North-Western boundary of Quebec Province and running down between the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec joins the St. Lawrence at the Island of Montreal, at the head of which it expands into the Lake of Two Mountains and then divides into three branches, one uniting with the St. Lawrence to form Lake St. Louis, while the other two encircle Isle Jesus at the back of Montreal Island and enter the St. Lawrence at the foot of Montreal Island. Although the Ottawa proper is said to begin at Lake Temiscamingue the river really takes its rise far to the north east and flows westward in an irregular course with numerous rapids and many lake expansions, the chief of

which are Lake Victoria, Lake Waponsanane, Lake Expanse or Mijizowaja, Lake Des Quinze and Lake Temiscamingue. The Ottawa proper has an ordinary width of about half a mile but often widens to nearly a mile and has several lake expansions where it becomes of still greater width, while it occasionally contracts to a width of a quarter of a mile. There is a great difference in the volume of water at different seasons. At high water the discharge of water at Grenville has been estimated at 150,000 cubic feet per second, while at extreme low water it is only 35,000 cubic feet per second. The mean discharge is estimated at 85,000 cubic feet per second. Many stretches of the river are so deep that ocean vessels could float at ease, but in some places it would require dredging to make it accommodate even the vessels that navigate the great lakes, while canals and dams are required at certain points to overcome rapids. Between Ottawa and Montreal the rapids have been overcome by the St. Anne's lock and the Carillon and Grenville canals which are respectively 1/8 of a mile, 3/4 of a mile and 5 3/4 miles in length. There is a depth of nine feet of water on the sills of the canal locks at low water but the Grenville canal requires some improvements to make it easily navigable by vessels drawing nine feet of water. The Carillon dam, which is 2,400 feet long and twelve feet high, was built across the river to increase the depth of water in the Carillon canal. It has been found to raise the water in the river two feet at a point six miles above it. Above the city of Ottawa several locks and dams have been constructed to overcome rapids. Eminent engineers are of the opinion that it would be quite possible to secure navigation for vessels drawing fourteen feet of water between the Mattawan River and Montreal.

The old voyageurs, on their way from Montreal to Lake Superior, went up the Ottawa and across to Georgian Bay, *portaging* their boats where necessary, and it is quite probable that the same route may yet be taken by modern lake vessels. The head of Georgian Bay is less than 123 miles from the Ottawa River. Between them stretch French River, Lake Nipissing, Lake Turtle, Lake Talon, Lake Trout, and the Mattawan River. Less than eight miles of canaling would assure a continuous waterway, but to enable large vessels to reach Montreal the Ottawa River canals would have to be enlarged, and some parts of the Ottawa River channel would have to be dredged. Eminent engineers have surveyed the route, and declare it to be quite practicable and not costly in comparison with the canal system now connecting the great lakes with the St. Lawrence at Montreal. Vessels drawing seventeen feet of water can pass from French River to Sault Ste. Marie by the sheltered channel north of the islands. The distance between Montreal and the mouth of French River would be 430 statute miles, of which 30 miles would be canals with 69 locks. From the mouth of the French River to Sault Ste. Marie the distance is 190 statute miles, making the whole distance between Montreal and Sault Ste. Marie by this route 620 statute miles, as compared with 1,000 miles by the lakes and St. Lawrence River. The distance from Buffalo to Sault Ste. Marie is 600 miles. Thus, by taking the Ottawa route between Montreal and Lake Superior, vessels would save a voyage of nearly 400 miles through stormy lakes. Montreal and Chicago would be brought within 971 miles of each other, so that ocean vessels in the port of Montreal would be practically as near to the grain elevators of the great western metropolis as the Erie Canal boats at Buffalo.

On the French and Ottawa Rivers open navigation can be depended upon from May 5 to December 1, and the season is sometimes longer. The St. Lawrence route is open a little longer, but Mr. Walter Shanly, the well known engineer, estimates that vessels could make at least three more trips in a season between Chicago and Montreal by the Ottawa route than by the St. Lawrence route, owing to the shorter distance.

In connection with the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Canal scheme, it has been proposed to construct a canal from Caughnawaga, opposite the upper end of the Lachine Canal, to the Chambly Canal, which would be enlarged for a distance of about nine miles to the port of St. Johns on the Richelieu, from which Lake Champlain could easily be reached. The distance from Montreal harbour to New York by this route would be 394 miles, of which 105½ miles would be by canal, and the remainder by open navigation. The distance from Chicago to New York would be about 150 miles shorter than via Buffalo and the Erie Canal.

A survey was made some years ago, and it was estimated that a waterway for vessels drawing nine feet of water could be completed at a cost of about five million dollars. Another route surveyed about the same time was for a canal extending from Longueuil, opposite Montreal harbour, to the Richelieu River. The distance would probably be a little shorter than by the Caughnawaga route.

On a summit of land between the Ottawa River and the lower end of Lake Ontario is a series of small lakes, some of which discharge their waters into the Rideau River emptying into the Ottawa River at Ottawa City, while the others empty into Lake Ontario at Kingston through the River Cataraqui. By connecting and improving these two river systems, continuous navigation for boats drawing $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water has been established between Ottawa City and Kingston, a distance of $126\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Even this canal is to a certain extent useful to Montreal as it furnishes an alternative route to Lake Ontario for small boats. The distance between Montreal harbour and Kingston by the Ottawa and Rideau route is $248\frac{5}{8}$ miles, while by the St. Lawrence route it is only 178 miles, but not long ago when there was a breakdown on the Cornwall canal, temporarily stopping navigation on the St. Lawrence route, the blockade was partially relieved by loading grain and other produce into Rideau barges.

Another scheme to avoid the navigation of Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario, and shorten the distance between Montreal and Georgian Bay, is known as the Trent Valley canal, in making which it is proposed to utilize the series of bays, rivers and small lakes which stretch across Ontario almost continuously from the Thousand Islands to Lake Huron, beginning with Quinte Bay, which extends from near Kingston to Trenton at the mouth of the Trent River, and ending with the Severn River, which flows out of Lake Simcoe into Georgian Bay. To connect the waters which drain into Quinte Bay, with those draining into Lake Simcoe only $13\frac{3}{4}$ miles of canal would have to be cut. Eleven small lakes and four rivers would be embraced in the scheme of navigation and to overcome rapids several other very short canals are necessary. The distance between Quinte Bay and Georgian Bay by this route would be 235 miles. A good deal of money has already been expended in improving navigation on this Trent system of rivers and lakes, and ultimately there will probably be navigation between Quinte and Georgian Bays for boats drawing five feet of water. The western end of Quinte Bay has been connected with Lake Ontario by cutting through Murray Isthmus a canal without locks 5-1/6 miles in length, 80 feet wide and 11 feet deep at lowest water.

Lac des Quinze, one of the lake expansions of the Ottawa River, is not far from the height of land on the other side of which lies Lake Abittibe. Between Lac des Quinze and Abittibe stretch several small lakes and rivers, having a total length of about 66 miles, and the watershed between the two systems is less than a mile in width. It would be worth while to have this route surveyed by skilled engineers to ascertain what it would cost to improve the Upper Ottawa and connect it with Lake Abittibe, although it would not be advisable to undertake such a work until the northern country becomes well populated. No doubt a waterway for barges of the Erie Canal scale could easily be made, and perhaps vessels of a larger class could be accommodated. The Abittibe River carries the outflow from Lake Abittibe down to James Bay at Moose Factory, meeting there the Moose River, which has two branches, the Matagama, rising in Lake Kenogamissie, and the Missinibe, flowing out of Lake Missinibe. Lake St. Joseph's outlet, the Albany River, empties into the Bay at Fort Albany in latitude 52 degrees 8 minutes north, about one hundred miles north-west of Moose factory. For six months of the year all these rivers are navigable by large vessels for hundreds of miles. The Albany River has several navigable tributaries with numerous lake reservoirs, and these approach so close to both Long Lake and Lake Nepigon that it would not be very difficult to make connection with Lake Superior. Besides the Ontario Rivers, James Bay receives from the west the Attahwahpiskat River of Keewatin, navigable for about three hundred miles, from the east the East Main River, and from the south-east Lake Mistassini's outlet, the Rupert River.

James Bay is 300 miles long, with a width of about 150 miles, and is so shallow that, excepting

a channel down its centre, the muddy bottom may be touched with an oar by a person rowing in a small boat, when almost out of sight of land, and in the southern part of it the water is so muddy that fish cannot live there, while it is almost free from saline matter, owing to the volume of fresh water poured into the bay from the great rivers of which it is the outlet. The deep ship channel runs northward, like a river, in nearly a straight line from Moose Factory, at the south of James Bay, to Mansfield Island, in Hudson's Bay. Directly south of James Bay is a low, level, swampy basin, bounded by distinct veins of hard rocks, the rim being high, with a steep slope toward the centre, and the thought is suggested that this basin once contained a lake, which was the reservoir of all the rivers rising on the northern slope of Ontario's Height of Land, while what is now the ship channel of James Bay was a great river, carrying the waters of the lake through a long valley to Hudson's Bay, receiving on its way several large tributaries. Such a lake, bursting from its bounds, and spreading over the valley to the north of it, would form the shallow, muddy James Bay.

Port Arthur, the head of Canadian navigation, on Lake Superior, is distant from Montreal 993 miles by rail, and 1,270 by water, while it is 430 miles by rail from Winnipeg, the metropolis of the Canadian Northwest. Port Arthur is not likely to be always entirely dependent upon the railway for transportation to Winnipeg, for an almost continuous waterway extends between the two cities, and can easily be improved as soon as the population tributary to it is great enough to justify the expenditure. The Kaministiquia River, which flows out of Dog Lake into Thunder Bay, and its tributary the Mattawin, which comes from Lake Shebandowan, are both navigable, but on the Kaministiquia, about fifteen miles above Fort William, occurs the wonderful Kakabeka waterfall. This waterfall can be avoided by a short canal or a boat railway, and then there will be continuous navigation between Port Arthur and Lake Shebandowan, which is forty-five miles distant by the Dawson Road. Lake Shebandowan is eighteen miles long, and a *portage* of three-quarters of a mile connects it with Lake Kashebowie, nine miles long. Another *portage* of one mile takes a boat over the Height of Land to Lac des Milles Lacs, which is eighteen and a half miles long. From this lake to Rainy Lake there is a continuous chain of lakes and rivers, but navigation is interrupted at certain points, necessitating *portages* aggregating six and a half miles in length, the total distance between the lakes being about 119 miles, including *portages*.

From the head of Rainy Lake to the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods, a distance of 164 miles, there is uninterrupted navigation for large vessels, except at Fort Francis, near the outlet of Rainy Lake, where a canal 800 feet long, to overcome the Kettle Falls, was cut through the solid rock some years ago, but the construction of the lock gates was deferred, and the work has never been completed. The Winnipeg River connects the Lake of the Woods with Lake Winnipeg. A system of canals giving continuous navigation between Winnipeg city and Port Arthur to barges of the Erie Canal scale could easily be constructed along this route, and it would probably be possible to make a waterway for vessels drawing nine feet of water. An alternative route might be secured by connecting the lake reservoirs of the Kaministiquia River with Lac des Milles Lacs, Lac Seul, and the Winnipeg River. No doubt a ship canal between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Superior by either of these routes would be a very costly undertaking, but in connection with the proposed Ottawa and Georgian Bay ship canal it would contribute in such an extraordinary way to the prosperity of the whole country that a very large expenditure might be justified when the North-West becomes well populated, for if vessels drawing nine feet of water could pass from Winnipeg to Montreal without breaking bulk every bushel of grain produced in the North-West would have an increased value. Even a waterway for barges between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg would be of incalculable advantage to the North-West, for with such a system barges could be loaded all along the Saskatchewan, Red, and tributary rivers, transferring their cargoes to lake vessels at Port Arthur.

The country now known as the Canadian North West, extends from the Western boundary of Ontario to the Rocky Mountains of British

Columbia, and from the United States boundary to the Arctic Ocean. It has three great river systems, the Nelson and Churchill draining into Hudson's Bay, and the Mackenzie draining into the Arctic Ocean. Besides the rivers included in these three systems, there are several important rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay and the Arctic Ocean. The great reservoirs of the Nelson system are Lakes Winnipeg, Winnipegosis, and Manitoba, which receive the outflow from the Lake of the Woods through the Winnipeg River, as well as the waters flowing from the prairie through the channels of the Saskatchewan, Red, and Assiniboine Rivers and their affluents. The area of Lake Winnipeg is 9,400 square miles, that of Lake Winnipegosis 2,030 square miles, and Lake Manitoba 1,900 square miles, while the rivers that flow into them from the western prairies are navigable in the aggregate for 3,000 miles. There are a few boulders in these rivers, which can easily be removed, and at the mouth of the Saskatchewan a waterfall occurs around which a short canal must be constructed. The Nelson River, which is the outlet of the system, is a large river, but at present is only navigable for fifty miles from its mouth on account of rapids. The Hayes River, rising in a small lake, south of Lake Winnipeg, has been much used by the Hudson's Bay Company in transporting goods from Hudson's Bay to Lake Winnipeg, connections being made by *portages*. The Nelson and Hayes Rivers form estuaries at Port Nelson, and York Factory is located on a tongue of land between them. The estuary of the Nelson River is described by Commander Gordon as one of the most dangerous places in the world. There is no harbour, and he says it could not be made a desirable place for shipping by the expenditure of any amount of money. The Churchill River has for its reservoirs a host of small lakes between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Athabasca, including among others Isle la Crosse, Beaver, Reindeer, Wollaston, and Indian.

Port Churchill, at the mouth of the river, has the finest harbour in Hudson's Bay, and the river is navigable for large vessels for many miles. The Mackenzie is almost as grand a system of lakes and rivers as the St. Lawrence. Its first reservoir is the Lesser Slave Lake, out of which flows the Lesser Slave River, emptying into Athabasca River, which discharges into Lake Athabasca. The Great Slave River connects Lake Athabasca with Great Slave Lake, out of which flows the Mackenzie proper to the Arctic Ocean, being joined at Fort Simpson by the Liard River from British Columbia, and receiving still farther north the outflow from Great Bear Lake. The Mackenzie proper is 1,037 miles long, with an average width of one mile and a quarter, and there appear to be no obstructions to navigation throughout its course. Extending the name to the system of rivers of which it is the outlet, the Mackenzie is navigable for 1,369 miles for light draught sea-going vessels, and without including the lakes there are 2,750 miles of navigation, suitable for stern wheel steamers, which, with their barges, can carry three hundred tons. Some of the lake reservoirs of the Mackenzie compare favourably with the great lakes between Ontario and the United States. Great Bear Lake has an area of 11,200 square miles, Great Slave Lake 10,100 square miles, and Lake Athabasca 4,400 square miles. If the lakes be included, the Mackenzie system gives a total of about 6,500 miles of continuous lake, coast, and river navigation, broken only in two places by rapids, which can be easily overcome by canals or tramways. One of these breaks is on the Great Slave River, above Fort Smith, where navigation is obstructed by rapids for about thirteen miles, while the other is on the Athabasca River, where there is one grand rapid extending for two miles, and several smaller ones, making navigation difficult but not impossible for over sixty miles. But the removal of a few boulders would probably make navigation safe except at the Grand Rapids, where a canal or boat railway would have to be constructed. The chief tributary of the Mackenzie is the Peace River, which, rising in the mountains of British Columbia, makes connection with the lower end of Lake Athabasca by means of the Quatre Fourches River, but empties into Great Slave River by another mouth, twenty-five miles below. In the spring, when the Peace River is high, the water runs out of the Quatre Fourches River into the Lake; in the summer the water runs out of the Lake into the river. From its mouth to the Rocky Mountains, a distance of 740 miles, steam-

boat navigation on the Peace River is only interrupted by rapids or waterfalls in two places, having an aggregate length of five and a quarter miles, which can easily be avoided by canals.

A wagon road 90 miles in length from Athabasca Landing to Edmonton, connects the Mackenzie system with navigable water on the Saskatchewan, 813 miles from Lake Winnipeg, and it would not be a very costly undertaking to connect the Mackenzie and Nelson systems of navigation by a boat railway, capable of carrying small vessels across the *portage* in a few hours. The west end of Lesser Slave Lake is connected with Peace River, at its confluence with Smoky River, by a cart road 55 miles in length, and a canal or a boat railway along this route would save hundreds of miles of voyaging in going from Athabasca Landing to the Peace River district. Lake Athabasca could probably be connected with the Churchill system by canals, although the cost of such an undertaking would, no doubt, be great, and it is likely that a larger class of vessels could reach the Mackenzie from Hudson's Bay by the Churchill route than by the Saskatchewan. However, it is difficult to obtain reliable information regarding the lake country between the Churchill proper and Lake Athabasca.

When Champlain first reached the upper end of Montreal Island and saw the Ottawa River he exclaimed: "La Chine: This is the way to China!" That is why we call the Montreal Canal, Lachine. The name will be justified at some far distant day when the St. Lawrence, Nelson and Mackenzie systems of navigation are connected, for then a small steamer leaving Montreal harbour will pass through the Lachine Canal, up the Ottawa River and canals to Georgian Bay, and by the way of Lake Superior, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg and the Saskatchewan to the Mackenzie, which it will navigate to the Arctic Ocean, where a large steamer will be waiting to take the passengers through Behring Strait and across the Pacific to China. However, that voyage will only be made occasionally by travellers seeking novelty. The real utility of the Mackenzie connection with the Arctic will be to enable whalers, sealers and other fishermen to prosecute their business in the Arctic Ocean without taking the long and dangerous voyages which are now necessary. When these different systems of navigation are connected vessels can be built and fitted out for Arctic fishing at some point on the Mackenzie River. They can winter in the Mackenzie River and during the season of navigation may transfer their cargoes to small steamboats or barges at the head of ocean navigation on the Mackenzie, whence they can be sent down to Edmonton, Winnipeg, Port Arthur, Toronto and Montreal for distribution.

And now as to the navigation of Hudson's Bay.

Watson Griffin.

This great Canadian inland sea has an area of 350,000 square miles, and including its two large arms, Fox Channel at the north and James Bay at the south, it has an extreme length of 1,300 miles, and a width across the bay proper of 600 miles. The navigation of the bay itself is an easy matter. The question is how to get out of the Bay. Hudson Strait to the far north is blocked with ice for eight or nine months of the year and even during the short season of navigation vessels are liable to be delayed by fields

of floating ice. Rapid tidal currents often entangle vessels in running ice, and the difficulties of navigation are increased by the proximity of the magnetic pole, which makes the compass almost useless. The distance from Port Churchill to Liverpool by this route is only 2,900 miles, that is, about 100 miles shorter than from New York to Liverpool, but the delays practically make the distance much greater. It is true the Hudson's Bay Company have brought their supplies from Europe to the Northwest through Hudson's Strait for over a century, but it is not likely that this far northern route will ever become a great commercial highway, although it is impossible to say what invention may accomplish in the construction of ice-breaking ships by the time the Canadian Northwest and British Columbia have a population of five million people demanding a short route to Europe.

Looking to the south instead of the north for an outlet, a vessel can pass down the ship channel of James Bay to Moose Factory, and from this point the great Abittibe River leads up to the Height of Land. No definite information is obtainable regarding the navigation of the River Abittibe, but probably some improvements would be necessary to enable vessels to reach Lake Abittibe, and a system of canals making connection with the Lower Ottawa would no doubt be very costly, but if navigation for vessels drawing nine feet of water could be secured between Port Churchill and Montreal for six months of the year, it would be of greater value to the Northwest than the difficult navigation of Hudson's Strait for three months of the year. Of course this route to Europe would be longer than the northern one, but it would have the advantage of being on the way to the great manufacturing cities of Eastern Canada and the United States. Even if Hudson's Bay had no outlet, this great inland sea would be of value to the Northwest on account of its whale, seal, and other fisheries. The fishing vessels coming down to Moose Factory from the north could transfer their cargoes to railways for shipment to Montreal.

British Columbia has often been called a "sea of mountains," sometimes in patriotic admiration, sometimes in contempt. Speaking of a "sea of mountains" in connection with a "Land of Waterways," the thought naturally arises, can this sea be navigated? The valleys between the mountains have been called the troughs of the sea, and through these valleys flow many large rivers with numerous lake reservoirs, fed by streams from the mountains. There are many stretches of navigation, some of them hundreds of miles in length, but at certain points continuous navigation is interrupted by rapid descents and narrow canons, through which the rivers rush. The lakes are all long, narrow, and deep, while the principal rivers are noted for their peculiar bends. The best illustration of this peculiarity is found in the Kootenay and Columbia Rivers, which run around the part of the Gold Range known as the Selkirks. The Upper Kootenay River, coming down from the Rocky Mountains, reaches the valley and becomes navigable just one mile away from the Upper Columbia Lake. The level of the Columbia Lake is ten feet lower than that of the Kootenay River, and the watershed between them is a level, gravel flat, having a gradual slope to the lake. Under such circumstances the river might be expected to flow into the lake, but instead of doing so it turns south, runs down through the valley between the Rockies and the Selkirks, crosses the international boundary, bends around the mountains, turns north again and re-entering Canada, flows up the Lower Kootenay Valley between two arms of the Selkirks, and terminates in a beautiful lake, 90 miles in length. The elevation of the Lower Kootenay Valley is only 1,750 feet above the sea, being about 600 feet lower than the Upper Valley, and, directly opposite the point where the Kootenay River should have joined the Columbia in the first place it flows out of Kootenay Lake through a narrow gorge 25 miles in length, and enters a third valley 800 feet lower down, there joining the Columbia, which has reached the same place after making a long, northward bend around the Selkirk Mountains. The united rivers then cross the international boundary, and flow to the Pacific through American territory. In summer the Kootenay River is navigable for small steamers throughout its course in the valleys, except at its south-eastern bend in the United States, where there is a one mile *portage* to overcome rapids. From Bonner's Ferry, about ten or twelve miles south of the international boundary

to Kootenay Lake, a distance of eighty miles, the river is from 600 to 700 feet wide, with an average depth of forty-five feet, and there is not a place in it where the largest ocean vessels could not float with ease.

The great bend of the Columbia is made unnavigable by canons, but steamers run from Golden City on the Canadian Pacific Railway to the Lower Columbia Lake, and the Dominion Government is expected to make improvements in the channel between the two lakes, which will enable steamers to reach the head of Upper Columbia Lake. From this point to the Kootenay River a canal is to be constructed across the low watershed already described, which will ensure continuous navigation for 250 miles, and if the American Government would construct a canal one mile in length at the southern bend of the Kootenay, there would be continuous navigation for steamers from Golden City to the Kootenay Lakes, a distance of over 400 miles. In the Lower Columbia Valley the Columbia, with its Arrow Lake expansion, is navigable for many miles.

The Fraser River, rising farther north in the same plateau as the Columbia, bends around the Cariboo Mountains and flows down to the Pacific between the Gold and the Coast Ranges. It is now navigable as far as New Westminster, fifteen miles from its mouth, by large ocean vessels, and river steamers ascend as far as Yale, 110 miles from the mouth. Above Yale there are several stretches of navigation, separated from each other by narrow canons, enclosed between precipitous mountains, through which the river rushes in foaming torrents. At God's Lock Gate the river contracts to a width of ten feet and of course the current is of extraordinary force. There does not appear to be room between the mountains to construct canals around these torrents, and it is altogether improbable that continuous navigation can ever be secured. However, Mr. D. W. Pearse and Mr. G. B. Wright, engineers employed by the Dominion Department of Public Works, after a careful survey, estimated that in many of these canons obstructions can be removed which will widen the channel, and that by an expenditure of $200,000 navigation for steamers can be secured from a point 110 miles above Yale to Cottonwood Canon, a distance of 210 miles. The principal tributary of the Fraser River is the Thompson, which with its lake reservoirs Kamloops and Shuswap, is navigable for many miles.

The Parsnip River, the Upper branch of the Peace River, rises near the bend of the Fraser, and there is only a short *portage* between them. Boats carrying five or six tons have been taken all the way up the Fraser, carried across the *portage*, and floated down to the Peace River and up its tributary river, Omenica. The Parsnip and Peace Rivers, although rapid streams in the mountains, are said to be navigable for stern wheel steamers for several hundred miles before the descent to the plains is made in a series of rapids extending for about eighty miles, the total fall being about one thousand feet, after which the river flows slowly for 740 miles to the Mackenzie, as already described. There are many navigable rivers in the north, including the Skeena and Stickeen Rivers, which empty into the Pacific, and a number of long ones which are tributary to the Yukon River.

As the mountains extend along the coast, the various inlets may be included in the mountain navigation. The coast navigation of British Columbia may best be described in the words of Lord Dufferin, who said: "Such a spectacle as its coast line presents is not to be paralleled by any country in the world. Day after day for a whole week in a vessel of nearly 2000 tons, we threaded an interminable labyrinth of watery lanes and reaches, that wound endlessly in and out of a network of islands, promontories, and peninsulas for thousands of miles, unruffled by the slightest swell from the adjoining ocean, and presenting at every turn an ever shifting combination of rock, verdure, forest, glacier, and snow-capped mountain, of unrivalled grandeur and beauty. When it is remembered that this wonderful system of navigation, equally well adapted to the largest line-of-battle ship and the frailest canoe, fringes the entire sea-board of the Province, and communicates, at points sometimes more than a hundred miles from the coast, with a multitude of valleys stretching eastward into the interior, while at the same time it is furnished with innumerable harbours on either hand, one is lost in admiration at the facilities for inter-communication,

which are thus provided for the future inhabitants of this wonderful region."

The Pacific Coast of Canada has one great advantage over the Atlantic Coast, the climate being so mild that no part of this coast is ever troubled with ice in winter.

It would be strange if this country, so well provided with waterways both within and without, were not also favourably situated for water communication with the outside world. Stretching out into the two great commercial oceans it is nearer to both Europe and Asia than any other country of America, and, having magnificent harbours on both coasts with immense deposits of coal close to them, it is ready to welcome ships from all countries that may come to exchange cargoes with the vessels that navigate its great inland waters.

In the Canadian Rockies—Mirror Lake.

HISTORY OF CANADIAN STEAM NAVIGATION

BY

JAMES CROIL, late Editor of *The Presbyterian Record*, Montreal

ON *the St. Lawrence River*. Amongst the names of those who were chiefly connected with the introduction and development of steam navigation in Lower Canada may be mentioned the Hon. John Molson, Messrs John and David Torrance and George Brush.* The founder of the Molson family, and father of the steamboat enterprise in Canada, came to this country from Lincolnshire, England, in 1782. Two years later he returned to Britain and raised money on his paternal estate to erect a brewery in Montreal. Subsequently he sold his English property, which enabled him to complete the Canadian enterprise that eventually grew into an extensive and lucrative business. Mr. Molson was an excellent business man and did much to advance the commercial and educational interests of his adopted country. He was President of the Bank of Montreal from June, 1826, till his death, which occurred in Montreal in 1836, in his seventy-second year. He was also an influential member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada. His son, the late Hon. John Molson, who inherited his father's enthusiasm in regard to steamboats and shipping, also took a prominent part in the introduction of railways in Canada. The Molsons Bank and the William Molson Hall of McGill University are fitting memorials of the family in Montreal.

The late Mr. John Torrance was born at Gatehouse, Scotland, June 8th, 1786. Early in the century he came to Canada, and before long established a wholesale business in Montreal and founded the eminent firm of John Torrance & Co. His elder brother, Thomas, had preceded him to Montreal, and was at the head of a large and lucrative business, residing at Belmont Hall, which he built, and which was at that time considered a palatial mansion. On his removal to Quebec this fine property was acquired by a member of the Molson family. Mr. David Torrance, a nephew of Mr. John Torrance, was born in New York in 1805. He came to reside in Montreal about the year 1821, and became a partner in his uncle's firm. He was a man of exceptional business capacity, energy and enterprise, and did much to advance the commercial interests of Montreal and Canada. In 1826 this firm purchased the steamboat *Hercules* and placed her on the Montreal and Quebec route, in the double capacity of a tow-boat and passenger steamer—this being the first step towards the vigourous opposition to the Molson line of steamers that ensued. They were also the first in Canada to branch out into direct trade with the East Indies and China. Mr. David Torrance died in Montreal, January 29th, 1876. His son, Mr. John Torrance, now the senior member of the firm of David Torrance & Co., was born in Montreal in August, 1835. He has had the Montreal agency of the Dominion Line of steamships for many years, and is otherwise extensively occupied in the shipping business. It may be added that, after the death of Mr. John Torrance, the founder of the firm, in 1870, the name was changed to David Torrance & Co., which it still retains. Mr. Brush was a native of Vermont, U.S.A., and was born in 1793. After some time spent in mercantile pursuits he engaged in boat-building and navigation on Lake Champlain, and became captain of a steamer plying between St. John's and Whitehall. He afterwards had command of some of Mr. Torrance's steamers on the St. Law-

*EDITOR'S NOTE. For further and exhaustive information upon this subject the reader is referred to a volume written by Mr. Croil and now (June, 1898) passing through the press of William Briggs, Toronto, entitled "Steam Navigation and its Relation to the Commerce of Canada and the United States."

rence. In 1834 he became manager of the Ottawa and Rideau Forwarding Company, and resided in Kingston until 1838, when he joined the Wards in the Eagle Foundry, Montreal, of which he became the sole proprietor in 1840. Mr. Brush died in Montreal at the advanced age of ninety years and two months.

Molson's *Accommodation* began to ply between Montreal and Quebec in 1809—two years later than Fulton's *Clermont* on the Hudson, and three years earlier than Bell's *Comet* on the Clyde. The *Accommodation* proved a fairly successful commercial venture, although Mr. Molson did not obtain a monopoly of the business as Mr. Fulton had done. She was soon followed by the *Swiftsure*, the *Malsham*, the *Car of Commerce*, the *John Molson*, the *Lady Sherbrooke*, and other steamboats. The last-named was 170 feet long, 34 feet beam, and 10 feet in depth, with a sixty-three-horse-power side-lever engine. A much better service had now been instituted, for up to about 1818 many preferred to drive all the way from Montreal to Quebec in *caléches* over rough roads. Now, however, that the steamboats had comfortable cabins, and canvas awnings over their decks, they secured nearly all the through passenger traffic. About the year 1823 several powerful tow-boats were built, which also carried passengers. After these the *Waterloo* and the *John Molson* of the Molson Line, the *St. George*, the *British America* and the *Canada*, owned by John Torrance & Co., and other boats of larger dimensions, having better passenger accommodation and higher speed, followed in rapid succession. The *Waterloo* foundered in Lake St. Peter, and was replaced by the *John Bull*, a fine boat of 190 feet in length, but which was burned in 1838. The *John Bull* used too much coal to be profitable, and the saying, that she made most money when lying at anchor, arose from the fact that, anchored off the city, she was repeatedly used as the official residence of the Governor-General, Lord Durham. The *Canada*, which came out in 1837, was 240 feet long, and was accounted the largest and fastest steamer then afloat in the New World. In 1840 the *Lord Sydenham* (the former *Ontario*) and the *Lady Colborne* ran as the mail boats to Quebec. About 1845 several famous boats were built—the *Rowland Hill*, Mr. Torrance's *Montreal*, Wilson Connoly's *Quebec*, the *Queen* and the *John Munn*—all upper cabin boats of high speed. The *John Munn* was longer than any previous, or, indeed, any subsequent river steamer on the St. Lawrence, being 400 feet in length. Her boilers were placed on either guard, as the fashion then was, and a huge walking-beam in the centre. She was too large for the trade. After running a few years she was broken up, and her magnificent engines were sent to New York. The *Montreal*, also a large and fine steamer, was lost in a snow-storm

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near Batiscan, in November, 1853, and was replaced by the *Lord Sydenham*, afterwards lengthened to 250 feet and re-named the *Montreal*.

The first iron steamers came into use on the St. Lawrence in 1843, the *Prince Albert* and the *Iron Duke*, which at that time began to ply as ferry-boats to Laprairie and St. Lambert, in connection with the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railway service. These boats were designed in Scotland, sent out in segments, and were put together by Parkins, of the St. Mary Foundry, Montreal.

The Richelieu Steamboat Company, formed in 1845, commenced business by running a market boat to Sorel. In 1856 they put two small steamers on the through line to Quebec, the *Napoleon* and the *Victoria*. About this time Messrs. Tate Brothers, ship-builders, in Montreal, purchased the *Lady Colborne*, re-named her the *Crescent*, and, coupling her with the *Lady Elgin*, started a fourth line of steamers to ply between Montreal and Quebec. The business had already been overdone, and this was the last straw that breaks the camel's back. The opposition had gone far enough when it had reduced the cabin fare to $1.00, including meals and state-room, and the steerage passage to 12½c. The excitement that prevailed at this time was intense. The arrival and departure of the boats at either end of the route were scenes of indescribable confusion. Vast crowds of people assembled on the wharves, while clouds of smoke issuing from the funnels and the roar of escaping steam plainly indicated that the stokers were doing their level best to burst the boilers. This vicious and ruinous opposition was brought to an end by a tragic occurrence, the burning of the steamer *Montreal*.

On a fine summer evening in June, 1857, while on her voyage from Quebec with a load of over 400 passengers, most of whom were emigrants from Scotland who had just completed a long sea voyage, and were gazing with interest on the shores that in anticipation were to offer them happy homes, suddenly the cry of "Fire!" was raised. Clouds of smoke burst out from between decks. A panic ensued. Groups of men and women clung to each other in despair, imploring help that was not to be found; then a wild rush, with the terrible alternative of devouring flames and the cold water below. Two hundred and fifty-three persons perished; and all the more sadly that the calamity was traced by public opinion and the press of the day to "culpable recklessness and disregard of human life." A truce to ruinous opposition ensued. An amicable arrangement was reached, by which superfluous boats were withdrawn. The bulk of the passenger business fell to the Richelieu Company, which continued for a number of years to do a lucrative trade, paying annual dividends to its shareholders of from 15 to 20 per cent. In 1875 an amalgamation was effected with the Canadian Steam Navigation Company (the old Upper Canada Line), under the name of the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company, which has become one of the largest enterprises of the kind in America, having a paid-up capital of $1,350,000, a fleet of twenty-four steamers, and operating a continuous line of navigation a thousand miles in length. The *Montreal* and *Quebec*, which ply between the cities from which they are named, though more than thirty years old, still have a high reputation for speed and comfort. They are each over 300 feet long, and have an average speed of about sixteen miles an hour. The head office of the Richelieu and Ontario Company is in Montreal. The General Manager is Mr. C. F. Gildersleeve.

On the Ottawa River. The navigation of the Ottawa differed from that of the St. Lawrence in that rapids were wholly impassable for boats with cargo. The necessity for canals thus became urgent. The original Grenville Canal was designed and commenced by the Royal Engineers for the Imperial Government, and was completed in 1832, simultaneously with the Rideau Canal. It was enlarged by the Dominion Government a few years ago, but it is not yet of sufficient capacity to allow the free passage of the larger steamers on this route. Travellers are therefore subject to transhipment at Carillon, and are conveyed by railway to Grenville, a distance of thirteen miles, where another steamer is ready to convey them to Ottawa. This little bit of railway is one of the oldest in Canada, and is further remarkable as being the only one of five feet six inches gauge in the country. It was purchased by the Ottawa River Navigation Company in 1859, and is operated only in connection with their steamers, not being used in winter.

The completion of the Grenville Canal in its original form opened up a new route to the West, somewhat circuitous, doubtless, but with greatly increased facilities for the transportation of merchandize, the immediate effect of which was to transfer the great bulk of west-bound traffic from the St. Lawrence route to that of the Ottawa and Rideau. About this time was formed "The Ottawa and Rideau Forwarding Company," by leading merchants in Montreal, with Mr. Cushing

as manager. A few years later the forwarding business became a lucrative one, and was carried on by a number of prominent firms represented at Montreal, Prescott, Brockville and Kingston. Chief among these were the Messrs. Macpherson, Crane & Co., Hooker & Jones, Henderson & Hooker (afterwards Hooker & Holton), H. & I. Jones, of Brockville, and Murray & Sanderson, of Montreal. Messrs. Macpherson and Crane were easily the foremost in the enterprise, for they owned a private lock at Vaudreuil and thus held the key to the navigation of the Ottawa and had complete control of the towage until 1841, when Captain R. W. Shepherd, then in command of the steamer *St. David*, belonging to a rival company, as the result of a clever and hazardous experiment discovered a safe channel through the rapids at St. Ann's, which put an end to the monopoly.

Up to 1832 the long *portage* between Carillon and Grenville was a serious drawback to traffic, necessitating a double service of steamers and barges, one for the upper and one for the lower reach of the river. The first steamer on the upper reach seems to have been the *Union*, Captain Johnson, built in 1819, and which commenced to ply the following year between Grenville and Hull, covering the distance of sixty miles in about 24 hours! On the lower reach the *William King* began to ply about 1826 or 1827, at first commanded by Captain Johnson, afterwards by Captain De Hertel. The *St. Andrew* followed soon after. In 1828 the *Shannon*, then considered a large and powerful steamer, was built at Hawkesbury and placed on the upper route. At the height of the forwarding business on the Ottawa Macpherson & Crane owned a fleet of thirteen steamers and a large number of *batteaux* and barges, which were towed up the Ottawa and through the Rideau Canal to Kingston, the entire distance being 245 miles. The flotilla would make the round trip, returning *via* the St. Lawrence, in twelve or fourteen days. The steamers engaged in this service were mostly small, high-pressure boats—commonly called "puffers." At first the noise which they made, especially the unearthly shriek of their steam whistles, scared the natives as well as the cattle along the banks of the river.

It is said that in 1836 a steamboat named the *Thomas Mackay* plied between Quebec and Ottawa, but its journeyings seem to have been erratic and its subsequent history "lost in obscurity"—a phrase that applies in some degree, indeed, to the early history of steam on the Ottawa. The *St. David* was the only steamer that could pass through the Grenville Canal in 1841. The first truly passenger service on the Ottawa commenced in 1842 with the *Oldfield* on the lower route and the *Porcupine* on the upper. In 1846 the *Oldfield* was purchased by Captain Shepherd and others who formed a private company named the "Ottawa Steamers Company." The steamer *Ottawa Chief* was built by that Company in 1848, but she was found to draw too much water, and in the following spring was chartered by Mr. Hamilton and placed on the St. Lawrence route. The *Lady Simpson*, built in 1850, was the precursor of a number of excellent steamers that have made travelling on the Ottawa popular with all classes. Among these were the *Atlas*, *Prince of Wales* (which ran for twenty-four years), *Queen Victoria*, *Dagmar*, *Alexandra*, etc. The reputation of the Line is well sustained at present by the *Empress*, Captain Bowie, and the *Sovereign*, Captain Henry W. Shepherd, both very fine and fast steel boats of 400 and 300 tons, respectively. Other steamers in commission and employed in the local trade bear such loyal names as *Maude*, *Princess* and *Duchess of York*.

Captain Robert Ward Shepherd retired from active service in 1853, when he was appointed General Manager of the Line. In 1864 the Steamers Company was incorporated by Act of Parliament under the name it now bears, the Ottawa River Navigation Company, of which Mr. Shepherd was President as long as he lived. Mr. Shepherd was born at Sherringham, County Norfolk, England, in 1819. He died at his country seat at Como, Quebec, August 29th, 1895, having been for fifty-five years closely identified with the progress of steam navigation on the Ottawa, and having earned for himself a high reputation. His brother, Captain H. W. Shepherd, who succeeded him in the command of the *Lady Simpson* in 1853, is now the commodore of the fleet—the oldest and most experienced captain on the Ottawa, who in all these years has not been chargeable for any

accident to life or limb of the many thousands who have been committed to his care. The head office of the company is in Montreal, Mr. R. W. Shepherd, a son of the founder, being the Managing Director.

On Lake Ontario. The *Frontenac* and the *Queen Charlotte* were the first two steamers in Upper Canada, launched respectively in 1816 and 1818. In 1824 another steamer was built for Hon. Robert Hamilton—the *Queenston*, of 350 tons—which was at first commanded by Captain Joseph Whitney and plied between Prescott, York and Niagara. The *Canada*, Captain Hugh Richardson, came out in 1826 and used to run from York to Niagara (36 miles) in four hours. The famous *Alciope*, of 450 tons, Captain Mackenzie, appeared in 1828, and plied with great *eclat* between Niagara, York and Kingston, under the Hamilton flag.* The late Hon. John Hamilton, who for many years may almost be said to have controlled the passenger traffic on the Upper Canada route, commenced his connection with the steamboat business about the year 1830, when he built the *Great Britain*, of 700 tons, the largest vessel then on Lake Ontario. After this there was a rapid succession of steamers, and some very fine ones. The *Cobourg*, of 500 tons, Captain Mackintosh, came out in 1833; the *Commodore Barrie*, 275 tons, Captain Patterson, in 1834. The *Sir Robert Peel*, 350 tons, one of the finest boats then on the lake, was seized and burned on the night of May 29th, 1838, by a gang of rebels headed by the notorious Bill Johnson. The *Queen Victoria*, Thomas Dick, commander, launched in 1837, was advertised to sail daily between Lewiston, Niagara and Toronto, connecting at Toronto with the *William IV.* for Kingston and Prescott. "This splendid fast-sailing steamer is fitted up in elegant style, and is offered to the public as a speedy and safe conveyance." The *Sovereign*, 500 tons, Captain Elmsley, R.N., Captain Dick's *City of Toronto*, and the famous *Highlander*, Captain Stearns, began to run about 1840. *Chief Justice Robinson*, Captain Wilder, the *Princess Royal*, Captain Twohey, and Captain Sutherland's *Eclipse* were all noted steamers in their day. The *Traveller* and the *William IV.*, Captain Paynter, both powerful steamers, famous also for many years, ended their careers as tow-boats, the latter being conspicuous by her four funnels. Such were some of the early steamboats in Upper Canada more than fifty years ago, for which the public are indebted to the Hon. John Hamilton, Mr. Alpheus Jones, of Prescott, Mr. Donald Bethune, of Cobourg, and Mr. Heron, of Niagara, as well as to Captains Dick, Sutherland and Richardson.

Up to 1837 the lake steamers did not venture farther down than Kingston, but about that time they commenced running through the Lake of the Thousand Islands to Prescott. From that point the small steamer *Dolphin* sailed every morning for the head of the Longue Sault rapids, enabling passengers to reach Montreal the same evening. The route was from Dickenson's Landing to Cornwall by stage, thence through Lake St. Francis by steamer to Coteau du Lac, thence by stage over a plank road to the Cascades, where the quaint old steamer *Chieftain* would be waiting to convey passengers to Lachine, to be driven thence in a coach and six to Montreal. It was not until 1848, when the enlarged Lachine Canal was opened, that the Upper Canada steamers began to run all the rapids of the St. Lawrence as they now do. In 1840 Mr. Hamilton had built a powerful steamer, the *Ontario*, with the expectation that she might be able to ascend the rapids, but failing in this she was sold to a Montreal firm and placed on the Quebec route. The *Ontario* descended all the rapids of the St. Lawrence safely on the 19th of October, 1840, being the first large steamer to do so. *Facile decensus!* It is not recorded that more than one steamer ever succeeded in ascending those rapids. In November, 1838, the little *Dolphin*, after four weeks of incessant toil, was towed up the Longue Sault rapids with the aid of twenty yoke of oxen, besides horses, capstans and men, added to the working of her engine—the first and probably the last steamer that will ever accomplish the feat. About this time the *Iroquois* with one large stern-wheel was built for the purpose of stemming the swift currents between Prescott and Dicken-

* Mr. John Ross Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto" (Toronto, 1896) contains an account of nearly all the steamboats that have plied on Lake Ontario and the Upper St. Lawrence from 1816 to 1895.

son's Landing, but had so much difficulty in ascending the river that at Rapide Plat and other points posts were sunk at short distances along the shore to each of which she was made fast in turn until she recovered her breath.

The completion of the canals prepared the way for a larger class of steamers between Lake Ontario and Montreal, and the "Royal Mail Line" was accordingly re-enforced. The *Passport* was built of iron on the Clyde and brought out in sections in 1847, and is still in commission and in good running order. The *Magnet*, also built of iron and on the Clyde, and in which Captain Sutherland had a large pecuniary interest, came out shortly after the *Passport*, and, under the name of the *Hamilton*, in command of Captain A. J. Baker, is, in her green old age, and with her hull as sound as a bell, performing a weekly service between Montreal and Hamilton. The *Kingston*, since named the *Algerian*, followed in 1855, and was first commanded by Captain Clarke Hamilton, now of H. M. Customs at Kingston. About this time the *Brockville*, Captain Day, the *Gildersleeve*, Captain Bowen, the *Banshee*, Captain Howard, and the *Lord Elgin*, Captain Farlinger, were well-known and favourite boats.

The fifteen years from 1840 to 1855 were the most prosperous in the history of steam navigation on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence. The Americans had at that time several lines of steamers plying between Ogdensburg, Oswego, Rochester and Lewiston. Some of these were large and very fine passenger steamers, such as the *United States*, the *Bay State*, the *New York*, the *Rochester*, the *Lady of the Lake*, the *Northerner*, the *Cataract*, and the *Niagara*. The Great Western Railway Company of Canada had also a fleet of splendid steamers—the *Canada*, the *America*, the *Europa* and the *Western World*. At the breaking out of the American civil war, most of these vessels and some others were purchased by the United States Government and taken round to New York. Their places on the lake are now occupied by numerous screw propellers, chiefly doing a freight business, but many of them having excellent accommodation for passengers also. The opening of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1855 proved disastrous to the steamboat interests. Mr. Hamilton, as well as many others, struggled gallantly for a time, endeavouring to stem the tide of competition with the new system of transportation, but about the year 1862 he was obliged to retire from the business which he had created and carried on successfully for thirty years. The steamers, in which he had a large personal interest, were sold to a joint stock company which was named the "Canadian Steam Navigation Company." Mr. Hamilton was appointed General Manager of the new Company, Sir Hugh Allan, President, and Alexander Milloy, Secretary-Treasurer. A few years later Captain Thomas Howard became

The Hon. John Molson, Sr.

Superintendent of the line, a position which he held until 1881, when he was appointed Harbourmaster in Montreal. He died in Montreal on Easter Sunday, 1898. In 1875 the company united with the Richelieu Company, as already stated.

The volume of steam traffic on Lake Ontario at the present time, though not to be compared with that on the Upper Lakes, is by no means inconsiderable. From the official "Report of Trade and Navigation of the Dominion for 1895,"

the arrival and departure of steamers at eighteen ports of entry on Lake Ontario, either as coasting vessels or as trading with the United States, was 17,558, and an aggregate of 6,443,443 registered tonnage; to which must be added the large amount of steam shipping that frequents the harbours on the American side of the lake, as at Lewiston, Oswego, Sackett's Harbour, Cape Vincent, and that descends the St. Lawrence to Ogdensburg. Niagara heads the list on the Canadian side with 3,198 arrivals and departures, and 1,581,643 tonnage. Toronto, with 3,844 arrivals and departures, counts for 1,569,123 steam tonnage; Kingston stands third, with 3,563 vessels, and 882,414 tonnage. Hamilton is represented by 427,100 tonnage. After these come Belleville, Picton, Cobourg, Port Hope, Deseronto and Port Dalhousie, in the order named, and eight other smaller ports, each contributing its quota.

Toronto is largely interested in steam navigation. Not to speak of numerous steam yachts, ferry steamers and tug-boats, it controls a large passenger traffic. The Niagara Navigation Company of Toronto has three very fine steamers running to Niagara and Lewiston—the *Chicora*, *Chippewa* and *Corona*. The *Chicora* was built in England, as a "blockade runner," more than thirty years ago, but the civil war was ended before she reached this side of the Atlantic. She is an iron side-wheel vessel of 518 tons, with a rakish Old-Country look about her. The *Chippewa* built at Hamilton, Ont., in 1893, is a very fine paddle-wheel steamer of 850 tons, modelled somewhat after the Hudson River boats, with a conspicuous walking beam. The latest addition to the fleet is the *Corona*, launched in May, 1896, from the ship-building yard of the Polson's, Toronto, which takes the place of the *Cibola*, a Clyde-built steel steamer, put together by the Rathbun Company, Deseronto, in 1887, and which was burned at Lewiston in 1895. Though only 277 feet long, and 32 feet beam (59 feet over the guards), the *Corona* carries nearly two thousand passengers. The hull is constructed of open hearth steel. The engine is of the inclined compound condensing type, and develops nearly two thousand indicated horse-power. The Hamilton Steamboat Company has two fine screw steamers, the *Macassa* and *Modjeska*, plying between Hamilton and Toronto. Both were built on the Clyde, and have been very successful financially, and also as seaworthy, fast-sailing vessels. Kingston, which occupies an important position at the foot of the lake, and head of the river navigation, owns a fleet of no less than forty-six steamers, and is the headquarters of half a dozen steamboat companies, some of which are largely interested in the Lake Superior trade, while others connect Kingston with ports on the Bay of Quinte, Rochester and Cape Vincent, N.Y., and Gananoque and the Thousand Islands. The *James Swift* plies between Kingston and Ottawa, *via* the Rideau Canal. The *Passport*, the oldest steamer now afloat in Canada, is registered at Kingston, and was built, as already stated, in 1847.

In Manitoba. The first steamer to ply on the Red River was brought in pieces across the country from a tributary of the Mississippi, and rebuilt at Georgetown, a small place some twenty miles north of the present town of Moorhead. The boat was called, before its transportation, the *Anson Northrup*, and was afterwards known as the *Pioneer*. She began her career on the Red River in 1859, and in that year took a cargo to Fort Garry. She was the joint property of the Hudson's Bay Company and Messrs. J. C. and H. C. Barbank & Co., of St. Paul, Minnesota. The next steamer was the *International*, built at Georgetown, in 1861, for the Hudson's Bay Company, at a cost of about $20,000. Her length was 160 feet, breadth 30 feet, depth (from the water-line to the ceiling of her upper saloon) 20 feet, and her registered tonnage was 133⅓ tons. She was found to be too large for the Red River navigation. The same Company's steamer, the *Northcote*, commenced to ply on the Saskatchewan about 1875. In 1878 there were running on the waters of Manitoba seventeen steamers, among which were the *Manitoba*, *Dakota*, *Selkirk*, *Swallow*, *Minnesota*, *Prince Rupert*, *Keewatin*, etc. The Hudson's Bay Company at that time owned a propeller which ran on Lake Winnipeg to the *portage* at the mouth of the Saskatchewan, where connection was made with the *Northcote* and a steel-built steamer, the *Lilly*. This Company had also another steamer plying on the Red River, named the *Chief Commissioner*. Since the

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opening of the country by railways the navigation of the Upper Red River and the Assiniboine has been of small account, but below Selkirk there is still a considerable trade carried on. There are at least half a dozen companies interested in the navigation of these waters. The North-West Navigation Company runs three steamers, the *Princess*, 350 tons; the *Red River*, 200 tons; the *Marquette*, 160 tons, and a number of barges. The Selkirk Fish Company owns the *Sultana*, of 200 tons; the Manitoba Fish Company has the *City of Selkirk*, of 160 tons. Besides these there is a numerous fleet of steam-tugs and barges. In all there are some fifty steamers on these inland waters. During the palmy days of Red River transportation the leading name was that of Norman W. Kittson, at that time of St. Paul, Minnesota, but formerly a trader of the old Red River settlement, who was often familiarly called "Commodore Kittson."

In British Columbia. The pioneer steamship of the Northern Pacific was the *Beaver*, whose history from first to last was a very romantic one. This vessel was built at Blackwall, on the Thames, by Messrs. Green, Wigram and Green, for the Hudson's Bay Company, and was launched in 1835 in the presence of 150,000 spectators, including William IV. and many of the English nobility. Cheers from thousands again greeted her in answer to the farewell salute of her guns when she sailed away for the New World. The *Beaver* was a side-wheel steamer, 101 feet long, 20 feet beam, and 11 feet deep; tonnage, 109. Her machinery, made by Boulton & Watt, was placed in position, but the paddle-wheels were not attached. She was rigged as a brig, and on August 27th sailed for the Pacific under canvas, in command of Captain Home, with the barque *Columbia* as her consort. On March 19th, 1836, the *Beaver* dropped anchor at the mouth of the Columbia River, having made the voyage in 204 days. The *Beaver* went into service without delay, running up and down the coast, in and out of every bay, river and inlet between Puget Sound and Alaska, collecting furs and carrying goods for the Company's posts. On March 13th, 1843, she arrived at Camosun with Factor Douglas and some of the Hudson's Bay Company people to found the Fort Victoria, and the first salute which echoed in what is now Victoria Harbour was fired on the 13th of June, when the Fort was finished and the Company's flag hoisted. "The old steamer *Beaver*," as she was called, continued her rounds under different owners with remarkable regularity and success until the fatal trip in July, 1888, when she went on the rocks near the entrance to Vancouver Harbour, and was totally wrecked.

It was fourteen years after the arrival of the *Beaver* before much effort was made at steamboating in these waters. About that time several small steamers were built on the Columbia River. In 1852 the Hudson's Bay Company had another vessel built at Blackwall; this was the *Otter*, a screw steamer of 220 tons, with a pair of condensing engines by Penn, of Greenwich, which took the first prize at the London Exhibition in 1851. The *Otter* left London in January, 1853, and arrived at Victoria five months later. The year 1858 witnessed a boom in steam navigation, consequent upon the rush and wild excitement of gold-seekers to the Fraser River and Cariboo. The *Surprise* was the next one and was followed by a fleet of small steamboats built in the United States. Amongst these were the *Ranger* and *Maria*—mere steam launches of about 40 feet in length. The *Maria* was brought up from San Francisco in a barge. The first boat built in British Columbia was the *Governor Douglas*, a good-sized stern-wheeler which commenced to ply between Victoria and the Fraser River in 1859. Among the other notable boats were the *Seabird* and the *Eliza Anderson*. The former carried immense crowds, but drew too much water for the river trade. The latter was a side-wheeler, built in Portland, 140 feet long, and of registered tonnage, 279. On her arrival at Victoria in 1859 she commenced a career of money-making which has seldom been equalled. After these appeared the *Umatilla*, *Enterprise* and *Colonel Moody*, the last-named being the fastest yet built for this route. All the light-draught boats were then, as they are now, stern-wheelers.

About this time another and larger vessel arrived from London, the *Labouchere*, a side-wheel steamer of 680 tons register, 202 feet long, 28 feet beam, and 15 feet hold. She continued running up north until 1865, when she was granted a subsidy

of $1,500 a trip to carry mails between Victoria and San Francisco, but was lost on her first voyage. In 1861 more steamboats were built than in any previous year. Nearly a dozen were added to those already plying on the rivers and lakes, and the subsequent progress in steam navigation was continuous. The entrance of mining prospectors into the Kootenay country in 1886 led to the necessity of increased transportation on the Columbia River, which has gone on increasing until now. On that river and the Kootenay lakes there are to-day some of the finest river steamers in the Dominion, fitted with every comfort and appliance that experience can suggest. The development of the coast-wise trade has also led to the building of special steamers both in British Columbia and also in England. The coal mines at Nanaimo and the Comox district also find employment for a large quantity of steam tonnage. The rush to the Klondike has of course given a further immense impetus to the steamboat business of British Columbia. The aggregate tonnage at the four ports of Victoria, Vancouver, Nanaimo and Westminster for 1895 was: Arrivals, 1,496,409 tons; departures, 1,513,233 tons. There are at present registered in British Columbia 161 steamboats, with a tonnage of 24,153. Besides the inland steamers there are coasting lines from Victoria and Vancouver to Portland and San Francisco, and to Puget Sound and Alaska. There are also four regular lines of steamships to Japan and China, namely, the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company, with its beautiful fleet of "Empress" steamers; the Northern Pacific Steamship Company; the Oregon R. R. and Navigation Company, and the Nipon Yunen Kaisha of Japan. There is also the direct line of steamers to Australia. The number of vessels in the different lines is uncertain, as they are increased by chartered boats whenever there is much freight moving.

In Nova Scotia. The Harbour of Halifax is one of the finest in the world. It is easy of access and open all the year round. It is nearly six hundred miles nearer to Liverpool than is New York, and has therefore many advantages to offer as a point of arrival and departure for ocean steamers. It is the centre of an extensive local and coasting trade, in which a large number of both steamers and sailing vessels are employed. The number of arrivals of sea-going vessels in 1895 was 978, with a gross tonnage of 627,572 tons; the number of arrivals of coasting vessels was 3,651, of which 496 were steamers with a tonnage of 153,790 tons. The number of steamers registered in the port is 55, with a gross tonnage of 10,912 tons. The steam tonnage which entered the port last year (1897) was 212,085; the clearances were 229,653 tons. The first steamer to enter this renowned harbour was the *Royal William* (Captain John Jones, R.N.), from Quebec, August 24th, 1831, which arrived there on the morning of the 31st and was welcomed with great *eclat.* The trip was made in six days and a half, including two days' detention at Miramichi. The cabin fare was £6 5s., including meals and berths. Having been built for this trade, the *Royal William* made a number of successful voyages between Quebec and Halifax, calling at intermediate ports previous to her historic voyage across the Atlantic, which was to proclaim her the pioneer of ocean steam navigation.

The Cunard Line commenced to call at Halifax fortnightly *en route* to Boston, in 1840. The *Britannia* was the first of that famous fleet to enter the Harbour of Halifax. This arrangement did not last very long, however, for, on making New York their western terminus, the Cunarders gave "the finest harbour" the go-by, never to return except in cases of emergency. There are, however, some fifteen or sixteen lines of steamers plying regularly from Halifax to Britain, the United States, the West Indies, South America, Newfoundland, and Canadian ports. During the winter months, the Beaver Line, carrying the Canadian mails, calls there weekly *en route* from St. John, N.B., to Liverpool. The Allan Line from Liverpool to Philadelphia, *via* Newfoundland, touches there once a fortnight going and coming. The Furness Line has excellent steamers sailing fortnightly from London to Newfoundland and Halifax. The Canada and Newfoundland Line also maintains a good service from Halfax to St. John's, Liverpool and London; the Jones Line to Jamaica; the Pickford and Black Line to Bermuda and the West Indies; the Musgrave Line to Havana. The Red Cross Line from New York to Newfoundland calls

there, and a number of coasting steamers to Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Yarmouth, Bridgewater, St. Pierre and other places also call there, while the Canada Atlantic and Plant Line supplies a direct route to Boston and all points in the United States.

Many "tramp" steamers call at Halifax with freight or for freight. Many call for coal. Many a storm-tossed mariner is glad to make for Halifax and to find in it a secure harbour of refuge, with all needful appliances for refitting a battered ship. The whole coast of Nova Scotia, indeed, is indented with harbours of refuge, which are the resorts of large numbers of sailing craft. The graving dock at Halifax is the largest on this continent. It was completed in 1889 by a private company and subsidized by the Imperial and Federal Governments and the city of Halifax to the extent of about $30,000. It is 585 feet in length, 87¼ feet wide at the entrance, and 30 feet of water on the sills. It is adapted for steamships of the *Teutonic* class, but is 35 feet too short for the *Lucania*. The *Indiana*, one of the largest of the United States ships of war, has been sent there for repairs. There are three other graving-docks, the property of the Dominion Government, as follows :

At Esquimault, B.C.,	built in 1866,	430x65x26½ ft.
" Kingston, Ont.,	" 1871,	280x55x16½ "
" Levis, Que.,	" 1887,	445x62x25½ "

In New Brunswick. The first steamboat in New Brunswick, the *General Smyth*, was launched from the yard of John Lawton, Portland, St. John, in April, 1816. Her owners were John Ward, Hugh Johnson, Sr., Lauchlan Donaldson, J. C. F. Bremner, of St. John, and Robert Smith, of Fredericton. This vessel was run between St. John and Fredericton, making the round trip in a week. She started from St. John on her first trip, May 13th, 1816. She was a paddle boat. No official description of her is extant, as the registry book of that date was burned in the great fire of 1877. Later steamboats on this route were the *St. George, John Ward, Fredericton, St. John, Forest Queen, Heather Bell, Olive, Prince Arthur, David Weston, Rothsay* (which afterwards ran between Montreal and Quebec), the *Fawn* and *May Queen*.

The second steamer, the *St. George*, was launched on April 23rd, 1895, from the yard of John Owens, at Portland, St. John. Her owners were John and Charles Ward, of St. John; Jedediah Stason and James Segee, of Fredericton —the last-named being the first master of the vessel. Her tonnage was 204; length, 105 feet; greatest breadth, 24 feet 6½ inches; depth of hold, 8 feet 6 inches. She had one mast, a standing bowsprit, square stern, and was carvel built. She had a copper boiler, and, like the *General Smyth*, made one trip each way between Fredericton and St. John in a week. The *Victoria*, the first steam ferry-boat between St. John and Carleton, commenced running September 5th, 1839. The pioneer steamboat on the Bay of Fundy was the *St. John*, built at Deer Island, N.B., in 1826. In her was placed the machinery of the *General Smyth*. Her tonnage was 87; length, 89 feet; breadth, 18 feet; depth, 8 feet. Later boats on this route were the *Royal Tar, Fairy Queen, Maid of Erin, Pilot, Emperor, Commodore, Empress, Scud, Secret* and *City of Monticello*. The steamers at present running from St. John are: To Digby, the steel paddle SS. *Prince Rupert*, 620 tons, having a speed of 18⅞ knots; to Windsor and Hantsport, N.S., the *Hiawatha*, 148 tons; to Yarmouth, N.S., the *Alpha*, 211 tons; to Grand Manan, the *Flushing*, 174 tons.

The first New Brunswick steamer to ply between St. John and Boston was the *Royal Tar*, 256 tons, Thomas Reed, master, built at Carleton in 1835. She was burned in Penobscot Bay, October 25th, 1836, on her voyage to Portland, Maine, when thirty-two lives were lost; also a whole menagerie, with elephants, horses, etc. This service is now performed daily by the International Steamship Company of Portland, Maine, who have three splendid steamers on the route— the *State of Maine*, 818 tons; the *Cumberland*, 896 tons, and the *St. Croix*, 1,064 tons. On the River St. John there are eight passenger steamers and eleven tug-boats. A large number of tugs also ply on the harbour. The number of steamers that entered the port during the year ending June 30th, 1897, was 823, aggregating 609,319 tons. Of these, 359 were ocean, and 464 coasting steamers. The lines of ocean steamers plying to and from St. John during the winter of 1897-8

were: the Furness Line, to London and to the West Indies; the Beaver Line, carrying Her Majesty's mails to Liverpool, *via* Halifax and Moville; the Allan Line and William Thomson & Co.'s boats to London; the Donaldson Line, to Glasgow, and the Head Line, to Belfast and Dublin.

Many advantages are claimed for St. John as a winter port for the Dominion. In point of distance from Liverpool, it has the advantage over Portland of 80 miles, and over New York of 450 miles. Halifax is nearer England by 200 miles, but the land carriage is much greater. St. John is the centre of a very extensive lumber business. It is connected with Western Canada by both the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways. The approach to the harbour is said to be free from fogs in the winter months, and ice is altogether unknown in the Bay of Fundy. Large sums of money have been expended during the last few years in improving the export facilities, and the lieges of St. John see no reason why this port should not become the Canadian winter terminus of the coming "Fast Line."

Captain W. L. Waring, the Inspector of Steamboats in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, claims that the invention and application of the compound steam-engine, which has done so much towards the increase of power and lessening the amount of fuel for its production, belongs rightfully to Canada. Though experiments had been made in using steam twice for the same engine, it was only in 1856 that John Elder, of the Fairfield Ship-building Company on the Clyde, reduced it to a practical success in Britain, and it was not until 1870 that it came into general use. Captain Waring states that the steamer *Reindeer*, 129 feet 9 inches long, 13 feet 8 inches wide and 8 feet deep, was built by Thomas Pritchard at Fredericton, N.B., and launched April 20th, 1845, and that she was fitted with compound engines, the diameter of the high-pressure cylinder being 17 inches, of the low-pressure cylinder 32 inches, and the length of stroke 4 feet 9 inches. "This," says Captain Waring, "was the pioneer steamboat with engines using steam the second time. For the first four or five years she was not a success. While the principle was good, the machinery was defective, and between the incredulity of the people and the defects in the machinery she was near being laid up as a failure. After a thorough overhaul, it was demonstrated on her trial trip—the writer being on board—that she was a success, in proof of which the owners of the steamers on the St. John River bought her at an advance of four times what they offered for her in the autumn." It is added that the *Reindeer's* machinery was placed in a new boat called the *Antelope*, which proved a great success, being very fast. It was next placed in the *Admiral*, where it now is, the original compound engine of 1845. *Honour to whom honour!* Mr. Barber states that the first steam fog-whistle in the world was started on Partridge Island, at the entrance of St. John Harbour, in 1860, under the superintendency of Mr. T. Vernon Smith. "The whistle was made by Mr. James Fleming, of St. John, in 1859."

In Prince Edward Island. The smallest of the Provinces of the Dominion and the last to enter Confederation, in 1873, has long been noted for its marine enterprise, its ship-building, and its fisheries. As many as a hundred sea-going vessels have been built there in a single year; but iron and steel in these days have so largely superseded wood that this branch of industry has greatly decreased in Prince Edward Island, which modestly claims not much more than two per cent. of the registered steam tonnage of the Dominion of Canada.* The first steamer to enter any port in Prince Edward Island was a tug-boat, built in Pictou for the Albion Mines Coal Company, and named after the then manager, *Richard Smith*. She brought over a party of excursionists to Charlottetown, on August 5th, 1830, and returned the same day. On September 7th, 1831, the famous *Royal William*, on her first return voyage from Halifax to Quebec, called at Charlottetown, but as the merchants of that place declined to purchase the fifty shares of stock in the new enterprise, which they had been offered conditionally, she called there no more. On May 11th, 1832, a steamer named the *Pocahontas*, built in Pictou, commenced to ply

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between that port and Charlottetown, about fifty miles distant, under arrangement with the post-office authorities. This vessel was followed at successive intervals by the *Cape Breton*, the *St. George*, the *Rose*, and the *Rosebud*, the last three being owned on the Island. A fine steamer, the *Lady Marchant*, owned in Richibucto, also made Charlottetown a port of call. There were many periods, however, between these steamers when communication with the Island had to be kept up by sailing schooners, until about 1852, when a regular service was commenced by the *Fairy Queen* and the *Westmoreland*, between Point du Chene and Summerside, and thence to Charlottetown and Pictou.

In 1863 the Prince Edward Island Steam Navigation Company was organized, and the steamer, *Heather Belle*, built in Charlottetown, began the service in 1864, followed by the *Princess of Wales*, built at St. John, N.B. The *St. Lawrence* was added in 1868. With these three steamers a regular service was maintained between Miramichi, Richibucto, Point du Chene, Summerside, Charlottetown, Brulé and Pictou, until the railway was opened to Pictou, when the service was extended to Port Hood and Hawkesbury, on the Gut of Canso, and to Georgetown and Murray Harbour, on the Island. Again, on the completion of the Cape Breton Railway and the extension of the Island Railway to Georgetown, the service was changed to a daily route between Charlottetown and Pictou, and Summerside and Point du Chene, as at present. The new steamers, *Northumberland* and *Princess*, are scarcely surpassed for the work they have to do by any steamers in Canada, and the Company are able to show a record which is probably unique—that during thirty-three years not an accident has occurred by which a person or a package of freight has been injured. Some years ago the North Atlantic Steamship Company was organized at Charlottetown, with a view of establishing a direct trade with the Old Country. The fleet consisted of one steamer only, the *Prince Edward*, and, as the enterprise did not prove self-sustaining, after having run for several seasons the vessel was sold at a considerable loss to the shareholders.

The Winter Ferry of P.E.I. Prince Edward Island, lying in the southern part of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is separated from the mainland by the Strait of Northumberland, which, at its narrowest point, is about nine miles wide. Owing to the accumulation of ice by which this strait is obstructed in winter, communication with the Island at that season of the year has always been attended with difficulty and not unfrequently with danger. For many years the only conveyance for mails and passengers in winter was by means of open boats or canoes manned by expert boatmen. Latterly these boats, most of which now belong to the Government of Canada, have been greatly improved. They now make the passage never less than three together, each manned by five able men, and the fleet under the charge of an experienced ice-captain. If large ice-fields should be jammed between Capes Tormentine and Traverse, the crossing may be made without putting the boats into the water at all—the men, assisted by the male passengers, hauling the boats over the ice by straps fastened to the gunwales. When the ice is good the passage may be made in three or four hours. At other times lanes of open water occur into which the boats are launched and rowed as far as practicable. If there is much "lolly" to work through, this entails great loss of time and labour. Or the ice may be very rough and hummocky, which makes the crossing difficult and tedious. When overtaken by a snow-storm there is danger of losing the bearings and of travelling in the wrong direction. There have been occasions when parties have been out all night and nearly perished; but since the Government has taken charge of the ferry better regulations are in force. Each boat carries a fixed number of passengers and a limited amount of mail and baggage. This, with carrying compasses, provisions, and proper fur wraps, has greatly improved the service.

The ice attached to the shores on either side of the strait extends about one mile, leaving seven miles for the ferry, but owing to the run of the tide—about four miles an hour—which carries with it, to and fro, huge masses of ice, often closely packed, the actual distance traversed by the boat is greatly increased. Horses and sleighs await the arrival of the boats at the board ice on either side, when the passengers and mails are

conveyed to the boat-sheds. For about two months every winter this boat service proves the quickest and most reliable means of crossing, and it is likely to remain so. At the time of Confederation the Dominion Government guaranteed to provide the Island with a steam ferry service. The first effort to carry out the agreement was made by employing an old steamer, the *Albert*, to run between Pictou and Georgetown, but she had not sufficient power to force her way through the ice. In the meantime the *Northern Light* was being built at Quebec—a vessel of considerable power and extraordinary shape. She drew nineteen feet aft, and it was intended that her keel, forward, should be above the water-line, but, owing to a miscalculation as to her displacement, it proved to be some two feet below, and this spoiled her for ice-breaking; but on the whole she did good service from 1876 to 1888, although she was often "frozen in," and was for several weeks at a time fast in the ice when full of passengers.

The *Stanley*, which succeeded the *Northern Light*, was built in 1888, at Govan on the Clyde, after the model of similar ice-steamers in Norway and Sweden. She has done excellent service, and her powers of breaking ice and separating large floes must be seen to be understood or believed. That she has not been able to keep up continuous communication does not surprise those who know what the Gulf is at some seasons of the year. She has made passages when it seemed futile to expect it; and, while she has been imprisoned in the ice for as much as three weeks at a time, she has made the voyage from Pictou to Georgetown—40 miles—in two hours and a half. During the season 1894-5 the *Stanley* carried 1,600 passengers. Her earnings were $9,266.92; the cost of her repairs and maintenance was $28,179.32. The *Stanley* is built throughout of Siemens-Martin steel. Her dimensions are: length, 207 feet; breadth, 32 feet; depth, 20 feet 3 inches. She is a screw-boat of 914 tons gross, and 300 horse-power, and attains a speed of nearly 15 knots in clear water. She is so constructed that she runs up on heavy ice, breaking it with her sheer weight. At times she has passed through what is called "shoved ice," eight feet in thickness. She has good state-room accommodation for about fifty cabin passengers, and is in every way a very efficient, powerful and staunch boat. In the spring and autumn of the year the *Stanley* is employed in the Coast Buoy service; in summer she takes her place in the Fisheries' Protection fleet, and proves herself a smart and formidable cruiser and a terror to evil-doers. She commences the winter mail service from Charlottetown to Pictou about the first of December, and about Christmas, when the Charlottetown Harbour is frozen over, she takes up the route from Pictou to Georgetown at the eastern end of Prince Edward Island. When she is imprisoned in the ice, as frequently happens, the mails and passengers are taken by the open boats in manner above described. From February 8th to April 12th, 1895, when the *Stanley* was laid up for repairs, the ice-boat service carried 3,497 mail bags, 458 pounds of baggage, 76 pounds of express goods, 9 passengers, and 77 "strap-passengers."

General Canadian Summary. In the Lighthouse and Buoy service and the Fisheries' Protection the Canadian Government employs fourteen steamers and three sailing vessels. The aggregate gross tonnage of the steamers is 5,589 tons. Of these the *Stanley* is the largest, after which come the *Newfield*, 785 tons; the *Aberdeen*, 674 tons; the *Acadia*, 526 tons—all of Halifax; the *Lansdowne*, 680 tons, of St. John, N.B.; the *Quadra*, 573 tons, of Victoria, B.C.; *La Canadienne*, 372 tons, of Quebec, etc., etc. The total number of vessels on the registry books of the Dominion on December 31st, 1896, was 7,279, with a gross tonnage of 789,299 tons. Of that number 1,762 were steamboats, with a gross tonnage of 251,176 tons. The steam tonnage of the Dominion of Canada is divided about as follows: Ontario, 41.1 per cent.; Quebec, 32.3 per cent.; British Columbia, 10 per cent.; Nova Scotia, 7.9 per cent.; New Brunswick, 3.8 per cent.; Manitoba, 2.6 per cent.; Prince Edward Island, 2 per cent.

SHIP-BUILDING IN NOVA SCOTIA

BY

ROBERT M. MACGREGOR, B.A.

WITH its essentially Maritime situation, its long line of sea coast intersected by almost numberless harbours of safe anchorage, and the surface covered by forests of hard and soft woods of every description, it was only to be expected that Nova Scotia should at an early date be the scene of activity in the industry of wooden ship-building. The character of its people too, many of them half farmers and half fishermen, and accustomed to depend in part for their sustenance upon the treasures of the deep, rendered it almost inevitable that the Province should take a leading place among ship-building communities.

During the French occupation of Nova Scotia few, if any, sea-going vessels were built. The frequency of the wars with the English rendered industry of any kind most precarious, and it was not until the final disposition of the country that we find evidence of ship-building being vigourously pursued. In 1761, the *Pompey*, a shallop of 25 tons, was built at Fish Point, Yarmouth County, and from that date till the launching of the *County of Yarmouth*, a full-rigged ship of 2,154 tons, in 1886, can be traced the steady development of this great industry. The original shallop was a small fishing vessel, without bowsprit and with both ends alike. It did not survive long in Nova Scotia and was soon supplanted by the fishing smack and schooner. It was in the southern portion of the Province and in those parts contiguous to the Atlantic sea-board that the fishing trade first developed. In Queen's County as early as 1765 there were said to be seventeen sail or fishing schooners all of home construction, and other portions of the southern coast were not far behind. Larger vessels were soon built, till, by the beginning of the present century, schooners had increased in size to 100 tons and brigantines were being built as well. Trade with the West Indies had now become an important element in this section of the Province and greatly accelerated the ship-building industry.

But it was the timber trade with Great Britain along the northern shore of Nova Scotia that led to a large development of ship-building. From Pictou and other ports on the Northumberland Strait large quantities of hardwood and pine timber were already being exported to Britain, and here ship-building naturally soon found a congenial field. As early as 1798 there was launched at Pictou the ship *Harriet* of 600 tons burthen. From a note in Murdoch's History I glean the following concerning this vessel: "She is pierced for twenty-four years, and is supposed to be the largest and finest ship built in the Province. Her bottom is composed of oak and black birch timber, and her upper work, beams, etc., totally of pitch pine; on account of which mode of construction she is said to be little inferior in quality to British-built ships."

From the excellent quality of our woods the industry soon flourished in various parts of the Province, till the failure in great part of the West Indian trade and a general financial depression, about the year 1825, caused a serious collapse. For a number of years thereafter ship-building was pursued only under a great disadvantage. Nearly all the work was carried on by means of advances from the Old Country, with the result that most of the vessels were sold immediately after launching, and passed out of the hands of the builders who were frequently left poorer than when they started. And building vessels for sale simply means building vessels of an inferior quality. So much was this the case that Nova Scotia vessels received a very bad name from which they long

suffered. But by about 1840 a change had taken place, and the ship-building industry had passed into the hands of men who, starting out with little or no capital, had gradually acquired a competence and now built vessels for their own use. With this began a new era, and our vessels soon assumed a large share in the carrying trade of the world. A noticeable improvement in the character of the ships quickly followed and vessels of a superior quality, which came into successful competition with the very best of other countries, were now built. It is interesting to note that, in 1850, a Pictou built ship, the *Hamilton Campell Kidston*, was hailed with enthusiasm in Glasgow as the largest which had hitherto sailed up the Clyde. Indeed it was to the owner and builder of this vessel, the late Captain George McKenzie, more than to any one man, that the great impetus then given to Nova Scotia ship-building was due. Mention should also be made of the late John Tucker, of St. John, N.B., who, as Lloyd's Surveyor for many years, did much to improve the character of the vessels built in the Maritime Provinces.

Now followed the palmy days of the industry. Halifax, Yarmouth, Windsor and Pictou became centres for its prosecution, and Nova Scotia bottoms were found in every port and on every sea. Of these towns Yarmouth easily led the van, and deserves special mention as being conspicuous for a shipping which soon became a source of great wealth. Indeed, it was Yarmouth men who first set the example of building and operating their own ships, never seemingly having fallen into the mistake of other sections of the Province of building ships for sale. In 1820 there were registered in the twenty ports of the Province sea-going vessels with an aggregate tonnage of more than 225,000. By 1876 the number had reached 2,867, registering a total of 529,252 tons. Nova Scotia was now in shipping easily at the head of the Provinces in the Confederation. New Brunswick, with five ports of registry, could claim 1154 vessels totalling 324,513 tons, and Quebec with six ports had 1,902 vessels of 228,504 tons. Indeed, Nova Scotia's tonnage, *per capita*, was the largest of any country in the world, not even excepting the sea-loving nations of Northern Europe. By 1881 the industry had reached its highest point, and the close of that year saw on the registers of Nova Scotia 3,025 vessels with a tonnage of 558,911. For a population of 440,572 souls this meant an average *per capita* of 1.25 tons.

But for some years past there had not been lacking signs that the industry was doomed, and since the date mentioned it may be said to have steadily declined. For a time, indeed, Yarmouth and the Bay of Fundy ports maintained the unequal fight, and endeavoured to continue the work which had made their names famous: but to no avail, for the fiat had gone forth that the days of wooden ships were numbered. Nor were the causes far to seek. The great advantage possessed by steel or iron bottoms for the transportation of many kinds of cargo, became apparent at the same time that a great cheapening ensued in the cost of their construction. The more general introduction of steam resulted in the supplanting of sailing vessels for many trades by their swifter rivals, and engendered a lowering of freight rates to a point at which sailing vessels could not profitably engage. By 1896 the tonnage of the Province had fallen to 343,356, represented by 2,683 ships. Practically ship-building in Nova Scotia is a thing of the past, for, while there were building in 1895 but 89 vessels with a tonnage of only 4,762, there had been on the stocks twenty years previously 175 vessels with a tonnage of 84,480. From a comparison of the above figures it is evident that the number of vessels building in 1895 consisted mainly of fishing vessels of the smaller class.

The effect upon the Province of the decay of an industry formerly giving employment to thousands of men has been most disastrous. Many of our towns still feel the blight occasioned by the cessation of this their chief source of wealth. Others, after languishing for a time, have by the energy of their people recovered themselves, and are to-day turning their attention in other directions. The town of New Glasgow, once amongst the most famous for its wooden ships, and now an industrial centre in the midst of the coal and iron deposits of the Province, has, following the footsteps of its great namesake on the Clyde, successfully launched during the past few years several small iron steamers. In this line alone is it

that Nova Scotia ship-building can hope to have a future. With coal and iron lying side by side almost on the very coast, nature has surely endowed us with unusual facilities for the building of iron vessels. And, if the small work already so successfully accomplished be an indication of what may follow, it is surely not too much to expect that ship-building in Nova Scotia, though on a newer and more modern basis, will again be reckoned as a most important branch of its industrial pursuits. There is certainly an opening for enterprise and energy.

INTERNAL NAVIGATION, SHIPPING, AND STEAMSHIP LINES—EDITOR'S NOTES

Ship-building in Quebec Province. Notable changes in the tonnage and model of Quebec crafts are observable since the first arrivals from sea, in September, 1535, of the *Grande Hermione*, 100 to 120 tons, Jacques Cartier, Commander, and her two smaller consorts, the *Petite Hermione*, 60 tons, Marc Jalobert, Master, and the *Emerillon*, 40 tons, Guillaume LeBreton, Master. According to Sir James LeMoine, from whose "Quebec, Past and Present," still further facts may be obtained, some three hundred years later, nearly opposite to where Jacques Cartier's vessels had anchored, the local shipwrights were building the *Baron of Renfrew*, 5,880 tons; and in 1861, the *Great Eastern*, of 22,500 tons, was steaming into port. It has been stated that the famous Intendant, Talon, before leaving in 1672, ordered a ship to be built at Anne des Mères. The first Quebec-built craft which sailed across the ocean, was modelled on the banks of the St. Charles in 1703. Eleven years later, in 1714, the New England colonists of Plymouth launched the first New England-built schooner which ploughed the briny billows of the Atlantic *en route* for England. In 1722, six vessels of tolerable tonnage were launched in the St. Charles from a spot now called Marine Hospital Cove. Under Louis XV., the French Minister, Maurepas, with a view of helping France to successfully meet England's fleets upon the ocean, undertook to stimulate ship-building at Quebec. A premium of 500 francs was paid for every vessel of not less than 200 tons, built at Quebec and sold in France or in any of the French Colonies. This subsidy, soon withdrawn, was of little use. The Seven Years' War and the change to British rule left ship-building at Quebec in its embryo state, until the year 1787, when it revived; though it appears to have followed the fluctuations of trade, as is shown by the following table extracted from the registers of the Custom House at Quebec:

Number and tonnage of Quebec-built vessels, from 1787 to 31st December, 1875:

Year	Number of Ships	Tonnage	Year	Number of Ships	Tonnage
1787	10	933	1812	34	6,941
1788	19	1,425	1813	18	3,315
1789	58	2,363	1814	25	3,906
1790	10	452	1815	39	3,460
1791	12	654	1816	39	4,213
1792	12	574	1817	36	3,590
1793	6	319	1818	37	3,566
1794	14	909	1819	25	3,666
1795	19	1,364	1820	16	2,084
1796	13	1,297	1821	22	2,254
1797	14	1,528	1822	20	2,685
1798	13	1,138	1823	38	3,706
1799	32	6,188	1824	38	10,498
1800	21	3,769	1825	83	24,592
1801	24	3,404	1826	84	19,172
1802	21	3,370	1827	61	9,475
1803	30	3,168	1828	61	9,782
1804	25	2,624	1829	34	6,087
1805	15	1,846	1830	25	4,793
1806	18	2,332	1831	38	6,170
1807	15	2,728	1832	24	4,895
1808	15	4,133	1833	29	5,598
1809	21	3,415	1834	35	9,010
1810	35	5,533	1835	30	8,012
1811	54	13,691	1836	31	10,155

Year	Number of Ships	Tonnage
1837	34	10,179
1838	35	9,358
1839	46	13,929
1840	64	26,561
1841	64	23,122
1842	57	12,621
1843	42	12,736
1844	40	14,214
1845	46	24,713
1846	39	19,714
1847	74	35,740
1848	55	22,298
1849	73	28,160
1850	74	34,154
1851	66	41,605
1852	49	26,405
1853	89	54,028
1854	78	46,554
1855	95	35,802
1856	90	35,842
1857	83	38,644
1858	51	20,518
1859	41	14,468
1860	55	22,585
1861	51	25,546
1862	68	27,213
1863	88	54,735
1864	105	59,333
1865	113	45,701
1866	103	36,764
1867	45	20,015
1868	49	23,254
1869	50	25,661
1870	26	15,601
1871	32	11,165
1872	57	18,371
1873	56	18,552
1874	58	17,710
1875	84	21,616
Total	3,873	1,285,842

At the rate of £10 (Halifax) a ton, this would be $51,433,680. Until 1799, the average of a Quebec-built ship was 50 tons. In fact the ship-builders did not consider it quite safe to tempt the perils of the sea in a ship of greater tonnage than 200 tons. The first ship of 500 tons was built in 1799. In 1853, ship-building at Quebec underwent quite a revolution. Symmetry of design and exquisite lines took the place of carrying capacity. The age of clippers began—sharp, handsome, fleet vessels. Several of these on the Atlantic and in the China trade by their rapid passages brought Quebec into prominent notice. Some of these ocean racers were the *Teataster*, drafted by E. W. Sewell; the *Boomerang*, by M. St. Jean; the *Arthur the Great* and *Shooting Star*, by an ingenious draftsman named William Power, who had learned the art in the ship-yards of Messrs. Gilmour & Company at Quebec. There were several other vessels equally remarkable, which brought fame to their designers, and Mr. Power obtained for his models prize-medals at the Paris Exhibition. Many ship-builders in Quebec hastened to build for the United States markets, prior to the expiration of the Reciprocity Treaty, but the abrogation of the arrangement and a sudden demand for iron ships, reduced ship-building there as elsewhere in British America to its lowest ebb. Iron vessels having been found objectionable for conveying cargoes of sugar, molasses, etc., in tropical latitudes, some demand, however, sprung up for composite ships—built of wood and iron.

Writing in the *Canadian Magazine* for May, 1895, the late Mr. Henry Fry, ex-President of the Dominion Board of Trade, points out that, in the early days of British rule in Quebec, a 500-ton ship was considered a very large one, and that within his own memory ships of 300 tons were employed largely in the India and China trades, while the great timber trade between Quebec and the United Kingdom was chiefly carried on by brigs of from 150 to 250 tons.

Jean Talon, Intendant of New France.

The duties levied in Great Britain on Canadian timber were then 10 shillings per load of 50 cubic feet; and, in order to evade these, two monster ships were built on the Island of Orleans near Quebec, of solid logs, to be broken up on their arrival at port. One of these never reached its destination.

"There was always," says Mr. Fry, "a prejudice in England against soft-wood ships, all English-built ships being built of white oak. Canadian ships from first to last suffered from this prejudice. While English-built ships were

classed A 1 for twelve years, the most that 'Lloyd's Registry' would grant for Quebec ships was a seven years' class, and this, of course, regulated their market value. For a time Quebec ship-builders turned to Canadian oak. It was very strong, but as a rule it was found to be affected with 'dry rot' in about five years, and, after a time, it was finally abandoned. Except for a few parts requiring great strength, such as stem, stern-post, keelsons and beams, tamarac (or as it is called in the Maritime Provinces, hackmatac) was found to be far superior for the purpose, combining, as it does, strength and durability. All the best modern Canadian ships were built of this fine wood. Red pine was occasionally used for ceiling and planking, and yellow pine for decks. Canadian rock elm is a magnificent wood for the bottoms of ships, as it is always under water, and Lloyd's allowed it to be used in English ships of the 12-year grade. Experience has proved that ships built of tamarac, being more buoyant, were far better suited for heavy cargoes than oak-built ships. Some good tamarac ships have been found sound and tight when twenty, thirty, and even forty years old. In 1852 there were twenty-five ship-building establishments at Quebec, and eight or ten floating docks.

In that year a notable event in the history of the art occurred. 'Lloyd's Registry' sent out to Quebec Mr. Thomas Menzies, a gentleman of high character and great ability, to act as special surveyor, and after his advent a marked improvement occurred in Quebec ships. Upon payment of a fee of twenty-five cents per ton, he specially surveyed a ship from the time her keel was laid until she was launched, and this entitled her to be marked in the Society's books as 'built under special survey,' and this gave her an enhanced value in the market. The principal shipbuilders in 1852 were Allan Gilmour & Co., W. G. Russell, John I. Nesbitt, Thomas C. Lee, G. H. Parke, T. H. Oliver, E. E. Jean, Pierre Brunelle, Edouard Trahan, William Cotnam, Baldwin & Dinning, P. Labbé, G. Lemelin, J. & J. Samson, J. E. Gingras, Pierre Valin, and Hypolite Dubord. The business, however, was conducted in such a way that few of the actual builders made any money in the long run. With the exception of Gilmours and Russell, they had no capital, and were entirely dependent on 'fournisseurs,' or capitalists, who advanced the necessary funds, charging heavy commissions, which, in ordinary times ate up all the profits, and sometimes left the capitalist not only minus his commissions but part of his advances also.

The ordinary commissions were five per cent. on advances, with seven per cent. per annum interest; four per cent. on sale; two and a half per cent. for procuring freight; and two and a half per cent. for collecting it. Add to these the facts that the ships often lay several months in Liverpool for sale, and were then sold on four or six months' credit, and it will be seen that commissions and interest together often approached twenty per cent.—enough to ruin any business. Seeing this the Government at last was induced to bring in a Bill giving the advancer a prior lien on the ship as soon as her keel was laid. Parliament passed it, but it had no appreciable effect on the commissions charged. When the writer first arrived at Quebec in January, 1854, there was a boom in ship-building. Gold had been discovered in Australia, and a rush of emigrants from Great Britain followed, causing a heavy demand for large, fast, clipper sailing ships. Boston, U.S., St. John, N.B., and Quebec yards were full of orders for such ships. There were no steamships running to Australia in those days, and there was no Suez Canal. Such ships as were for sale in Liverpool were bought up at very high prices—as high as £12 sterling per ton being paid for uncoppered Quebec-built ships. Everyone that could raise or borrow money rushed into ship-building. The scene in the Quebec yards on a fine winter's day was then a very animated one. The songs of the French-Canadian ship-wrights when raising frames or carrying planks, the whirr of the saws, the blows of the mallets, and the vim of the men, all working with a will, were very pleasant to the eye or the ear of the onlooker.

Several of the ships then building were of 1,800 tons register. Some of the builders wisely sold their ships on the stocks at high prices. One, the *Ocean Monarch*, built by Baldwin & Dining, was sold when half-finished at $53 per ton, and, as she was of 1,887 tons, she realized

over $100,000, and was said to have left her builders a clear profit of $20,000. Those, however, who preferred to trust to the Liverpool market were grievously disappointed. The business was over-done, and before the close of the year a panic set in, and Colonial ships fell to £7 per ton. The failure, too, of W. Edward Oliver, of Liverpool, a large dealer in Quebec ships, inflicted heavy losses both on builders and advancers. In the summer of 1854, Quebec had launched fifty large ships; the business had given employment to fully five thousand men,

Allan Gilmour.

whose families represented nearly one-half the population of the Ancient City and Levis. Mr. C. R. Coker succeeded Mr. Menzies as Lloyd's surveyor, and, as a marked improvement took place in the quality of Quebec-built ships, the Society gradually relaxed some of their arbitrary rules, and gave the ships a higher classification.

In the sixties, ship-building revived, and in 1863 Quebec turned out no less than sixty new ships, ranging from 1,673 to 231 tons. The business of advancing now chiefly fell into the hands of one firm (Ross & Company), and they did much to assist the builders, for, instead of sacrificing the ships on their arrival in Liverpool, they fitted them out and ran them in the India, Australia, Manilla and California trades, and in this way several of the builders made a competency, while Ross & Company also made large commissions. But now two great revolutions in the art of ship-building were maturing. English ship-owners realized that, though iron ships were more costly at first, in the end they were more economical and profitable than wooden ships. Lloyd's gave an iron ship a twenty-year class, and at the end of that time, if she had escaped serious accidents, she was almost as good as new, and in the meantime all the repair she required was an annual coat of paint, and perhaps new decks. But wooden ships constantly required repairs, and every four years had to be re-sheathed with copper or yellow metal, and besides incurred the risk of dry rot. Then came, in the seventies, the compound engine, which so economized fuel that steamships were enabled to compete successfully with wooden ships all over the world.

Then the manufacture of steel had been so improved and cheapened by the Siemens-Martin, or open hearth process, that in 1877 a ductile material, far superior in strength to iron, was used, and after severe tests Lloyd's agreed to allow a reduction of twenty per cent. in the sizes of scantling required for iron ships. The result of this was that steel ships were not only cheaper than iron, but carried more dead weight as cargo. In 1879 the Allans built the *Buenos Ayrean* entirely of steel, and the Cunards followed with the great *Servia*. Ten per cent. of the ships built in Great Britain were at once constructed of steel. To-day ninety-seven per cent. are built of that material.

Early Statistics of Canadian Vessels. The following statement shows the position of the Canadian lake marine in the years 1850-61. The decrease after 1857 was due to the rivalry of the Grand Trunk Railway with the water route. The number and tonnage of vessels built in Canada during these years are given in the table (as published by Mr. T. C. Keefer in 1864) which follows, and distinguishes those at

Quebec and Gaspé, which were chiefly sea-going, from those at inland ports.

SAILING VESSELS

Year	Quebec and Gaspe No	Quebec and Gaspe Tonnage	Inland Ports No	Inland Ports Tonnage
1850	65	31,204	11	876
1851	65	41,505	12	1,144
1852	48	28,003	14	1,403
1853	80	51,124	56	7,272
1854	72	46,993	32	4,829
1855	73	32,001	40	7,702
1856	80	36,765	46	4,819
1857	65	38,592	45	5,788
1858	50	20,326	35	4,234
1859	43	14,997	20	1,579
1860	55	22,426	14	1,102
1861	53	26,737	32	5.295

STEAMERS

Year	Quebec No	Quebec Tonnage	Inland Ports No	Inland Ports Tonnage
1850	8	839	3	.....
1851	3	150	1	300
1852	4	572	5	1,139½
1853	...	....	2	674
1854	8	518	8	1.715
1855	6	933	18	2,335
1856	8	485	14	3,270
1857	3	173	13	2,383
1858	8	697	9	1,980
1859	3	285	3	175
1860	3	354	2	111
1861	2	223	9	932

Pioneer Conditions of Navigation. The early history of navigation in a country so full of great water stretches as British America is necessarily an important and interesting study. Mr. T. C. Keefer, C.M.G., seems to have gone into the evolution of the matter very closely at one time, and the following extracts are taken from a sketch written and published in 1864—"Eighty Years' Progress of British North America": "During the first quarter of the present century, before the State of New York had availed herself of that remarkable pass through the Alleghany range, which is afforded by the Hudson River and had tapped Lakes Champlain, Ontario, and Erie by means of her grand canals, exports from Northern Vermont and New York, *via* Lake Champlain (or Corlaer's Lake, as the Dutch named it), as well as from those tributaries of the St. Lawrence which take their rise in the 'Empire State,' sought an outlet at Quebec and Montreal. Previous to the year 1822, American lumber, grain, etc., were admitted into Canada duty free, and exported, with all the privileges afforded to Canadian products, to the British West Indian Colonies. While New York was pressing forward her canals (commenced in 1817 and completed in 1824) the Imperial authorities, in 1822, prepared the way for the complete diversion of American exports from the St. Lawrence to those canals, by imposing a duty upon such exports to Canada.

Sir J. B. Robinson, in 1822, as the Agent of Upper Canada in London, very properly suggested that the propriety or otherwise of such a duty might safely be left to the Canadians; but the defence of the measure was that, as Canadian products were admitted into the British West India Colonies free of duty while American were taxed, the free admission of the latter into Canada would be a discrimination in favour of British bottoms *via* the St. Lawrence, against American bottoms *via* the Mississippi, of which the Americans would complain as an evasion 'of the relaxation professed to be made in the Navigation Laws for the benefit of a reciprocal commerce.' This blunder was, however, acknowledged, in 1831, by the re-admission of American exports, as before, free of duty. Long before the commencement of any regular system of improvement small locks for *batteaux* had been constructed by the French at the Cascades, the Coteau, and the Longue Sault rapids. In 1804, these were reconstructed of larger size and in improved positions by the Royal Engineers, as military works. While furs were the only exports the *batteau* was suited to the trade in both directions, but when agricultural export commenced grain was first sent down (before 1800) on the rafts, and in scows or 'arks,' which were broken up and sold as lumber in Montreal. Some slight improvements were made by Lower Canada in 1805 and 1806 in the boat channel of the rapids. Merchandize was at that time carted to Lachine, from whence the *batteaux* and Durham boats took their departure (in 'brigades' of five or more boats, that their united crews might aid each other at

the rapids), and sailed through Lake St. Louis. At the Cascades, three-fourths of the cargo was discharged and carted to the head of the Cedars —the boat with the remaining fourth being locked past the Cascades, dragged up the 'Split Rock' and Cedars, and re-loaded—passing the Coteau by a lock into Lake St. Francis. Above Cornwall there were two locks in Longue Sault, one of which was a private speculation; and between Mille Roches and the head of the Longue Sault, as between the Cascades and the Cedars, lighterage was necessary, three-fourths of the cargo being discharged and hauled overland. From Prescott the boats sailed up to Kingston, or (after 1818) were towed by steamer. The average time required for the voyage was twelve days, and the actual expenses of a Durham boat with an average cargo of eight tons, from Lachine to Kingston, were as follows:

Tolls at the Cascades and Coteau	£2 10
Towing at different rapids	5 10
Land carriage of 6 tons from Cascades to the Cedars	3 00
Land carriage of 6 tons from Mille Roches	3 00
Towing by steamboat from Prescott to Kingston	3 15
Wages, etc., 6 men, 12 days, at 3s. 6d. per day	12 12
Total (Halifax Currency $121.40)	£30 07

Salt, which was taken at the lowest rates, was charged 3s. 9d. per cwt. in 1825, from Lachine to Kingston; the average rate of merchandize being 4s. 6d. per cwt. or eighteen dollars per ton. The number of boats which paid toll at the Coteau locks were:

Year	Durham boats	*Batteaux*
1818	315	679
1819	339	573
1820	561	430
1821	342	634
1824	268	596

An addition of about twelve per cent. should be made to the above because one boat out of eight or nine sailed up the rapids, and did not pay toll. Of the Durham boats about one-half were American. For downward cargo a Durham boat had a capacity of three hundred and fifty barrels of flour, and a *batteau* thirty to forty; but in their latter days these were made nearly as large as the former. Upward, the former averaged eight tons, and the latter four to five. The transportation of 1824 was diminished by a failure of the harvest in 1823, as well as by the operations of the Imperial Trade Act of 1822. The average passage of a boat from Kingston to Lachine was four days, and the expense as follows:

Six men, four days, at 3s. 6d	£4 4 0
Pilotage at the rapids	1 17 6
Total	£6 1 6

The downward trade in 1818 to 1825 averaged about 150,000 to 175,000 barrels per annum, say 15,000 tons; and the upward trade about 5,000 tons, or about one to three. In 1832, the trade had increased so as to give six to eight hundred Durham boats and twelve to fifteen hundred *batteaux* passing the locks, the down trade being 66,000 tons, and the up trade 21,000 tons—the proportions of about three to one still holding good. As the trade increased, passenger steamboats were placed on Lakes St. Francis and St. Louis, and four-horse coaches upon the *portage* roads. Improvements in the steamboats, in 1833, enabled them to overcome the smaller rapids between the Longue Sault and Prescott; and from that date they descended as far as Dickinson's Landing. The agitation of the Erie and Champlain Canals (in N.Y.) early drew the attention of the Canadians to the competition with which they were threatened. It was a renewal of that strife for the commerce of civilization, which had existed for the fur trade between the English Colonies on the Atlantic and the French at Montreal and Quebec, before the conquest. A short *portage* divided Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk (a principal branch of the Hudson), from Wood Creek, which flowed into Oneida Lake, and thence by the Onondaga River into Lake Ontario, at Oswego, which latter place was the scene of more than one conflict between French and English and their savage allies, over one hundred years ago.

In 1817, the same year in which the Canal Bill passed at Albany, (N.Y.) and a month earlier, the Government of Upper Canada advertised

for tenders for the improvement of the navigation between Lachine and Kingston by the course of the River Rideau. The project of connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario by the Welland Canal first appears in print, November 29th, 1817, in a paper prepared by William Hamilton Merritt for Robert Gourlay. In 1818 a Company was incorporated to construct the Lachine Canal, a project which had been mooted as early as 1795; and another, in 1819, for the construction of the Canal at Chambly. Thus, movements were on foot in the centre and at the two extremes to compass the objects aimed at by the State of New York before the completion of her canals had demonstrated their success; but from various causes, at the head of which, no doubt, the separation of the Provinces stood first, no actual commencement was made except with the Lachine Canal upon the Island of Montreal, and the Grenville Canal (by the Imperial Government) on the Ottawa, until long after the completion of the Erie and Champlain Canals."

Early History of Inland Navigation. The pioneer methods of travelling or transporting products are not easy to comprehend in days of steam and electricity. But like the primeval forest, or the aborigines, they form most interesting subjects of study. Mr. J. M. Trout, Manager of the *Monetary Times*, of Toronto, published in 1871 a most valuable little book upon Canadian railways, in the course of which he dealt with the methods preceding our days of swift transportation. From this work the following extracts are taken:

"The cost of carriage, by every mode of conveyance then in use (1800) in the country, was enormous. A bushel of Indian corn cost, by the time it reached Grand Portage, about thirty miles above Fort William, twenty shillings sterling; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie tells us it was the cheapest article of provision the North-West Company could feed its men with in the first year of this century. For the same sum ten bushels of corn can now be purchased in England, after having been carried a thousand miles in the interior of America, and across the Atlantic. But the North-West Company obtained the carriage of its stores very cheap, compared with what others paid. The cost of carrying goods between Montreal and Kingston, before the Rideau or St. Lawrence canals were built, seems to this generation incredible, and is worthy of belief only because it is stated on unimpeachable authority. Sir J. Murray stated, in the British House of Commons, September 6, 1828, that, on a former occasion, the carriage of a twenty-four-pound cannon cost between £150 and £200 sterling; that of a seventy-six-cwt. anchor £676.

In the early days of the Talbot settlement, about 1817—so called from a large district of country in Western Canada having been granted to Colonel Talbot to place settlers upon—we have the authority of Mr. Edward Ermatinger, the biographer of that eccentric pioneer, for the statement that eighteen bushels of wheat were required to pay for a barrel of salt, and that one bushel of wheat would no more than buy a yard of cotton. From the difficulty of getting seed grain over the wretched roads of this country, the struggling pioneer sometimes had to pay as high as two dollars a bushel for wheat which sold in other parts of the Province, where communications were better, for about three shillings and three pence a bushel; and other things necessary to his comfort and subsistence were proportionately dear. The enormous rates of Atlantic freights in those early days show the immense improvements that have since taken place in ocean navigation. Mr. David Anderson, who, in 1814, published a book to prove the importance of the British American Colonies to England, estimated the freight of a quantity of wheat sufficient to make a barrel of flour, from Canada to England, at a pound sterling, or nearly five dollars. He was obliged to make an estimate, when dealing with a barrel of flour, because 'breadstuffs' were then shipped to England only in their unground state; and, if his figures be reliable, Atlantic freights on this form of 'the staff of life,' were seven times as high as at present. We suspect, however, that his estimate was too high.

Between Quebec and Montreal, and on Lake Ontario, an improved kind of craft was used long before the same thing was possible between Montreal and Kingston. In 1795, three small merchant

vessels owned at Kingston used to make eleven voyages a year to the *portage* at Queenston; they formed the bridge between Kingston and Queenston; and long after, so little was foreseen of the future tracks of commerce, it was thought that the latter place would always continue to play an important part in the trade of the country. These vessels were, probably, from fifty to two hundred tons burthen, as Weld tells us there were merchant vessels of that class on the lake at that date. Canoes and *batteaux* were also much used; all the coasters on the American side being of the latter class. Nearly all the British commerce of the lake was between Kingston and Queenston. The vessels seldom called at any other point. The number of vessels must have been small; for, if we may trust a statement published in the newspapers of the time, there were, in 1812, seventeen years after, on the Canadian side of Lake Ontario, only three vessels of over forty tons each. In 1826, in spite of the war that had intervened, the number of vessels of that size had increased to between thirty and forty, and some reached nearly, or quite, one hundred tons.

In 1795 the fare between Kingston and Niagara was ten dollars, first-class, and half that sum second class. The freight on goods between Kingston and Queenston was about nine dollars a ton (thirty-six shillings sterling), nearly as much as would have been paid for carrying them across the Atlantic before the war then raging in Europe broke out. But ships were costly to construct, and wore out rapidly; sailors had to be brought up from the ocean, and retained on pay during the five or six winter months when the harbours were frozen up. Ship carpenters, brought from the States, worked in summer and returned home in winter. Added to this rate of freight was the previous carriage, sometimes of over two thousand miles inland, before they were put on board at Queenston *portage*. Over this *portage* sixty wagons would sometimes pass in a day. The upper landing place was on Chippewa Creek. Merchandize took this route westward by Detroit to Michilmackinac, and beyond. This *portage* trade gave the same importance to Queenston that Lachine received from a similar kind of traffic.

The first steamboat that ran between Quebec and Montreal appears to have been built in 1811, by Mr. John Molson, well-known as the father of steamboat enterprise on the St. Lawrence. We find by the Journals of Lower Canada that a Bill was brought in, in that year, to grant him the exclusive right of navigating with one or more steamboats that part of the river; but, though it passed through Committee, it did not become law. Next year it was again introduced on petition. The petition sets forth that Mr. Molson had already built a steamboat, at great expense, which would afford the means, at a small cost to the public, of a speedy and convenient passage between the two cities; the only means of making it then in use being "fatiguing from the nature of the vehicle, and inconvenient both for lodging and nourishment." The petition did not mention the number of years during which this exclusive privilege was desired. The Legislative Council passed the Bill, and inserted the term of fourteen years; but when it came before the Assembly, in Committee, the House was counted out for want of a quorum, only thirteen members being present. Nevertheless, steamboat communication was established on that part of the St. Lawrence through the enterprise of Mr. Molson. It lessened the cost, shortened the time, and banished many of the discomforts of travelling between the two chief cities of Lower Canada.

Twelve years later there were no less than seven steamboats plying between Quebec and Montreal. Five of them appeared in Edward Allen Talbot's eyes nearly as long each as a forty-gun frigate. The double row of sleeping berths, on each side of the cabin, were thought to be surpassing luxuries, where state-rooms were unknown; though they would now fail to command any but second-class passengers. And the charge, £3 sterling, over fourteen dollars and a half from Quebec to Montreal, and ten shillings less the other way, would now take a passenger all the way from Hamilton to the Saguenay by steamboat and from Sarnia to Portland (U.S.A.) by rail. But the rates of passage were soon reduced by the natural operation of competition to a moderate figure. By the year 1829 deck passage on these steamers could be had for a dollar and a half; and a passage

could be had, on such conveyance as then existed, from Montreal to Kingston, for five dollars more. Upper Canada was only a little later in availing itself of the facilities of steamboat navigation. The *Frontenac*, the first Lake Ontario steamer, was not built until 1816. She cost £15,000, which is nearly three times as much as any other boat on that lake cost for the next decade, as the following figures, which represent the commercial steam marine of Lake Ontario in 1826, show :

Names of Steamers	Cost
Frontenac	£15,000
Queenston (estimated)	5,000
Niagara	6,000
Charlotte	3,500
Toronto	2,500
Canada	5,000
Dalhousie	2,500
Total	£39,500

The *Frontenac*, Howison tells us, was the largest steamboat in Canada; her deck being seventy-two feet long and thirty-two feet wide; seven hundred and forty tons burthen; and drawing eighty feet of water. The time has long since passed when anyone would think of using, on these waters, so small a steamer for passenger traffic. But the size of Canadian steamers soon underwent an increase. In 1829, the *Lady Sherlock*, which ran between Quebec and Montreal, was one hundred and forty-five feet long, and the *Chambly* was only three feet shorter. Before the Lachine Canal was built small steamers managed to stem the Lachine Rapids, which they overcame by going obliquely against the current and taking advantage of the side eddies. It is curious to note that at a distance of about five years, Upper Canada followed Lower Canada in the inauguration of steamboat enterprise; and that she counted seven steamboats on Lake Ontario two years after Lower Canada had placed that number between Quebec and Montreal. The fare charged by the first Upper Canada steamboat was twelve dollars from Prescott to Toronto, and half as much again to Toronto."

Open Ports and Navigable Waters of Canada. According to an official document published in 1889, by Mr. G. F. Baillarge, Deputy Minister of Public Works, the Ports in Canada which are open to navigation all the year round are as follows :

Name of Port	County	Province	Depth of water available at low water
Annapolis	Annapolis	Nova Scotia	15 to 20
Arichat	Richmond, C.B.	do	40 to 75
Barrington	Shelburne	do	12 to 20
Digby	Digby	do	18
Halifax	Halifax	do	20 to 30
Liverpool	Queen's	do	8
Lockport	Shelburne	do	7
Louisbourg	Cape Breton	do	30 to 70
Lunenburgh	Lunenburgh	do	12
Parrsboro'	Cumberland	do	— —
Shelburne	Shelburne	do	40 to 60
Yarmouth	Yarmouth	do	13
St. Andrew's	Charlotte	New Brunswick	14
St. John	St. John	do	24
St. Stephen	Charlotte	do	6
Tadoussac	Saguenay	Quebec	30 to 50
Morpeth	Kent	Ontario	9
Windsor	Essex	do	

According to the same authority the navigable waters in Manitoba and the North-West Territotories, between Winnipeg and the mouth of the Mackenzie River, north-westward; and between Winnipeg and Fort McLeod, south-westward; are as follows :

Names of Rivers and Lakes	Length Miles.	Width Miles.	Depth Feet.
Lake Winnipeg about 40 miles north of Winnipeg	260	5 to 65	42 to 90
Lakes Manitoba and Winnipegosis	252	3 to 15 Feet.	
Red River (within Manitoba) during ordinary seasons is navigable up to head at Goose Rapids, 220 miles above Winnipeg on a direct line	100	900	8 to 2½
Assiniboine River	350	150	3 to 4
Souris River (probable)	120	100	2 to 3½
Qu'Appelle River and Lake	200	70 to 100	2 to 4½
Long Lake, Assiniboine	40		
Main Saskatchewan to the Forks	332	800 to 1000	2½ to 3½
North Saskatchewan, Forks to Edmonton	481	800 to 1000	2½ to 3½
South Saskatchewan from the Forks	700	750 to 2000	5 to 8
Great Slave Lake	300	10 to 60	390
Mackenzie River, from Fort Providence to Polar Sea	1,009	¼ to 1½	8 to 12 Draft.
Athabasca River from the Landing to Grand Rapids, 83 miles in length	168	800	2½ to 3½
Athabasca River from Fort McMurray to Fort Chippewayan, Lake Athabasca	194	800	7 to 8

Names of Rivers and Lakes	Length Miles	Width Miles	Draft Feet
Athabasca Lake	200	5 to 30	7 to 8
Fort Chippewayan to Fort Smith *Portage*	102	.....	7 to 8
Peace River (tributary)	700	.. ..	7 to 8
Fort Smith *Portage* to Fort Resolution, on south side of Great Slave Lake	190	.....	7 to 8
Fort Resolution, across Great Slake Lake to Fort Providence	167	.....	7 to 8

The North Saskatchewan is stated to be navigable for boats or barges from Mountain House to Edmonton, 150 miles, and from Edmonton by steamboats for about two months down to Carlton House, about midway to Lake Winnipeg. Navigation is interrupted at fifty miles below Carlton House, and also below Cedar Lake (Lake Bourbon), towards Lake Winnipeg, for some miles at each place. The draught of water is generally $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, but in very low stages of the water it is scarcely more than eighteen inches.

Survey of Canadian Tides and Currents. This Survey is included in the Technical Branch of the Department of Marine and Fisheries, with Mr. W. P. Anderson, Chief Engineer, at its head. The Tidal Survey itself is in charge of Mr. W. Bell Dawson, C.E., F.R.S.C., and it has now (1898) been in progress for three years. It includes the investigation of the tides themselves, and also an examination of the currents in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and other waters traversed by our shipping. There are seven self-recording tide gauges in continuous operation at the principal stations. These are St. John, N.B., Halifax, St. Paul Island (between Cape Breton and Newfoundland), the Strait of Belle Isle, south-west point of Anticosti, Father Point, and Quebec. The location of these principal gauges has been carefully chosen with a view to determining from them tidal differences for intermediate localities. The difficulties in the work are unusually great, as the Canadian tides on these eastern coasts vary all the way from the highest in the world to tides which are so slight that their progress is difficult to trace. Also, to obtain a continuous record in our climate the gauges have to be specially designed with a view to heating them in winter, to prevent them from freezing up.

From the records already obtained, Tidal Tables have been prepared for Quebec, Halifax and St. John, N.B., accompanied by tidal differences for the Lower St. Lawrence and for the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia. These are furnished, without charge, to the leading British and Canadian Almanacs for publication; and this is the first time that reliable tide tables have been available for any of our Canadian ports. The tables also give the heights of the tide as well as the time of high and low water; which is important for vessels entering the dry docks at Halifax and Quebec, and also with reference to the depth of water in the St. Lawrence ship channel. The tidal differences for the St. Lawrence include the whole of the tidal portion of the River, a distance of 460 miles, from Three Rivers to Gaspé. These differences are deduced from the records of the gauges at Father Point and Anticosti, compared with the Admiralty establishments, and from other available information. They enable the tide to be found from the Quebec tables for other places in this region; which is of special value on account of the strong tidal currents in the St. Lawrence. During the summer season of 1896 additional tidal observations were taken on the Gulf coasts of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and around Prince Edward Island, by means of temporary self-recording gauges. In this region all the more important Canadian harbours within the Gulf are situated. It was ascertained that the tide in this part of the Gulf cannot be obtained from harbours on the Atlantic coast by means of constant differences; and also that there is much irregularity at some of the principal harbours in that region, notably at Pictou and Charlottetown. The attempts which some Almanacs have made to give these tides are therefore so far wrong as to be of little value.

After a large number of comparisons with the principal stations, it was found that the tides on the south-western side of the Gulf could best be referred to St. Paul Island; and the tides in the Northumberland Strait, to Pictou. From the data thus obtained, Tide Tables are now prepared for Charlottetown, Pictou, and St. Paul Island; with differences for other ports in this region. This is the first time that reliable tide tables for ports within the Gulf have been made available,

with the exception of Quebec itself. An investigation of the currents, which forms the other branch of the Survey, has been carried on during the three seasons of 1894, 1895 and 1896. In the first season (1894) the two entrances to the Gulf were examined, at Belle Isle and Cabot Strait between Cape Breton and Newfoundland, and the general relation of the Gulf to the Ocean, as regards tide and current, was ascertained. In 1895, the entrance to the St. Lawrence between the Gaspé coast and Anticosti was examined, and the general set of the current was traced across the south-western side of the Gulf to Cape Breton. This part of the Gulf is traversed by steamship routes of increasing importance. In the season of 1896, the north-eastern arm of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, extending from Anticosti Island to the Strait of Belle Isle, was examined. This arm of the Gulf has an area as large as the English Channel, and through it there passes the important trans-Atlantic steamship route, by way of Belle Isle, which is taken by the bulk of our Atlantic traffic during the summer season.

For the work each season the S.S. *Lansdowne* of the Marine Department was placed at Mr. Dawson's disposal for three months. The method adopted was to anchor the vessel at carefully selected positions in the region under examination, and thus to ascertain definitely the set of the surface current and the character of the under-current. Temperatures and densities of the water were also taken; the tidal data required for comparison with the current were furnished by the tidal stations in continuous operation; and the effect of the wind on the current could be estimated from the meteorological observations taken on board the vessel. A general examination of the currents in the Gulf of St. Lawrence has thus been made by the Survey in the three seasons referred to, with special reference to the leading steamship routes which pass through it in various directions. The currents met with in the open Gulf have been examined and their direction traced, and much information has been collected from seamen and fishermen as to the currents. The nature of the general circulation in the Gulf in relation to the St. Lawrence River and to the Ocean, has also been ascertained. There are several other regions, however, which still require examination. Another important result of the tidal observations is the determination of low water datum planes and mean sea level, at our principal tidal harbours; which is necessary for the construction of city works and harbour improvements. The results obtained by the Survey are issued as Reports of Progress or as Notices to Mariners, when necessary, in addition to the Tide Tables which are communicated to the Almanacs. The Reports of Progress are circulated freely amongst the steamship companies and other maritime interests, and are sent to hydrographic departments, mercantile agencies, and marine magazines abroad.

In reviewing the work of this Survey, the Liverpool *Journal of Commerce* speaks of the work as an excellent one, and compliments the Department of Marine and Fisheries on the early result of their researches, and the laudable desire to supply accurate information; and adds that the Report should be placed in the hands of every navigator trading in the region concerned, without charge. From the Reports of Progress which have been issued, comprehensive summaries have already been made by Dr. Gerhard Schott for his "Annals of Hydrography and Maritime Meteorology" published in Hamburg. A review is also given in Dr. Peterman's "Mittheilungen" of the investigation of the currents. The "Scottish Geographical Magazine" gives concise reviews of the work from time to time; and the "Annales de Geographie," Paris, gives an outline of the Reports in its book notices. The United States Hydrographic office have drawn attention to the results obtained by this Survey, by re-publishing a diagram and explanation of the nature of the current in the Strait of Belle Isle, in their "Pilot Chart for the North Atlantic" for March, 1897; and also a summary on the "Current Circulation within the Gulf of St. Lawrence," in the Pilot Chart for July, 1897. A "Notice to Mariners" based upon the information obtained was also issued by the United States Hydrographic office in January, 1896.

Early Expenditures upon Navigation. The

following interesting statement of expenditures by Upper and Lower Canada upon various matters connected with internal navigation and transportation was prepared and published by Mr. T. C. Keefer in 1864. The figures include the period between 1791 and 1861:

Description.	Cost before Union of 1841.	Cost since Union of 1841.	Total Cost.
Lighthouses: Upper and Lower Canada	$10,000.00	$788,223 11	$798,223.11
Ottawa slides, etc.	.....	697,877 61	697,877.61
St. Maurice slides, e c.	.....	242.584.51	242 584.51
Saguenay	.....	40,865.07	40,865.07
Trent and Newcastle slides	.....	352,113.80	352,113.80
		$1,333,440.99	$1,333,440.99
Local Works—Upper Canada:			
Harbours	$42,000.00	$641,360.79	$683,360.76
Burlington Bay Canal..	124,356.00	158,326.00	282,682.00
Desjardins Canal (estiated)	100,000.00	.....	100,000.00
Trent Inland Navigat'n	165,180.05	103,809 61	269 989,66
	$431,536.05	$903,496.37	$1,335,032 42
Local Works—Lower Canada:			
Harbours and Piers...	$315 900.00	$1.388,460.85	$1,704,368.85
Grand Total			$5,171,065.37

Mr. Keefer sums up the Provincial, municipal and corporate expenditure of the Canadas upon Roads, Navigation and Railways to 1861 as being in round numbers $11,000,000 Provincial; $21,000,000 municipal; and a Canadian corporate investment of at least $30,000,000—a total of over $60,000,000.

History of Canadian Canals. The Report presented to the Governor-General of Canada on February 24th, 1871, by the Royal Commission on Canals, which had been appointed in the preceding year, contained a most valuable history of the different canals up to that time. The data was prepared by Dr. (now Sir) J. G. Bourinot and Mr. Samuel Keefer (the Secretary of the Commission) and the following facts are compiled or extracted therefrom.

I. *Lachine Canal.* Above the City of Montreal, now the head of the ocean navigation of the St. Lawrence, are the rapids of St. Louis, perhaps better known as the Lachine Rapids; and in order to surmount this natural obstacle the present Lachine Canal was suggested soon after the conquest of Canada. In fact its necessity was earnestly urged before the passage of the Constitutional Act in 1791. No practical steps, however, were taken toward the construction of the Canal till the year 1815, when the Legislature passed a Bill appropriating £25,000 in aid of its construction, at the recommendation of the then Governor-General, Sir George Prevost. At that time its necessity from a military point of view was obvious to the military authorities; and, no doubt, the work would have been immediately commenced after the passage of the Act, had not peace ensued. Not until the year 1819 did the project again come before the public, and then the Act of 1815 was repealed and another passed for the incorporation of a joint stock company, with a capital of $600,000 in $200 shares. This scheme also proved abortive, for, on the 26th May, 1821, a Bill was passed through the House repealing the Act of Incorporation, and authorizing the Government to construct the Montreal and Lachine Canal as a Government work. Commissioners were immediately appointed to superintend and carry out the project, and on the 17th July, of the same year, the ground was broken at Lachine.

The British Government contributed £10,000 sterling, or $50,000, towards the accomplishment of the work, on the condition that all military stores should pass free, and the Province paid the remaining expenditure on the Canal, the whole cost of which, to the end of 1826, amounted to $438,404.15. The Canal was opened for the passage of vessels in 1825. It was 28 feet at the bottom, 48 feet at the water line with 4½ feet depth of water; with seven locks 100 by 200 feet, built substantially of stone. The Canal at first constructed was very soon found to be inadequate to the requirements of commerce, especially of Upper Canada. When the project of uniting the Canadas became the great question of the day, Lt.-Colonel Philpotts, acting under the instruction of the Earl of Durham, reported in favour of an improved canal navigation, with locks throughout of the same dimensions as had been adopted for the Cornwallis Canal, viz.: 200

feet in length by 55 feet in breadth, and 9 (nine) feet of water on the sills. Colonel Philpotts also proposed a new line for the Lachine Canal, and estimated the total cost of the suggested improvements at $1,579,720. After mature deliberation, however, as to the exigences of the Lake trade then in its infancy, it was decided to retain the old location of the Canal, and to enlarge it to 200 feet by 45 feet for the locks, with nine feet of water on the sills; a width of canal, 80 feet at the bottom and 120 feet at water surface, the length remaining, as before, 8½ miles. During the alteration, navigation was not discontinued, for the new locks were constructed by the side of the old ones.

In 1844, in the course of the progress of the improvements, it was decided at the earnest solicitation of the mercantile community of Montreal to deepen locks one and two to sixteen feet of water on the sills, so as to admit the largest sea-going vessels then trading to Montreal, into the first basin of the Canal. In the spring of 1848 the works were sufficiently enlarged to admit the passage of craft. It was not, however, till the month of May, 1862, that the Canal was excavated to its full width, a very expensive undertaking, as the cutting is through the Silurian limestone for some distance inland.

II. *Beauharnois Canal.* This construction was the inevitable sequence of the Lachine and the improvement of inland navigation, and was built to overcome the rapids called the "Cascades," "Cedar" and "Coteau," occupying altogether a distance of seven miles; and to afford safe navigation between Lakes St. Louis and St. Francis. In the early period of Canadian trade, the most sanguine commercial minds hardly appreciated the progress it would make before half a century had passed away. Four short canals gave facilities to boats carrying thirty barrels of flour for passing from Lake St. Francis into Lake St. Louis. Several minor improvements were made in this part of the St. Lawrence navigation, according as the exigencies of business demanded, but, by the year 1833, the question became of such pressing importance that the Government of Lower Canada appointed Commissioners to consider all matters relating to the navigation of the St. Lawrence between Lachine and Cornwall. Mr. Mills, the Engineer of the Commissioners, submitted several plans based on the dimensions adopted for the Cornwall Canal, and his report was referred to a Special Committee of the House, which approved of it, and recommended a grant of $960,000 towards carrying out its recommendations, which proposed, as the best plan, short canals at the three rapids, and using the river between them.

This Report, however, fell still-born, and was followed by others from Mr. A. Stevenson, in 1834, and Messrs. Stevenson and Baird, in 1835, to equally little purpose. In 1839 Colonel Philpotts, before referred to, recommended a canal on the north side of the river, for military reasons, though he acknowledged at the same time that it was probable one on the south side would cost less. The first decisive action on the part of the Legislature, subsequent to the foregoing reports, we find recorded on the Memorandum submitted by the Board of Works in 1841, after the Union of the two Provinces, and this was the recommendation that the sum of $1,023,600 be devoted to the construction of a canal, to avoid the three rapids, after the design made by Mr. Mills in 1834 for three short sections of canal on the north side of the river. In the winter of February, 1842, the Chief Engineer of the Board of Works reported in favour of a canal on the south shore, chiefly on the ground that it would be shorter, independent of all water courses, uninfluenced by the Ottawa waters, and consequently navigable two or three weeks longer every season than the one proposed on the north shore. The question as to the best route for the canal then became a matter of earnest discussion before a Committee of Parliament, but it was not until the summer of 1842 that the contracts were entered into for construction, nearly on the route proposed by Mr. Stevenson in 1834.

By the close of navigation in 1845, the canal was opened, but it was then found that its upper entrance was imperfect, its channel crooked and not sufficiently deep in dry weather, and impeded by cross currents; other difficulties also presented themselves, and in the course of years, up to a very recent date, dams, regulating weirs and dykes have been erected at large expense to the

country in order to give the requisite facilities to the passing trade through the canals. Since that time the Soulanges Canal has been constructed to replace the Beauharnois.

III. *Cornwall Canal.* The next canal which comes in natural order is that which extends from the town of Cornwall to the village of Dickinson's Landing, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, and intended to overcome the obstructions known as the Longue Sault Rapids. This work was actually the first in the series constructed on the present scale, and its dimensions formed the standard for all the others. As far back as the year 1817, the Governor of Upper Canada, in his speech at the opening of the Legislature, called the serious attention of Parliament to the important question of the navigation below Prescott. In 1818 a Joint Commission was appointed by the Governments of Lower and Upper Canada which reported in favour of improvement between Montreal and Lachine; between the head of Lake St. Louis and Lake St. Francis; and also at the rapids above Lake St. Francis. It recommended the construction of canals of a limited capacity—not more than three feet deep—but no definite Legislative action took place on the subject until December, 1826, when a Report was laid before Parliament by the Governor, showing the length of the proposed canals between Lakes Ontario and St. Francis, and their probable cost. The question, however, remained in abeyance until 1832, when the House of Assembly of Upper Canada passed measures appropriating the sum of $280,000 for the improvement of the navigation of the St. Lawrence, so as to admit vessels drawing nine feet of water, and recommending the immediate commencement of such improvements between Cornwall and the head of the Longue Sault Rapids.

One of the stipulations of the Act was the completion of the Cornwall Canal before any of the other proposed works leading to Lake Ontario should be undertaken. In 1833 a Commission was appointed for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the Act, and Mr. Benjamin Wright was employed as Engineer with authority from the Government of Lower Canada to make a survey of the lower canals, on a scale commensurate in all respects with those of the Upper Province. Without going into unnecessary details, it will be sufficient to state that the Engineers determined on locks 55 feet wide, 200 feet long between the gates, with 9 feet of water on the mitre sill; and a canal 100 feet wide at bottom in order to admit the passage of steamboats. This it was thought would allow the passage of vessels 175 to 180 feet long. It was also stated that for the improvement proposed at the four several places above the Longue Sault, where vessels would only use the canals when going up and run the rapids when going down, the breadth of the canals should be only fifty feet at the bottom.

The suggestions of the Engineers were adopted by the Legislature, and Commissioners were subsequently appointed to superintend the works. The services of Messrs. Wright and Mills were engaged as Engineers, as well as those of Captain Cole, R.E., and Messrs. Geddes & Fleming. In 1834 the work was put under contract, and the first sod turned with considerable ceremony by Sir John Beverly Robinson. The Rebellion, as well as financial causes, then retarded the completion of the work for some years. The passage of the first steamer, however, occurred in December, 1842, and was the occasion of some ceremony, but it was not until the month of June, 1843, that the work was formally opened.

IV. *The Williamsburg Canals.* These comprise a series of canals known separately as the Farran's Point, Rapide Plat and Galops Canals. The Farran's Point Canal extends from the foot to the head of the rapids in that locality, on the north side of the river, and is only used, as a rule, by vessels coming up the river. Before the question of the Cornwall Canal was mooted the construction of this work had been discussed, and some surveys made of the place; but it was not until four years after the Union between Upper and Lower Canada that the work was actually commenced. The Canal was completed for traffic by October, 1847. The Rapide Plat Canal, the second of the series, extends on the north shore from Morrisburg to the head of the swift current, and has been rendered necessary by the rapids from which it takes its name. Several Reports were made respecting this work previous to the Union, but it was not until 1843 that the

necessary surveys were made. The works were commenced in the spring of the ensuing year.

The Galops Canal was constructed to avoid the rapids at Point aux Iroquois, Point Cardinal and the Galops, and is also on the north side of the St. Lawrence. Mr. Benjamin Wright, as early as 1833, recommended the construction of canals to avoid these obstructions, and Colonel Philpotts subsequently approved of his plan. It was not, however, carried out. In 1843, the Board of Works of the United Provinces prepared a design which was adopted and carried immediately into effect. This design was the construction of a canal three miles long to avoid the Iroquois Rapids, the use of the waters of the St. Lawrence for a distance of $2\frac{3}{8}$ miles, and then the construction of another canal from the foot of the Galops Rapids, $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles long. Both these canals were opened to the public in September of 1847; but it was soon seen that the Iroquois Canal had not a sufficient depth of water for vessels ascending, and it was therefore found necessary to connect that work with the Galops. The Junction Canal, the name of the central section for a time, was finally completed in 1856, and the three works are now known under the one designation of the Galops Canal.

V. *The Welland Canal.* After leaving the "Gallops" there is a distance of 226 miles, partly the St. Lawrence but chiefly Lake Ontario, and then comes perhaps the most important part of the Canadian canal system—the Welland Canal which connects Lake Ontario with Lake Erie by carrying the navigation around the famous rapids and falls of the Niagara River. The early history of this work shows what difficulties attended its commencement, and it is obvious that, had not the public men of Canada become in time fully alive to the importance of the interests involved in its construction, the Welland would not have been built for years later than it was. As early as the month of February, 1816, a joint Committee of both Houses of the Parliament of Upper Canada reported on this and other works connected with inland navigation, and Colonel Nichol subsequently introduced a Bill to appropriate money for a complete survey of the best route of water communication between Lakes Erie and Ontario, as well as between Lake Ontario and Montreal. No decisive action, however, resulted from this step, and we do not again hear of the project until two years later, when a Committee of the House reported favourably on a petition from the people of Niagara (old Newark) and suggested the formation of a Committee to carry out the work. In 1821 a Commission was appointed to consider the subject of Inland Navigation, and it reported in 1823 in favour of constructing the Welland of such dimensions as would accommodate the class of vessels then navigating the lakes. The result of this Report was the incorporation of a private company, on the petition of William Hamilton Merritt and others, in 1824, under the title of the Welland Canal Company, which proposed to establish the necessary communication by means of a canal and railway. They intended running up the natural waters of the Welland River, across the township of Thorold by tunnelling through the high ridge of land about a mile and a half, and then proceeding directly by a canal to the brow of the high land: then a railway was to descend the high land, and to connect by means of another canal with the navigable waters of Twelve Mile Creek, so as to afford the required egress to Lake Ontario. The canal portion was to be of capacity sufficient to accommodate boats of not less than forty tons burden.

Public meetings were called, surveys made, and other steps taken to excite public opinion in favour of the undertaking; but it will show how little interest was taken, when the fact is mentioned, as stated in an official document, that at the ceremony of breaking the ground on the 30th November, 1824, not half a dozen gentlemen of capital or influence in the district attended. By 1825, the former scheme was considered objectionable, and a new one adopted for the admission of schooners and sloops. It was determined to have the entrance at the mouth of the Twelve Mile Creek, or Port Dalhousie, and the upper terminus at the Welland River, from whence the supply of water for the canal was to be drawn. It was also contemplated at an early day to establish a communication between the Welland River and Lake Erie, so as to avoid the impediments to navigation below Fort Erie. It was

proposed to have wooden locks 110 feet in length by 22 feet in breadth, the cross section with 26 feet at bottom and 58 feet at the surface of the water, except through the deep cut, which was to be only 15 feet wide at bottom; for two miles the depth of water was to be 8 feet. In the summer of 1825 the Company set to work to carry out their project with an ostensible capital of $800,000, and their history henceforth was one of financial embarrassment.

In 1826 they obtained a loan of $100,000 for three years from the Upper Canadian Government, and a promise of a contribution of one-ninth of the estimated cost from the Imperial Government on certain conditions—the locks to be 22 feet wide, and all property of that Government to pass free. In 1827 the Government of Upper Canada took stock in the undertaking, to the amount of $200,000, and the Government of Lower Canada to the extent of $100,000. The Imperial authorities gave a grant of 13,000 acres of land in the vicinity of the Canal, and subsequently gave a loan of $200,000 for ten years at four per cent. interest. In 1828 a slide of earth occurred in the excavation of the Deep Cut, and added greatly to the embarrassments of the Company, for it obliged them to abandon the Welland River as a feeder. The Company finally adopted the Grand River as a new feeder, and carried on the works with considerable energy, for water was let into the Canal in the autumn of 1829, and in the month of November, exactly five years after the time the works had been commenced, two schooners, one of 85 tons burden, the other of smaller size, ascended the Canal from Lake Ontario to the Welland River. Then the Company, having accomplished so much, thought it an opportune time to seek further aid from the Government for the purpose of carrying the work to completion. They prayed the Legislature to grant $100,000 and to allow them to increase the capital stock to $1,200,000; and after considerable discussion the vote in favour of the project was carried by very narrow majorities. Subsequently, the Company proposed to extend the main line of Canal over the Welland River to Port Colborne and excavating a new canal for the remaining distance to Gravelly Bay.

The Government approved of this project in 1831, and granted a loan of $200,000 for the completion of the work, which was immediately commenced, and completed in 1833. At this time the Canal occupied nearly the same site as the present one, but the locks were of small dimensions, and exclusively of wood. No works of importance were constructed on the Canal until after the union of the two Provinces. In 1837 the Government took the step of converting all its loans up to that time into stock, and was authorized to subscribe $980,000 new. The capital stock of the Company was declared to be $1,195,200, and the Directors were limited to an expenditure of $400,000 during the year. In 1839 an Act was passed in Parliament by a vote of twenty-six against nine, to authorize the Government to purchase all the private stock, so that the work should become public property, but no steps were taken, in consequence of financial difficulties, to carry out that design, until 1841, when the works were placed under the control of the Board of Works. The total expenditure by the Government on the Canal amounted at that time to $1,851,427.77, but, as the work was inadequate to the requirements of the trade, it was decided to enlarge the structure. It was also determined to build all the locks with stone, 120 x 24 feet, with 8½ feet of water on the sills; that the aqueduct should also be rebuilt with stone; that the feeder should be converted into a navigable canal; that the harbours of Port Dalhousie and Port Colborne should be improved; that the first two locks at Port Dalhousie, and the one at Port Colborne, should be 200 by 45 feet, with nine feet of water on the sills; and finally that the Port Maitland branch should be undertaken and completed with an entrance lock from Lake Erie, 200 by 45 feet, with nine feet depth. Henceforth the progress in the improvement of the works was systematically and successfully conducted up to the present time.

VI. *Burlington Bay Canal.* Another work, which may be considered to form a part of the St. Lawrence navigation, is the Burlington Bay Canal, which enables vessels to reach the City of Hamilton from the Lake. It is simply an open cut across a sand-bar at the entrance of Burlington Bay, half a mile long, with an

average breadth of 138 feet between piers, and is navigable for vessels drawing 12 feet of water. On the 19th March, 1823, a Bill was passed in the Legislature of Upper Canada, authorizing the construction of this work, which was completed by 1832. After the Union the work was enlarged and otherwise improved. The amount expended on it altogether was $432,684.40.

VII. *The Rideau Canal.* This work extends from Ottawa City to Kingston and makes the Rideau and Cataraqui navigation available for craft of a certain depth of water for a distance of 126¼ miles. The necessity for its construction was seen during the War of 1812 and Captain Jebb of the Royal Engineers was sent by the military authorities to examine into the practicability of finding a satisfactory route. This gentleman reported favourably on the project, but no decisive action was then taken in reference to it by the Imperial Government. In 1824, however, a loan of $340,666.67 was offered by that Government towards the construction of the Canal, and Mr. Clowes was thereupon instructed by the Upper Canadian Commissioners, appointed previously on the question of Inland Navigation, to make a survey of the proposed work.

He submitted three plans and in 1825, the Committee to whom his Report was presented, recommended the adoption of the one with five feet of water. The Government of Upper Canada, however, on full consideration, declined to construct the work, as they believed that the improvement of the St. Lawrence navigation was best calculated to promote the commercial interests of the country, and that the accomplishment of the work should devolve on the Imperial Government, as being necessary chiefly for military reasons. Accordingly the Imperial Government sent out a Commission of Royal Engineers to report on the work, and subsequently determined to construct it. In the autumn of 1826, Colonel By, R.E., arrived from England, and immediately commenced the construction of the works, Sir John Franklin laying the foundation stone. The works were completed in the spring of 1832, and the steamer *Plumper* passed through from Bytown to Kingston.

VIII. *Richelieu Canals.* The third series in the Canal system of Canada is that which has been constructed to connect the St. Lawrence with Hudson River *via* the Richelieu and Lake Champlain. The Richelieu River is situated 46 miles below Montreal, and 114 miles above Quebec. The obstructions to its navigation are removed by a canal at St. Ours, 14 miles from its mouth, and by another, 32 miles further up, known as the Chambly Canal. The route is thence free from difficulties for the remainder of the River Richelieu and Lake Champlain, at the head of which the Americans have a canal properly called the Whitehall Canal; by means of this, and a small portion of the Erie Canal, boats are enabled to reach the Hudson at Albany, N.Y., 311 miles from Montreal.

The Chambly Canal was suggested, like most of the Canadian canals, after the experiences of the American War of 1812. In 1818, the Parliament of Lower Canada passed a Bill, granting to a Company the right of constructing a canal to avoid the Chambly Rapids and otherwise improve the navigation of the Richelieu. The Company made the necessary surveys and published a report in reference to the best plan of constructing the works, but several years passed away and nothing was done to carry out the provisions of the Act. Accordingly the Legislature passed another Act appropriating $200,000 for the construction of the works, and providing for the appointment of Commissioners to commence the undertaking after the completion of the Lachine Canal. Still the project made no progress, until 1830, when the Commissioners ordered the dredging of the bed of the river; this work was continued throughout that and the following year, and finally in March, 1835, Mr. Hopkins was appointed Engineer of the Chambly Canal. He altered the original design, with the approval of the Commissioners, who entered into contracts for the construction of the works, and also applied to Parliament for additional assistance. The Legislature thereupon made an appropriation of $38,000 but the Bill did not receive the Royal assent. The Chambly Canal lies on the west side of the Richelieu, extending from Chambly Basin up to St. John, twelve miles. On the appointment of the Commissioners just referred to, in 1829, they ordered the necessary surveys to be made, and

two years later the work was regularly placed under contract for the gross sum of $184,872, but the contractors were obliged to suspend on account of having taken the work at too low a rate. Considerable progress, however, had been made in the construction of the Canal, and, when the state of affairs had been reported to the Legislature, a Bill was passed through the Houses, in 1835-36, granting the requisite funds, but it also failed to receive the Royal assent. During the ensuing year the want of funds continued to be the difficulty, and it was not until 1841 that the work was taken energetically in hand by the Board of Works. The Canal was opened two years later, but the work was found to be in a very unsatisfactory condition, and at last, in 1858, it had to be renewed to a large extent. The system as a whole was enlarged still further in 1875 and 1881.

IX. *St. Peter's Canal.* The only Canal in actual operation in the Maritime Provinces is that which connects the Bras D'Or Lake in Cape Breton with the ocean. The width of the Isthmus separating the sea from the lake, which is a noble sheet of water, abounding in fish, and surrounded by a country rich in mineral and agricultural resources, is only half a mile. The projected Canal was discussed at an early date by the representatives of Cape Breton in the Legislature of Nova Scotia. In 1821 a survey was made by Mr. Francis Hall and other surveys by Mr. C. W. Fairbanks and Captain Barry in subsequent years. The design of the latter for a canal 22 feet wide at bottom and 13 feet deep was adopted, and the work commenced on September 7th, 1854, and continued until 1858, when Mr. Laurie, then Chief Engineer of the Province, made an unfavourable report as to the probable remunerative results of the work, and suggested a marine railway as the best means of accommodating the trade of the locality. The works were then suspended for some time, but the Cape Breton representatives continued urging the necessity of the undertaking, and the construction of the canal was resumed in 1864. The St. Peter's Canal was among the public works handed over to the Dominion in 1867. Since then the work has been completed, and in 1871 was 2,400 feet long, with a breadth of 26 feet at bottom, one tidal lock, 26x122 feet, and four pairs of gates. The cost previous to the Union was $160,811.95 and up to June 30th, 1870, was $142,225.78 additional.

Canadian Canal Expenditure. The following table of the expenditure upon construction and enlargement of the Canals of Canada from 1821 to 1889 was compiled by Mr. G. F. Baillarge, Deputy Minister of Public Works, and published officially in the latter year;

Name of Canal	Expenditure Prior to 1st July, 1867	Expenditure from 1st July, 1867, to 30th June, 1889.	Total Expenditure to 30th June, 1889
Beauharnois	$ 1,611,424 11	$ 124,290 47	1,735 714 58
Carillon and Grenville	63,053 64	3 977,920 07	4,040,973 71
Chambly	634,711 76	276,061 97	910,773 73
St. Ours' Lock	121,537 65	45,174 58	166 712 23
Cornwall	1,933,152 69	1 056,135 84	2,989,288 53
Culbute		413,717 48	413,717 48
Lachine	2 587,532 85	6,633,681 87	9,221,214 72
Murray		1,043,046 41	1,043,046 41
Rideau	4,064 764 07	121,097 76	4,185,861 83
Sault S e. Marie		42,164 01	42,164 01
St. Ann's	114 456 51	1,039,514 24	1,173,970 75
St. Peter's	156 523 32	520,743 95	677,267 27
Tay		407,764 72	407,764 72
Trent	309 371 31	751,238 48	1,060,609 79
Burlington Bay	432,684 40	56,839 20	489.523 60
Welland	7,638,239 83	16,149,710 47	23,787,950 30
Williamsburg	1.320.655 54	504,098 68	1,824,754 22
St. Lawrence Canals (not apportioned)	116,821 31		116,821 31
St. Lawrence Surveys		161,719 89	161 719 89
St. Lawrence chain vessels and improvement of navigation		591,475 70	591 475,76
Baie Verte Canal Surveys		44.387 53	44.387 53
Total Expenditure	$21,124,928 99	$33,960,783 38	$55,085,712 37

The expenditure of the Imperial Government on the Carillon and Grenville Canals cannot be ascertained, as the records relating to them were destroyed by fire in the Ordnance Office, at Montreal, in 1852. Other particulars of expenditure prior to Confederation in 1867 were as follows:

	Imperial Government	Provincial Government
Lachine Canal	$ 40,000 00	$ 2,547,532 85
Rideau "	3,911,701 47	153,062 60
Welland "	222,220 00	7,416,019 83
Other Canals as above		6,834,392 24
	$4,173,921 47	$16,951,007 52

The expenditure upon repairs, renewals and maintenance amounted to $12,683,954 in addition to the above sums, and Mr. George Johnson, the Dominion Statistician, gave the total figures of expenditure upon construction and enlargement to 1895 as being $62,237,296, exclusive of the amount for repairs, etc., and showing an increase of over $7,000,000 in five years.

Report of Canadian Canal Commission. On the 16th of November, 1870, a Royal Commission composed of Sir Hugh Allan as Chairman, Mr. Samuel Keefer, Secretary, Mr. (afterwards Sir) C. S. Gzowski, C.E., Mr. D. D. Calvin, M.P.P., Mr. P. Garneau, Mr. Alexander Jardine, and the Hon. S. L. Shannon, of Nova Scotia, was appointed, with the following general objects:

"To institute and make a thorough enquiry as to the best means of affording such access to the seaboard as may best be calculated to attract a large and yearly increasing share of the trade of the north-western portion of North America through Canadian waters, as well as thorough and comprehensive improvement of the Canal System of our said Dominion, on such a scale and of such a character as would best tend to afford ample facilities for the expansion and due development of its growing trade and commerce; and in such enquiry to consider the whole subject, in all its bearings, as well in a commercial as in an engineering point of view, with the object of obtaining such reliable information thereupon as may furnish the necessary data on which to base a plan for the improvement of the Canal System of our said Dominion, of a comprehensive character, and such as will enable Canada to compete successfully for the transit trade of the great Western country, and especially to enquire into the public works and improvements hereinafter enumerated."

The Commission investigated the subject very carefully, and on the 24th of February, 1871, submitted an elaborate Report to the Government—Sessional Papers, Volume 6, No. 54, 1871. The history of each Canal was gone into and various improvements suggested. One of the matters drawn attention to at great length was the commercial importance of improved waterways and the inadequacy of the facilities afforded by American as well as Canadian enterprise for the transit of the products of the West and the consequent development of cheap routes of communication with the principal markets of the world. It was noted that on the 14th of February, 1863, Commissioners were appointed by the State of Illinois to confer with the Canadian authorities on the question of transit, and in their Memorial they had used the following emphatic words: "For several years past a lamentable waste of crops already harvested has occurred in consequence of the inability of the railways and canals leading to the seaboard to take off the excess. The North-West seems already to have arrived at a point of production beyond any possible capacity for transportation which can be provided, except by the great natural outlets. It has, for two successive years, crowded the canals and railways with more than one hundred millions of bushels of grain, besides immense quantities of other provisions and vast numbers of cattle and hogs. This increasing volume of business cannot be maintained without recourse to the natural outlet of the lakes. The St. Lawrence furnishes for the country bordering upon the lakes a natural outlet to the sea." These words illustrated the natural aspirations of the West in those days as well as the increasing ones of the present time and indicate also the standpoint from which the Commission made the following summary of its opinion:

"In urging this policy of Canal enlargement and extension upon the favourable consideration of the Government, the Commissioners feel that it is the one which will best stimulate the commercial development of the whole Dominion, and bind all sections together in the bonds of mutual amity and interest. The expense of these improvements will be insignificant compared with the direct benefits Canadian Commerce will receive, and will be immediately met by the larger revenue that must accrue from the tolls on a vastly increased traffic. The contest for the supremacy of the carrying trade of the great West will be between New York, Montreal and Quebec. Nature has given the latter cities the advantage of position and route, and it now only depends on enterprise and capital to determine whether they shall be left behind in the competition for an enormous traffic, the control of which must elevate them to the foremost position among commercial communities.

If we look at the routes of all other projected Canals, the Ottawa, the Erie and Ontario, or the Georgian Bay, we see that each and all are intended to be subsidiary to the St. Lawrence route. Our duty is to improve that navigation in the first place, because it is the one which has been tried and found to answer all the purposes for which it was intended. It would be unwise to spend millions of public money in assisting enterprises of minor utility at present, when a comparatively reasonable sum can so improve existing works, like the Welland and St. Lawrence system of canals, as to answer all the requirements of trade for many years to come, and with the certainty of retaining a large income to the public revenues, and giving an impulse immediately to the development of the commerce of the whole Dominion. In taking upon herself the entire burden of opening an avenue to the sea through her own waters for the trade of the West, Canada has a right to expect that the influence of the people of the Western States (whose commerce, already employing five-eighths of the traffic now passing through the Welland Canal will be further stimulated and whose productions will be enhanced in value by the expenditure) should be felt in the councils of their country, and that all unnecessary restrictions upon the trade between the two countries should be abolished.

The question is now presented, whether, under our existing commercial relations with the United States, it is advisable for Canada to embark in this expenditure without first obtaining such reasonable concessions, as she has so clear a right to demand. She may not unreasonably expect that the Navigation Laws of the United States should be so modified as to promote free intercourse with Canada, and that our trade relations should be put on a footing mutually advantageous to both countries."

Sketch of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal. The Canadian Sault Ste. Marie Canal was built mainly in order to complete the all-Canadian route from the head of the great lakes to the sea and to avert complications such as had arisen from time to time through using the American locks. When the desirability of thus connecting Lake Superior and Lake Huron *via* Canadian territory was once recognized action was quickly taken. The Dominion Parliament passed a measure in 1888, and tenders being called for, the contract was ultimately issued to Messrs. Hugh Ryan & Co., of Toronto. The first plans, upon which the contract was made, were prepared by the late Mr. Page, Chief Engineer of Canals, who, for almost half a century, had been employed on Canadian canals, and who may fairly be called in a mechanical sense, the father of the Canadian canal system, almost every lock of which he had designed.

The first plans of construction were not entirely adhered to. The work had not progressed far, in fact, when there occurred at Ottawa the sudden death of Mr. Page. The late Mr. Trudeau, Deputy Minister of the Department of Railways and Canals and a Civil Engineer of eminence and experience, succeeded him in his post. The Boards of Trade of Toronto and Montreal, the shipping men generally, many engineers and railway men, and a number of newspapers had meanwhile pressed upon the Government the advisability of having a lock with nineteen feet of water on the mitre sills, the curved end being omitted. After careful consideration, Mr. Trudeau decided to abandon the huge 100-feet gates, which had been proposed originally, and to change the lock to the following dimensions:

Length between gates, in feet	900
Length of walls of lock over all, in feet	1,106
Width at gates, in feet	60
Width in chamber of lock, in feet	60
Navigable depth of water at low-water level.	20.3
Height of lock walls, in feet	44.6
Thickness at gates, in feet	25
Thickness of remainder, in feet	20

It was in accordance with this plan that the Canal was finished. The lock has two sets of gates at the lower end, irrespective of guard gates. These are in use daily. The auxiliary gates are put into service in case of injury to the main gates or while repairs are being made. This design seems to have been a great improvement upon the original plans. First of all (according to an elaborate article in the *Toronto Globe*, of October 26, 1896), the walls of the chamber are straight, thus avoiding the dangers

and inconveniences caused by the curved wall designed by Mr. Page. Next, the length of the chamber will be noticed, in consequence of which it has greater capacity—three vessels being able to lie in the lock one behind the other. Shortly after the Canal was opened three Minnesota Steamship Line vessels, with a combined length of 936 feet, and a registered tonnage of 4,987 tons, were put through at one locking, and four or five steamers of more ordinary size can be locked through at once. Then again, the depth of water afforded by the new chamber was a most important feature of the work enabling it to float any vessel which can navigate the channels connecting the lakes, and thus affording a final link in the Canadian system of inland waterways. Finally the new method of letting water into the lock which was adopted, enabled the chamber to be filled and emptied with great rapidity, and as time is most essential in the navigation of the upper lakes this was a most important advantage. The contractors began operations in May, 1889, having collected one of the largest plants ever employed in similar work, and from the turning of the first sod until the laying of the last stone the undertaking seems to have been pushed with vigour.

The walls of the lock, which are 1,100 feet in length on each side, contain about 70,000 cubic yards of masonry, and all of this, with the exception of about 7,000 cubic yards, was put in place in a little over five months of the year 1893. The final change in the designs for the lock was made in the autumn of 1892. The cause of this great speed of construction is found in the fact that in the summer of 1893, the United States Government ordered the collection of tolls on Canadian vessels passing through the American lock. This stimulated the Canadian Government to offer the contractors a bonus of $90,000 to complete the lock by the end of 1893, the contract only calling for its completion by the end of 1894. After the work on the walls was finished, that on the culverts at the bottom of the chamber was carried forward. There are four of these culverts. The dimensions of the valves at the filling end are eight feet by eight feet, and at the emptying end eight feet by ten feet. By the system adopted the entire chamber can be filled in six or seven minutes and emptied in four or five minutes. The walls erected, and the receptacles for the lock and auxiliary gates being in readiness, the chamber was flooded, and the gates (immense structures of wood and iron constructed on the floor of the chamber) were floated into position by means of pontoons. The chamber, with the exception of the electrical appliances used to move the gates and operate the valves, was then ready for use. The last stone was put in place on November 16th, 1893, six weeks ahead of the time stipulated in the agreement by which the bonus was to be given for the shortening of the original time.

Miscellaneous Canal Statistics. In connection with the St. Lawrence system of canals, the following table of distances between Port Arthur, at the head of Lake Superior, and Liverpool, England, was given by Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistician, in a paper read before the International Deep Waterways Convention at Cleveland, U.S.A., in September, 1895:

	Miles
Port Arthur to Sault Ste. Marie	273
Sault Ste. Marie to Sarnia	318
Sarnia to Amherstburg	76
Amherstburg to Port Colborne	232
Port Colborne to Port Dalhousie	27
Port Dalhousie to Kingston	170
Kingston to Montreal	178
Montreal to Three Rivers (tidewater)	86
Three Rivers to Quebec	74
Quebec to Saguenay	126
Saguenay to Father Point	57
Father Point to West End, Anticosti	202
Anticosti to Belle Isle	441
Belle Isle to Malin Head (Ireland)	2,013
Malin Head to Liverpool	221
Total	4,494

Mr. Johnson has also compiled the following figures concerning the eight canals between Lake Superior and tidewater:

Name.	Length in Miles.	Locks. Number.	Feet. Dimensions.	Locks. Feet. Rise.	Feet. Depth on Sill,
Lachine	8¼	5	270 x 45	45	At 2 locks, 18
					" 3 locks, 16
Beauharnois	11½	9	200 x 45	82½	9
Cornwall	11½	6	200 x 55 (3)	48	At 2 locks, 14
			270 x 45 (2)		" 4 locks, 9

Name.	Length. in Miles	Locks. Number.	Feet. Dimensions.	Locks. Feet Rise.	Feet Depth on Sill.
Farran's Point....	3¼	1	200 x 45	4	9
Rapide Plat	4	2	200 x 45	11½	9
Galops.....	7⅝	3	200 x 45	15½	9
Welland	26¾	25	270 x 45	326¾	14
(a) Welland River Branch.....	⅔	2	150 x 26½	10	9 10 in.
(b) Grand River Feeder.....	21	2	150 x 26½ 200 x 45 (1)	7⅛	9
(c) Port Maitland Branch..	1¾	1	185 x 45	7½	11
Sault Ste. Marie Canal.....	⅔	1	900 x 60	18	22

The Deepening of Canadian Canals. An enormous sum of money has been spent by Canada in constructing canals and in afterwards deepening some of them, but the full benefit of these expenditures cannot be obtained until the whole chain is completed. For example, about $25,000,000 was expended on the Welland Canal before a depth of fourteen feet was secured. The full benefit of that expenditure has not in 1898 been obtained, although it is nearly twenty years since the work on the new canal was commenced. The deepening of that canal gave vessels of large draught access to Lake Ontario, but as they could get no further the greater part of the good accomplished could not be reaped. Freight on the great lakes is destined either for Europe or for the big cities of this continent, such as Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Buffalo, New York, Toronto and Montreal. When destined for the American cities mentioned there is no necessity to come further east than Buffalo, and as a matter of fact that is the head of by far the greater proportion of lake traffic. If, however, as the Toronto *Globe* of July 30th, 1897, points out, there was a channel clear through to tidewater it is believed that a large quantity of this traffic bound for the ocean would go to Montreal. The mere fact that the traffic would be brought to a Canadian port would not perhaps justify the expenditure. But this justification may be found in the promise of cheap rates for the carriage of Western products. When a vessel of 13 or 14 feet draught can load at Fort William and proceed through the great lakes to Montreal without breaking bulk and return laden with goods, transportation will be brought down to its cheapest terms.

"It has been calculated," says the *Globe* in the editorial referred to, "that when this line is open it will add four cents to the value of every bushel of grain transported from the West to the sea. Within the very near future a million a year would be added to the profits of the western farmer on this account alone. The lessening of freights on the necessaries of life required by the prairie farmers would of itself constitute a good round sum practically added to the wealth of the country. The stimulus that these lowered freights would impart to western settlement cannot easily be exaggerated. Men of both parties are agreed that some such results as these would flow from the deepening of the canals. The only difference of opinion was as to when it should be done. As the full benefits of the work could not be obtained until this is complete, it looks like wisdom to attempt to arrive at that position as soon as possible. This was the conclusion that Mr. Blair and his colleagues came to. Parliament without a dissenting voice agreed with them, and there was a hearty endorsation from all over the land when the policy of a rapid completion was announced (July, 1897). Canal building is expensive work, but there is one thing to be said in its favour. An overwhelming proportion of the expenditure goes for wages, so that the money borrowed abroad, or the greater proportion of it at least, will receive a rapid and wide dissemination as the works go on." The expenditures authorized by Parliament at the time mentioned and in connection with this great national interest were as follows:

Soulanges Canal construction	$1 250,000
Cornwall Canal enlargement	185,000
Cornwall Canal, converting basin into a dry dock	15,000
Farran's Point, canal enlargement	375,000
Rapide Plat Canal enlargement	115,000
Galops Canal enlargement	1,635,000
North Channel straightening and deepening	375,000
Galops Channel	50,000
River reaches	50,000
Lake St. Francis, removal of boulders, etc.	75,000
Lachine Canal, enlargement	216,000

Lachine Canal, deepening river at St. Pierre	40,000
Lake St. Louis, channel straightening and deepening	86,000
Total	$4,467,000

The International Deep Waterways Question. The International Deep Waterways Association was formed at Toronto in September, 1894, when a Convention was held to consider the subject. Mr. O. A. Howland, of Toronto, acted as President. The following Resolutions formed the platform of the organization then founded :

" Whereas this Convention has assembled for the purpose of promoting the union of the lakes and the high seas by waterways of the greatest practicable capacity and usefulness ; and recognizing the supreme utility of such waterways development ;

Resolved, That the depth of all channels through the lakes and their seaboard connection be not less than 21 feet, and that all permanent structures be designed on a basis of not less than 26 feet, in order that greater depth may be quickly and cheaply obtained whenever demanded by the future necessities of commerce. Resolved, That this Convention recognizes the utility of the natural route to the sea by the St. Lawrence River as most quickly and cheaply improvable, and is also impressed with the commercial necessity of the route reaching the Atlantic Ocean *via* the Hudson River.

Resolved, That we recommend that the Governments of Canada and the United States appoint a Joint Commission to consider and report fully upon the advisability of the two countries uniting to establish deep ship channels from the great lakes to the sea, free and neutral, at joint expense, under joint control, as well as the probable character and expense thereof together with the equitable share that should be charged to each country, and whether the two countries may not co-operate in said undertaking in all matters necessarily international in character.

Resolved, That we cordially approve of all projects designed to extend marine commerce by means of waterways from the great lakes into new territory. Resolved, That, as a preparation for the joint formation of common interests, it is desirable that a permanent Court should be constituted for the decision by rules of law of all questions of an international character which may in any wise arise between the peoples and Governments of the British Empire and the United States. Resolved, That these Resolutions be respectfully communicated to the Governments and Parliaments of Great Britain and the Colonies of the British Empire, and the Government of the United States."

Copies of these Resolutions were sent to the various Governments interested and received consideration in due course. In order to fully investigate the important proposals presented by the Association the Dominion Government appointed a Commission of three—Oliver A. Howland, M.P.P., T. C. Keefer, C.E., C.M.G., and T. Munro, M. Inst., C.E., to meet and confer with a Commission appointed by the President of the United States and to discuss the feasibility of constructing canals which would enable ocean-going vessels to pass between the great lakes and the Atlantic Ocean. The Government of the United States also appointed a Commission consisting of James B. Angell, LL.D., President of the University of Michigan, formerly U. S. Minister to China, and then recently appointed Minister to Turkey ; John E. Russell, of Leicester, Mass., formerly a member of the United States Congress ; and Lyman E. Cooley, Civil Engineer, of Chicago. After preliminary meetings of the National Commissions, a joint meeting was held in Detroit, U.S.A., in January, 1896. The principal business of this sitting was the consideration of such maps, charts, surveys, and reports as had been made to date by the Governments of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States. It was found, however, that the information available was insufficient to enable the Commission to report, and it was agreed to adjourn until April in order that each Commission might, in the interim, obtain in their respective countries such information as would enable the joint Commission to present the required statement.

After the adjournment of the International Commission, Mr. Munro, C.E., was enabled to make considerable progress in that section of the

investigation for which the Canadian Commission was responsible—the general levels and alignment of a route between the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain.

While, however, the Government of the United States had acceded to the urgent and combined desire of the people of the Western States and Lake cities to undertake the investigation of the most feasible routes to the ocean, whether national or international in character, yet there were large local interests, naturally favoured by national sympathies, which desired the route to

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be completely within United States territory. These influences secured a large appropriation for an examination into the possibility of an entirely United States route by way of the Mohawk Valley from Lake Ontario to the Hudson.

The first Report of practical value made by the Canadian Commission was dated March 13th, 1896, and duly forwarded to the Secretary of State at Ottawa. It gave much valuable information and included numerous maps, charts, plans, etc., and suggested that from $15,000 to $20,000 at least would be required to make such further investigation as would enable the Canadian Commission to definitely state its views on the location and cost of the deep waterway, should the St. Lawrence route be adopted. The adjourned meeting of the Joint Commission which was to have been held in April, 1896, did not take place until July of that year. At this meeting it was ascertained that the United States Commission had not completed to its satisfaction the whole of the work of which it had taken charge, viz., an investigation of routes from the Lakes to the seaboard upon United States as well as international territory. Under these circumstances it was thought best to hold an adjourned meeting at Montreal in the following September, when it was expected that both Commissions would be in a position to present complete reports to their respective Governments. In August, 1896, the Canadian Commissioners presented their second interim Report accompanied by maps, schedules, plans, etc., which contained a mass of additional information. However, valuable as the aggregate investigations up to date had been, very much more progress was required in order to form a reliable opinion as to the cost of a channel of the necessary dimensions through Canadian territory. The Report stated that at least $10,000 additional would be required to continue the investigation. Up to that time some $6,000 had been spent by the Commissioners in the prosecution of their work.

The latest record of the work undertaken by the International Deep Waterways Commission is embodied in the Report of the Canadian Commissioners presented to the Secretary of State on the 17th of June, 1897, This Report was most elaborate. Figures were given to show what the Commissioners considered the certain development of business in iron ore, lumber, coal, grain, flour, etc., if a through deep waterway to the ocean were established. The Report contended that an extension of deep water to the Atlantic seaboard would effect an annual saving of more millions that would be required to pay the interest on the cost of such a work, great as that might be. It also set forth that there was only one international route possible, viz., that *via* the St. Lawrence

and Lake Champlain, inasmuch as it permitted of extension to Montreal and thence to Europe on the shortest possible line. This, in connection with the consideration that the St. Lawrence-Champlain route gives the greatest extent of wide and deep water, the least mileage of artificial channel, and the minimum of lockage, caused the Canadian Commission to recommend that route. The Report further stated that Canada's interest in such a waterway is only second to that of the United States, and that a joint arrangement would give an opportunity of doing what Canadian canals failed to do, that is, to obtain the maximum amount of the Western trade for the St. Lawrence route; and in addition it would give a most direct navigation upon the largest scale between Montreal and Lake Champlain with the New England frontier and with the Hudson River and New York; as also the most economical connection possible with Chicago and Duluth, and the Canadian port of Fort William on Lake Superior.

The third meeting of the Joint Commission took place at Detroit in December, 1896, after which the United States Commissioners presented their Report to the President. This statement asserted the feasibility of constructing a deep waterway adequate to any scale of navigation which might be required between the several great lakes and the seaboard; and also that it would be wise to provide for securing a channel of a navigable depth of not less than twenty-eight feet. Secondly, it urged that the most eligible route was by the Niagara River, and by canal, on the east side from Tonawanda to Olcott on Lake Ontario; that the seaboard might be reached (from Lake Ontario) by the St. Lawrence River, and *via* Lake Champlain to the Hudson River, or by way of the Oswego-Oneida-Mohawk Valley and the Hudson River, but that these alternative routes required complete surveys in order to compare them in all respects and comply with the provisions of the Act of Congress as to the "probable cost, with estimates in detail." For surveys, $350,000 were estimated, of which an appropriation of $150,000 was asked for the first year. An estimated cost of the whole undertaking, it may be added, was about $100,000,000.

The Hon. William Hamilton Merritt was born in Westchester County, in what is now the State of New York, in 1793. In 1796 his family emigrated to the neighbourhood of St. Catharines, Ontario, which was then utterly uncultivated. He was educated at Port Burlington (now Hamilton), Niagara and St. John, New Brunswick. In 1809 he entered into a general mercantile business, but after two years took charge of his father's farm. Soon after, the War of 1812 broke out, and in this patriotic Canadian struggle he took an active part. In 1815 he again entered the mercantile business, and in the following year began to work some of the salt-springs in his vicinity. Mr. Merritt conceived the project of a canal connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario in 1818, and to this end he made a rough survey of the district and petitioned the Government to grant an appropriation for a more accurate survey. £2,000 were granted, but the amount was used for an injudicious survey, and the project was then dropped for about five years. By 1823, however, Mr. Merritt had thought it out completely and a subscription had been taken up to pay for a new survey. This was done accordingly, and in 1824 an Act of Incorporation was secured and Mr. Merritt was sent to New York to induce capitalists to embark in the undertaking. The work of construction went on during the next five years, and towards the close of 1829 vessels passed through. In the following summer the Welland Canal was formally opened, and a brisk business began to be done through it.

In 1842 all the stock of the Company was purchased by the Government, which thenceforward assumed control of the enterprise. The construction of this Canal gave a great impetus to St. Catharines, the population of which in 1826 was 317, and in 1842 was 2,354. Mr. Merritt was returned to Parliament in 1832 for the County of Haldimand, and was placed on the Finance Committee. Throughout the whole of his public career he took special interest in promoting public works and improvements, and in efforts to amend or change the banking system. He was also a zealous advocate of the Union of 1841, and after the Union was returned as Reform member for the County of Lincoln, and continued to represent that constituency for about nineteen years.

He projected the Niagara Falls Suspension Bridge in 1845, and was elected President of the Company by which it was built. This office he held till his death. He also promoted the Welland Railway Company, and obtained its charter of incorporation. In 1848 Mr. Merritt was made President of the Council, and in 1850 became Commissioner of Public Works. In 1851 he retired from the Government. In 1860 he was elected to the Legislative Council by acclamation for the district of Allanburg. This position he held till his death in 1862, which occurred on board a vessel while passing through the Canal at Cornwall towards his home.

Sir Samuel Cunard, Bart., the founder of the great Cunard Steamship Line, was born at Halifax, N.S., November 21st, 1787. He was the son of a Philadelphia merchant, and for years carried on a mercantile business at Halifax, owned a line of whalers running from Nova Scotia to the Pacific, and was interested in coal mines in Pictou and in Cape Breton, as well as in lumbering operations at Miramichi. In 1830, when in middle life, he conceived the idea of a mail service between England and America by steamers from Liverpool to Halifax, but it was ten years later before the project became an established fact. Mr. Cunard began his enterprise by going over to Great Britain in 1838, where he met the eminent Marine Engineer, Robert Napier, of Glasgow. His mission was so successful that Mr. Napier undertook the construction of four steamships of 440 horse-power each, and 1,200 tons burden. In 1839 he formed a partnership with David MacIver, of Liverpool, and George Burns, of Glasgow, under the name of "The British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company." Early in the same year the new Company entered into contract with the Government to carry the mails for seven years between Boston and Quebec, and between Liverpool and Halifax, for £60,000 per annum. The first trip was made by the *Britannia*, which left Liverpool amidst great enthusiasm, July 4th, 1840, and arrived in Boston after a voyage of fourteen days and eight hours.

Mr. Cunard made the passage with this first boat and was entertained at a public banquet in Boston given in honour of the establishment of steam postal service. For the first seven years six boats were employed, but after that the Government decided on having a weekly mail, and the fleet was increased to eleven vessels. The annual subsidy was increased to £145,000 and again to £197,000 when the service was made to include New York. The *Persia*, built in 1855 by R. Napier & Son, was the first iron boat used in the service, and was not only the largest, but the fastest vessel of the fleet. From the first the use of the iron steamers was so satisfactory that no side-wheelers were built after 1862, when the first large ship, the *China*, crossed the Atlantic propelled by a screw. In recognition of the services rendered to Great Britain by the founder of the Cunard Line he was made a Baronet on March 9th, 1859, on recommendation of Lord Palmerston. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1846. Sir Samuel died at Kensington, London, where he had lived for some years, on April 28th, 1865, leaving wealth to the extent of £350,000.

Canada and the First Atlantic Steamer. In 1833 a steamship was built at Quebec and called the *Royal William*, which made the first complete passage from this continent to London, wholly under steam. The *Savannah*, of which the Americans boast, was really a sailing vessel and used hardly any steam—for practical purposes none. On December 17th, 1892, Sir Sandford Fleming read a valuable paper on this subject before the Canadian Institute at Toronto, and from this the following facts are taken.

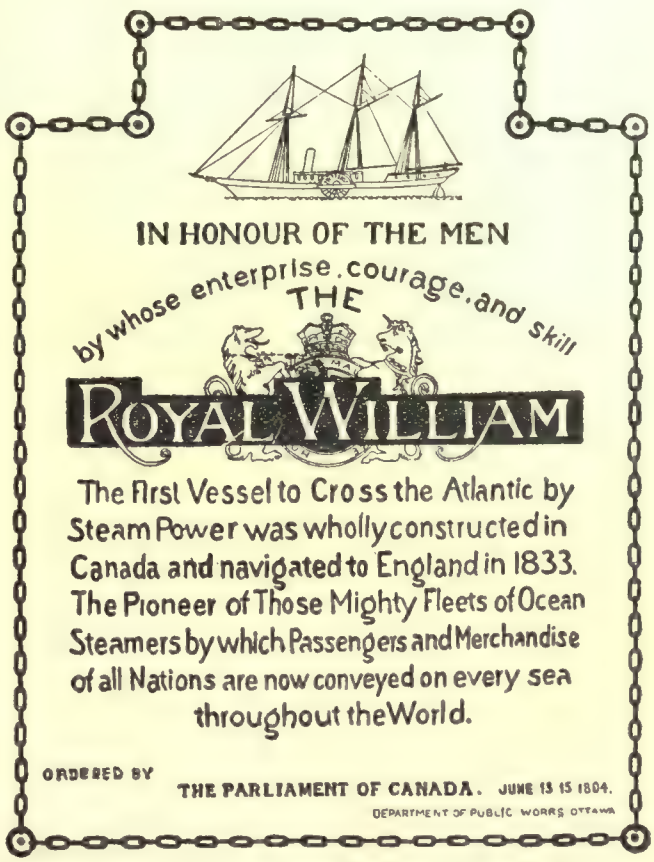
The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was built by a joint stock company at the yard of Campbell & Black, in Quebec, in 1830-31. The designer of the ship and superintendent of its construction was Mr. James Goudie, who was born in Quebec in 1809, and died in 1892. The ship was launched in the spring of 1831 with more than ordinary ceremony, was towed to Montreal to receive her machinery, and, on being fitted for sea, her first voyage was made to Halifax. Before setting out for England she traded between Quebec, Halifax and Boston. She was

the first British steamer to arrive at the latter port. In the list of owners appears the names of the three brothers, Joseph, Henry and Samuel Cunard, of Halifax, Nova Scotia. Her dimensions were: length, 176 feet; hold 17 feet 9 inches; breadth outside, 44 feet; breadth between paddle boxes, 28 feet. She had three masts schooner rigged; and the builders' measurement was 1,370 tons, with accommodation for sixty passengers. She left Quebec for London on August 5th, 1833, and called at Pictou, Nova Scotia, to receive coal and overhaul machinery. She started again from Pictou on August 18th, with seven passengers, 254 chaldrons of coal and a light cargo. She encountered a terrific gale on the Banks of Newfoundland which disabled one of her engines. The passage from Pictou to London occupied twenty-five days. Ten days after her arrival in London she was chartered by the Portuguese Government to enter the service of Dom Pedro, and in 1834 was sold to the Spanish Government, was converted into a war steamer, and under a new name, the *Isabel Segunda*, was employed against Don Carlos. Sir Sandford Fleming asserted in conclusion that "to his mind it is incontestably established that the memorable voyage of the *Royal William* in 1833 must be held to be the first passage across the Atlantic under steam. She undoubtedly proved to be the pioneer of Atlantic steamships. It cannot be disputed that she was the forerunner of the Cunard Line, and as such was equally the forerunner of the thirty-four other lines which to-day run regularly between America and Europe."

This conclusion has now been generally accepted, and during the meeting of the Inter-Colonial Conference in Ottawa (June 28th, 1894) occasion was taken of the presence of so many representatives from the various countries of the Empire to place a tablet in the Parliament Buildings in commemoration of the important event. At the Conference, after an address to the Queen had been adopted, the Governor-General, Lord Aberdeen, read the following letter from Dr. (now Sir) J. G. Bourinot, Secretary of the Royal Society of Canada:

"My Lord: The two Houses of the Canadian Parliament have ordered that a brass tablet should be placed in the wall of the corridor leading to the Library of Parliament, with a suitable inscription commemorating the departure of the *Royal William* from the port of Quebec in 1833—the first vessel to cross the ocean wholly by means of steam. Your Excellency is already familiar with the leading circumstances connected with this interesting historical fact. The brass plate ordered by Parliament is now ready to be put in place, and it is felt that no more fitting time could be chosen than at the close of the opening meeting of the Colonial Conference. On behalf of the Royal Society and associated societies, who were first to move in doing honour to the builders and navigators of the *Royal William*, I express the hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to place the commemoration plate in its permanent position."

The Conference immediately rose, after which the Governor-General unveiled the brass tablet, with the following inscription:


IN HONOUR OF THE MEN
by whose enterprise, courage, and skill
THE
ROYAL WILLIAM
The First Vessel to Cross the Atlantic by Steam Power was wholly constructed in Canada and navigated to England in 1833. The Pioneer of Those Mighty Fleets of Ocean Steamers by which Passengers and Merchandise of all Nations are now conveyed on every sea throughout the World.
ORDERED BY
THE PARLIAMENT OF CANADA. JUNE 13 15 1894.
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS OTTAWA

FACSIMILE OF THE MEMORIAL BRASS.

Canadian Transportation Routes. The distance by various routes from Winnipeg and the North-West to Liverpool is a vital matter in connection with the staple products and exports of that whole great region. The following table is an official one compiled by Mr. G. F. Baillarge, Deputy Minister of Public Works, and published in 1890 in a Departmental volume entitled "Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific":

Routes	Statute Miles	Geographical Miles
Winnipeg to York Factory, or mouth of Nelson River, on west side of Hudson's Bay	750	651
York Factory to Hudson's Strait, at Digges Islands	630	547
Hudson's Strait to Atlantic, at South end of Resolution Island, on north side, or to Cape Chudleigh, on south side of outlet of Strait into the ocean	500	434
From Hudson's Strait, across the Atlantic, to Liverpool, England	2,162	1,875
Total—Winnipeg to Liverpool, *via* York Factory, Hudson's Bay	4,042	3,507
Winnipeg to Quebec, by Canadian Pacific direct, *via* St. Martin's Junction, not calling at Montreal	1,569	1,361
Quebec to Liverpool, *via* Strait of Belle Isle	3,067	2,661
Total—Winnipeg to Liverpool *via* Quebec—Summer Route	4,636	4,022
Winnipeg to Montreal *via* Canadian Pacific Railway	1,423	1,234
Montreal to St. John, N.B, *via* "Short Line," Sherbrooke and Mattawamkeag	481	417
St. John to Liverpool	3,112	2,700
Total—Winnipeg to Liverpool, *via* St. John, N.B.—Winter Route	5,016	4,351

Hudson's Bay Navigation. The history and nature of the navigation of Hudson's Bay, in connection especially with the proposed railways from Winnipeg and Toronto, is an important problem which has been much discussed. Various expeditions have been sent out under different auspices, and a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1884 to examine the whole question. Mr. Alexander Begg in his History of the North-West also deals at length with the subject and from that work certain facts may be summarized or quoted. In 1875, Dr. Bell, of the Geological Survey, made an examination of the head of James' Bay, as far as the north shore of Rupert's Bay, and in 1877 continued the work of exploration as far as Cape Dufferin, the extremity of the Portland promontory in latitude 58 degrees 45 minutes. The Report gave an account of the geology of the coast, and declared that the economic minerals found in different places along the route included lead, copper, gold, silver, zinc, iron, manganese, iron-pyrites, ornamental stones, hydraulic cement stone, building stones, brick clays, asbestos, soapstones and flagstones. The temperature of the seas along the coast was taken in twenty-four instances between 11th July and 21st September, and its average found to be 53 degrees Fahrenheit. The sea water was sufficiently warm to admit of bathing in it.

During 1878 a survey was made of Nelson River for a distance of 180 miles down from the outlet of Lake Winnipeg, and for about ninety miles from the sea upward. The boat route from Norway House to York Factory, the Hayes River in the vicinity of York Factory, and the shores of Lake Winnipeg, were also surveyed. In 1879 it was deemed desirable to ascertain how far the Nelson River or other water stretches between Lake Winnipeg and the Hudson's Bay could be utilized for navigation, so as to diminish as much as possible the land carriage. The result of the examination made on this occasion was, that taking into consideration the possibility of constructing canals past the obstructions to navigation, the difficulties in the way of such a scheme were such that the advantages of a through line of railway, instead of attempting the improvement of one of the water routes, became apparent.

In 1880, the central section of the Nelson River was surveyed and a complete map made of its entire length. The Grass River, a large branch of the Nelson, was also surveyed and the great Churchill River, from the mouth to a point about twenty miles above the junction of the Little Churchill, was examined. The ruins of Fort Prince of Wales on the western side of the mouth of the river were found to be in a good state of preservation, although more than 100 years had elapsed since this stronghold was captured and its woodwork burnt by the French Admiral, La

Perouse. The present post of the Hudson's Bay Company, called Fort Churchill, stands on the western side of the river about four miles from its mouth. Here the inhabitants raise potatoes and turnips, breed cattle, and make excellent butter. The Churchill River differs from rivers entering the Hudson's Bay to the southward of it, in having a rocky mouth, and is of such a form as to constitute an excellent harbour which can be easily entered by shipping at all stages of the tide.

During the autumn of 1880, Dr. Bell made a voyage from York Factory to England, in the Hudson's Bay Company ship—the *Ocean Nymph*, 320 tons—sailing from Churchill on the 13th September. "The voyage," says Mr. Begg, "was an unusually long and stormy one, occupying five weeks, but from the 19th September till the 8th October, while in the Straits, the weather was so fine that the Bishop of Moosonee, who was a passenger on the ship, held Divine service on the open deck on three successive occasions. The field ice encountered was old, rotten, and discoloured, and would not have hindered a steamer in the slightest degree. In endeavouring to get through Hudson's Straits with a vessel of such poor sailing qualities as the *Ocean Nymph* was proved to possess, the chief problem was how to prevent her from being carried by the tides upon the rocks, owing to calms and changes in the wind which would have been entirely avoided by a steamer. It is evident that although we have a long and remarkably successful experience of sailing vessels to refer to—no loss having ever occurred in the Straits—still this evidence cannot be of much service in the predicting what may be accomplished by using properly equipped steamers, which would revolutionize the whole matter. The most experienced and intelligent of the American whaling masters who have navigated the Straits say that during the summer and autumn months, at any rate, should drift ice occur in these parts, open water, suitable for the passage of steamers, can always be found between it and the shores. Another thing is that the aid of telegraphs, lighthouses and beacons, for the operation of which the high, bold shores of the Straits offer every facility, would do much to facilitate the navigation of this great passage."

A paper was read before the Royal Geographical Society in 1881 on the commercial importance of Hudson's Bay, which pointed out the nature of the Bay in relation to its navigation, the uniformity of the depth of water, the freedom from shoals, reefs, and islands near the principal ship tracks, the character of the bottom, and the harbours, tides, river navigation, etc. In this paper General Sir J. H. Lefroy is mentioned as an authority regarding the importance of the route in increasing the value of the vast tracts of fine agricultural land, much of which has so long lain dormant in the Territories. He pointed out that some of the cheaper kinds of produce which would not bear a long land journey at all, might be profitably exported by a shorter route. For the transport of grain, fresh meat, dairy produce, etc., the cool northern outlet would, it was claimed, have a great advantage over the warmer southern routes. General Lefroy also spoke of the incorrectness of the belief (or at least its uncertainty) that Hudson's Bay freezes over in the winter. He claimed that there is no evidence to show that the Strait is frozen over at that season of the year, any more than the Bay. He claimed on the contrary, that, although it may sometimes be more or less covered with floating ice, its great width, depth and the strength of the tides probably keep it open all winter. The conclusion reached by General Lefroy from all the evidence obtained by him, was that Hudson's Strait and Bay can be navigated by steamers, and the harbours entered, during an average of four and a-half months of the year. Annual records of the opening and closing of the Albany, Hayes and Nelson Rivers, extending over periods of fifty years and upwards, show that those streams are open for an average of at least six months each year.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons, of which the Hon. Joseph Royal was Chairman, sat in April, 1884, and was composed of the late Sir John Abbott, Messrs. St. Croix Brecken, G. E. Casey, S. J. Dawson, T. C. A. Desjardins, D. Macmaster, Q.C., H. N. Paint, A. J. Riopel, A. W. Ross, Thomas Scott, Robert Watson, D. B. Woodworth, the late Hon. Thomas White, and Mr. Royal. In the Report presented to Parliament it was stated that there

were no rocks or dangerous places to impede navigation, and that the temperature of the waters of Hudson's Bay in summer is higher than that of the waters of Lake Superior. Storms are very rare and by no means formidable, and no icebergs are ever to be met with, while fogs are of rare occurrence and short duration. The Committee recommended that an expedition should be sent out for the purpose of establishing stations on both sides of Hudson's Straits, at which continual daily observations could be taken and recorded on the weather, tide, and temperature, condition and movements of the ice, etc., for a period of at least twelve consecutive months. Accordingly Lieut. Gordon, R.N., was dispatched in a steamer called the *Neptune* during the summer of 1884, with a numerous and efficient staff, who, having stationed parties on several of the important points on the Straits and Bay, returned about the end of October to St. John's, Newfoundland. In his Report Lieut. Gordon says:

"The ice has been supposed hitherto to be the most formidable barrier to the navigation of the Straits, but its terrors disappear to a great extent under investigation. We met no icebergs in Hudson's Bay, nor did we hear of any being seen there; in the Straits a good many were seen. The icebergs seen in Hudson's Straits in August and September would form no greater barrier to navigation than those met with off the Straits of Belle Isle, nor were they more numerous in Hudson's Straits than they frequently are off Belle Isle. Hudson's Bay may be regarded as a vast basin of comparatively warm water, the effect of which must be to considerably moderate the winter climate to the south and east of it. The Bay never freezes over so far from the shore at Fort Churchill but that clear water can be seen. The Bay has proved to be so navigable in June."

In 1885 and 1886 the expedition under Lieutenant Gordon again visited Hudson's Bay, and, after hearing the reports of his staff left at the different stations along the route, he sums up his whole experience in the following words: "I think it well to state that I am not required to report on the commercial aspect of the case or whether Hudson's Straits' navigation can be made to pay, nor do I in the seasonable limits given mean to state that it is impossible for a ship occasionally to get in earlier or leave later; but, having carefully considered the subject, I give the following as the season during which navigation may in ordinary years be regarded as practicable for the purpose of commerce, not, indeed to the cheaply-built freight steamer, commonly known as the 'ocean tramp,' but to vessels of about 2,000 tons gross, fortified for meeting the ice, and of such construction as to enable them to be fair freight carriers. I consider the season for the opening of navigation to such vessels as the above on the average will fall between 1st and 10th July; the closing would be about the first week in October." Admiral Markham, R.N., who accompanied the expedition, gave the time of navigation through the straits as from one to two months longer than did Lieutenant Gordon. In 1897 Commander Wakeham was sent by the Dominion Government upon a similar expedition of enquiry to Hudson's Bay and the following is a summary of his conclusions as reported on March 6th, 1898:

"I do not consider the risk of entering the ice to be met with off Hudson's Strait during the end of June and in July is very great. I allude of course to a suitably constructed ship—the ordinary tramp ship of commerce should never be risked in heavy ice. There can be no doubt that even with a suitable steamer great care should be taken not to get fast in the ice in the mouth of the Strait or for some distance inside. The ice in Hudson's Bay will never give much trouble to steamers; at present sailing vessels dread it greatly, not from any danger of nipping, but because they are liable to be becalmed in it. I absolutely agree with Captain Gordon in fixing the date for the opening of navigation in Hudson's Straits for commercial purposes, by suitable vessels, at from 1st to 10th July. I do not consider that the Strait can be successfully navigated in June. I consider that navigation should close from 1st to 20th October. I would not dread the ice in October, though there is always a chance of the western end of the Strait being blocked by ice from other quarters. The harbour does not usually freeze over before the end of October, but for some time before it closes it would not be safe for vessels owing to the rush of ice in the strong current. Another serious obstacle to the later navigation of the Strait is the blocking of the eastern entrance by the descent of Baffin's Bay ice. Therefore, for all the reasons enumerated, I consider the 20th of October as the extreme safe limit of navigation in the fall."

The following works may be consulted with

advantage as to the navigation of Hudson's Bay and the history of its exploration:

Account of Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay. Arthur Dobbs. 1744.

A Voyage to Hudson's Bay. Ellis. 1748.

The Present State of Hudson's Bay. Edward Umfreville. 1790.

A Journey to the Northern Ocean in 1769-72. Samuel Hearne. 1796.

Voyage de la Perouse. 1798.

Voyage to Hudson's Bay. Lieut. Edward Chappelle, R.N. 1816.

Parry's Second Arctic Voyage. 1843.

Narrative of Two Voyages to Hudson's Bay. J. B. Nevins, M.D. 1847.

Smithsonian Institute Publications. 1854.

The Physical Geography of the Sea. M. T. Maury, LL.D. 1855.

British House of Commons' Report on Hudson's Bay Company. 1857.

McClintock's Voyages. 1860.

Hind's Report of Navigation of Hudson's Bay. 1878.

History of Manitoba. Donald Gunn. 1880.

Report of Boundary Commission, 1880.

Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, London. 1881.

Ontario Boundary Papers. 1882.

Encyclopædia Britannica.

Immigration and Colonization Committee's Report. 1883.

Meteorological Reports. Dominion Government. 1876-1883.

Geological Reports. Dominion Government. 1879-1884.

Canadian Shipping and Steam Statistics. Vessels built and registered in Canada in 1874 were 490, with an aggregate tonnage of 183,010; those built in 1896 were 227, with an aggregate tonnage of 16,146; average number of vessels built each year during that period, 318; average yearly tonnage, 64,117; total vessels built during the period, 7,330, with an aggregate tonnage of 1,474,695. The vessels sold to other countries in 1876 were 160, and in 1896, 27; average number sold per year during that period, 54; total number sold during the period, 1,128; average yearly value of vessels sold, $522,569; total value of vessels sold, $10,973,943.* In 1896 the number of vessels and their tonnage arriving at Canadian Ports from various countries was as follows:

Countries from which Arrived.	British.		Canadian.		Foreign.		Total.	
	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.	No.	Tons.
Great Britain..	703	1,494 842	89	78 971	313	222,317	1,1051	795 130
British West Indies.....	54	31 884	114	22,294	6	2,823	264	57 001
Newfoundland	404	60,054	305	90 876	12	4,906	721	155 836
United States.	217	365,908	4,842	768,5 6	5,524	1,924,672	106133	059 116
France	18	25 203	5	550	55	16,338	58	42 091
Germany.....	9	16,106	....	.....	41	59,080	50	75 186
Spanish West Indies	4	2,777	67	10,195	16	18 562	87	31 534
Japan.....	17	49,392	....	....	4	7 632	21	56 124
Oth'r countries	228	303,872	1,358	96 532	816	221 338	2432	621,742
Total.....	1,684	2,350,338	6,810	1,067,954	6,797	2,477,068	152915	895,360

The total sea-going shipping entered and cleared at Canadian Ports, with cargo and in ballast, 1868 to 1896, a period of twenty-nine years, shows very considerable expansion. The British vessels averaged in number per year 6,412, with an average tonnage of 527 each. The total number for the period was 185,945, with a total tonnage of 97,938,983. The number of British vessels during the first year of the period (1868) was 13,911, tonnage, 3,457,113, and for the last year (1896) 3,226, tonnage, 4,385,055. Canadian vessels, 1876 to 1896 inclusive, a period of 21 years, were 2 17,-745 in number, with a total tonnage of 39,968,788. The number of Canadian vessels in first-named year was 8,554, and the tonnage, 1,634,333. For the last year there were 13,462 vessels, with a tonnage of 2,141,272. The foreign vessels for the period of 29 years (1868 to 1896 inclusive) were 222,936 in number, with a total tonnage of 88,073,905. For the first year there were 2,105, with a tonnage of 862,208. For the last year there were 13,114, with a tonnage of 4,932,497. The total number for the period was 656,626, or a yearly average of 22,642 vessels. The total tonnage for the period was 225,928,592, or an average yearly tonnage of 7,790,641.

The total tonnage of sea-going vessels carrying cargo into and from Canada between 1869 and 1896, a period of 28 years, divided into five-year periods, was as follows: The tonnage inward in 1869-73 was 8,609,610, and the average per year, 1,721,922. The tonnage outwards was 12,936,872,

* Note. These and most of the following statistics are condensed from the official Annual Statements of Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistician.

and the average per year, 2,587,374. The total tonnage inwards and outwards was 21,546,482, or a yearly average of 4,309,296 tons. For the period covering 1874 to 1878 inclusive the tonnage inwards was 8,971,056, and the average per year, 1,794,211. The total outwards was 14,194,527, and the average per year, 2,838,905 tons. The total tonnage inwards and outwards was 23,165,583, or a yearly average of 4,633,116 tons. For the five years, 1879 to 1883 inclusive, the total tonnage inwards was 11,250,844, and the average per year, 2,250,169 tons. The total outwards was 16,540,915, and the average per year, 3,308,183. The total tonnage inwards and outwards was 27,791,759, or a yearly average of 5,558,352 tons. From 1884 to 1888 inclusive the tonnage inwards was 13,164,683, and the yearly average, 2,632,937 tons. The total outwards was 18,602,652, and the yearly average, 3,720,530 tons. The total inwards and outwards was 31,767,335, or a yearly average of 6,353,467 tons. From 1889 to 1893 inclusive the tonnage inwards was 16,189,408, and the yearly average, 3,237,882. The total outwards was 22,368,008, and the yearly average, 4,473,601. The total tonnage inwards and outwards was 38,857,416, or a yearly average of 7,711,483 tons. For the three-year period, 1894 to 1896 inclusive, the total inwards was 10,484,166, and the yearly average, 3,494,722. The total outwards was 14,333,091, and the yearly average, 4,777,697 tons. The total tonnage inwards and outwards was 24,817,257, or a yearly average of 8,272,419 tons.

Province of Quebec. The registered sea-going tonnage carrying cargo into and out of the Province of Quebec for the twenty-eight years covering 1869 to 1896 inclusive was a total of 56,647,779 tons, or a yearly average of 2,023,135 tons. The registered sea-going tonnage carrying cargo into the Province for the same period reached a total of 24,510,451, or a yearly average of 875,373 tons. The registered tonnage carrying cargo out of the Province for the period mentioned totalled 32,137,128, or a yearly average of 1,147,754 tons.

Province of New Brunswick. The registered sea-going tonnage carrying cargo into and out of the Province during the period of twenty-eight years covering 1869 to 1896, inclusive, was a total for the entire period of 31,687,146, or an average yearly tonnage of 1,131,684. For the same period the registered sea-going tonnage carrying cargo into the Province showed a total of 10,253,781, or a yearly average of 366,206. The sea-going tonnage carrying cargo out of the Province for this period reached a total of 21,403,365, or a yearly average of 764,406.

The registered sea-going tonnage carrying cargo into and out of Nova Scotia from 1869 to 1896.

Period	Total Tonnage	Yearly Average
1869 to 1873...five years	6,864,532	1,372,906
1874 to 1878... " "	6,878,625	1,375,725
1879 to 1883... " "	9,052,750	1,810,550
1884 to 1888... " "	10,914,789	2,182,960
1889 to 1893... " "	12,294,611	2,458,026
1894.....one year	2,503,670	.....
1895..... " "	2,422,018	.....
1896..... " "	2,347,064	.....
Total.....53,278,059		.....

The total tonnage inwards for the whole period was 22,648,104, and the yearly average, 808,861; the total tonnage outwards was 30,629,955, and the yearly average, 1,093,927 tons.

Prince Edward Island. The registered sea-going tonnage carrying cargo into and out of the Province for the period of twenty-three years, from 1874 to 1896 inclusive, was a total of 2,775,623, and a yearly average of 120,679. The sea-going tonnage carrying cargo into the Province was 1,126,943, with a yearly average of 48,997. The sea-going tonnage carrying cargo out of the Province was 1,648,690, with a yearly average of 71,682.

Registered sea-going tonnage carrying cargo into and out of British Columbia from 1875 to 1896:

Period	Total Tonnage	Yearly Average
1874 to 1878...five years	1,439,817	287,963
1879 to 1883... " "	2,358,885	471,777
1884 to 1888... " "	4,089,788	817,958
1889 to 1893... " "	8,927,979	1,785,596
1894.....one year	1,979,969	.....
1895..... " "	2,228,047	.....
1896..... " "	2,167,797	.....
Total.....	23,192,282	

The total tonnage inwards for the whole period was 10,355,965 and the yearly average 450,259. The total tonnage outwards was 12,836,317 and the yearly average, 558,100 tons.

Nationalities of vessels doing the Canadian carrying trade by sea from 1869 to 1896:

Period.	British.		Canadian.		Foreign.	
	Tons.	Per Cent.	Tons.	Per Cent.	Tons.	Per Ct.
1869 to 1873	16,765,848	77.8	.....	.....	4,789,634	22 2
1874 to 1878	11 486,233	49 6	4,152 296	17.9	7,527 054	32.2
1879 to 1883	12,196 093	43.9	6,957,066	25.0	8,638,6.0	31.1
1884 to 1888	13.319.072	41.9	7.175,669	22 6	11 272,594	35.5
1889 to 1893	15 963,726	41.4	6 433,836	16.7	16,159 854	41.9
1894	3.548.694	42,5	1,5 0,262	19.1	3,204,733	38 4
1895	3 405.928	41.7	1 427,544	17.4	3,337 508	40 9
1896	3,653.876	44.0	1,492 555	18.0	3,156 457	38 5
Total	80,339,470	.....	29,229,228	.....	58,077,134	.....

The vessels which arrived at and departed from Canadian Ports on Inland waters between Canada and the United States in 1868 were divided into Canadian, 26,682; United States vessels, 13,482—a total of 40,114. In 1896 the Canadian vessels were 16,355, those of the United States, 18,827 and the total, 35,182. The total number of Canadian vessels which arrived and departed during the twenty-nine years was 587,193, or a yearly average of 20,248. The total number of United States vessels for the same period was 396,685, or a yearly average of 13,679. The total number of both combined for the full period was 983,878, or a yearly average of 33,927. The total registered tonnage of all the vessels for the twenty-nine years was 190,095,934, a yearly average of 6,555,032, or an average tonnage per vessel of 193.

Vessels arriving at and departing from Canadian Ports on Inland waters between Canada and the United States during the period of twenty-one years, from 1876 to 1896 inclusive, with the tons of freight carried and the number of men employed, were as follows:

Nationalities.	Year.	Number of Vessels.	Tons of Freight.	Number of Men Employed.
Canadian	1876	15,392	775,540	126,976
United States		11,192	654,875	85,503
Canadian	1877	15,431	721,601	131,296
United States		13,522	715.541	93.009
Canadian	1878	18,003	856,508	152,087
United States		12 508	544,798	95,580
Canadian	1879	18,122	857,903	156,014
United States		12,718	632,389	89,763
Canadian	1880	22,858	1,340,804	235,266
United States		11,648	501,292	77,294
Canadian	1881	20,592	1,472,518	173,266
United States		12,197	499,734	68,784
Canadian	1882	22,252	1,306 529	181,584
United States		12,250	448,120	68,053
Canadian	1883	20,041	1,097,052	181,991
United States		13,281	605,462	79.882
Canadian	1884	19,404	1,175 152	175,484
United States		13,349	655,457	85,785
Canadian	1885	18,926	1,163,459	193,243
United States		11,033	582,266	75,343
Canadian	1886	18,153	1,067,279	187,822
United States		12,804	618,204	81,019
Canadian	1887	18,059	1,255 000	171,405
United States		13 729	549 741	95 491
Canadian	1888	19 507	1,486 830	179 612
United States		13,929	448,397	96,718
Canadian	1889	21 543	1,340,944	212,440
United States		14,970	650,609	93,394
Canadian	1890	24,527	1,416,217	267,878
United States		16,774	825,448	89,384
Canadian	1891	22 002	1,502,858	245,741
United States		16,005	836,538	112,273
Canadian	1892	19,224	1,519.121	239.933
United States		15 158	749.817	123,874
Canadian	1893	10,012	1,181,043	232,667
United States		16,022	828,325	135.837
Canadian	1894	20,939	954,518	262,204
United States		16,727	1,005,685	139 235
Canadian	1895	16,866	863,343	249,079
United States		15.547	870,771	136 574
Canadian	1896	16,355	1,073,454	228,970
United States		18,827	1,170,757	174,959

The tonnage of vessels, British and Foreign, employed in the coasting trade, and which arrived at and departed from lake ports in the Province of Ontario in 1876 was 3,360,588. For 1896 it was 11,687,217, or a total tonnage for the twenty-one years of 160,622,412, and a yearly average of 7,648,686. In 1876 the total coasting tonnage into and out of the Province of Quebec was 3,574,485. In 1896 it was 4,860,000. The total for the twenty-one years was 86,357,299, or a yearly average of 4,112,252. The total coasting tonnage into and out of the Province of Nova Scotia for 1876 was 1,256,926, and in 1896 was 5,230,242. The total for the twenty-one years was 61,178,896, or a yearly average of 2,913,281. The total coasting tonnage into and out of the Province of New Brunswick for 1876 was 1,097,431, and for 1896, 1,508,278. The total for the twenty-one years was 21,227,286, or a yearly average of 1,010,823. In 1876 the total coasting tonnage into and out of the Province of British Columbia was 128,007, and in 1896, 2,835,677. The total tonnage for the twenty-one years was 31,835,895, or a yearly average of 1,516,852. The total coasting tonnage for Prince Edward Island in 1876 was 883,502, and in 1896, 1,310,339. The total tonnage for the period was 21,552,694, or a

yearly average of 1,026,319. The lake and river tonnage into and out of the Province of Manitoba in 1884 was 4,326, and in 1895, 6,266. The total for the period was 98,900, or a yearly average of 8,242. The aggregate tonnage of the various Provinces for 1876 was 10,300,939, and in 1896, 27,431,753. For the full period of twenty-one years, 1876 to 1896 inclusive, it was 382,890,942, or a yearly average of 18,232,902 tons. The following table gives the figures of comparative sea-going tonnage in certain countries during 1896:

	Steam (gross).	Sail.	Total.
Great Britain & Ireland	9,307,783	2,499,227	11,807,010
British Colonies	530,570	632,371	1,162,941
Total British	9,838,353	3,131,598	12,999,951
United States	887,766	1,283,693	2,171,459
Germany	1,214,830	569,895	1,784,725
Norway	493,813	1,225,274	1,669,087
France	891,720	197,820	1,089,540
Canada	241,772	670,767	912,539
Italy	318,706	453,053	771,759
Spain	449,044	98,314	547,358
Sweden	226,769	271,235	498,004
Russia	220,542	247,130	475,672
Holland	307,145	130,034	437,179
Greece	134,687	208,755	343,432
Denmark	198,577	134,654	333,231
Austria Hungary	222,338	80,270	302,618
Turkey	71,358	134,994	206,352
Japan	174,495	31,889	196,305
Brazil	110,068	35,908	145,976
Belgium	117,289	1,538	118,827
Portugal	62,811	42,448	105,259
Chili	43,741	58,458	102,199

Competitive Land and Water Transport. One of the valuable papers read at the Montreal meeting of the British Association in December, 1884, dealt at length with this important subject. It was written by Mr. Edmund Wragge, of the Grand Trunk Railway, and the late Mr. Alan Macdougall, C.E., of the Canadian Institute, Toronto. The following important extracts may be given here:

"The history of the Canadian canals is progressive. Though they have had direct railway competition alongside of them, they have held their own. Their usefulness has been so certainly demonstrated as to call for their enlargement, and their rivalry with the Erie Canal (N.Y. State) has been acknowledged by the canal authorities for many years. It was said in the earlier part of this paper that the North American continent offers the best and only basis for a full consideration of the comparative cost of land and water carriage. This is true as far as it goes, though it fails in its application to the whole year. The actual competition exists only for the summer months, from April to November, and it may be said that it is only in consequence of the freezing up of the waterways in Canada that the railways are able to carry the grain of the country. The rapid approach of the winter after the harvest has been completed, prevents the grain from being transported to the ocean by water at the season when it is necessary to convert it into gold; and the risk of a fall in prices until the next season's navigation, as well as the loss of interest in holding it, makes it necessary for the producer to send it forward by rail at a greater cost than that at which it could be carried by water, if that route were available when required.

The waterways of Canada and the United States, viz., the great lakes and navigable rivers, having required but a comparatively small outlay of capital to render them available for the transportation of an immense tonnage of the products of the country, afford an unrivalled opportunity for cheap transportation as long as the season of navigation lasts. The railways, on the other hand, as compared with those in a more equable climate, cost a much larger outlay to work, owing to the severity of the winter. The average cost of train mileage in the months of January and February amounts to $23\frac{98}{100}$ cts., as compared with the months of June and July, when it amounts to $19\frac{84}{100}$ cts. This does not include the cost of removing snow other than by locomotive power. The cost of maintenance of the permanent way, or track, is very nearly equal all the year round, and is proportionately heavy, owing to the fact that nearly all the repairs necessary have to be made during six months of the year; and that an equally large number of men have to be employed during the winter months, whose chief work consists in keeping the rails free from snow and ice and attending to the damages created by frost. In a more favoured climate these latter expenses are not incurred, and the ordinary repairs are spread over the whole of the year instead of having to be done in the six months of summer.

In carrying grain from such a centre as Chicago to the seaboard, whether by rail or by water, some of the expenses incurred in handling are common to both systems. Thus, the grain is stored in elevators at Chicago, and these have to be employed whether the grain from this is loaded into vessels or into railway cars. In unloading the cars or vessels at Montreal for transhipment to ocean steamers, a certain proportion in each case has to be bagged. In the case of unloading grain in bulk from the vessels or barges used in conveying the grain through the inland waters, floating elevators have to be employed for transferring the grain from the hold of one vessel to that of another; whilst in the case of grain carried by cars the same elevators have to be made use of, the grain being first put through the ordinary elevator into barges for that purpose—unless it is found to be more economical to ship the whole of the grain direct in bags from the cars to the ocean steamers.

When the question of capital expended for the conveyance of grain from, say. Chicago to Montreal is considered, it will be found that therein lies the chief reason why water carriage is able at all to compete against land carriage. A steamboat can be, and often is, constructed solely for this class of business, and it may be assumed that such a vessel costs a total of $35,000 and has a capacity of 35,000 bushels. She will be able to make seven round trips in the season between Chicago and Kingston, carrying in that time 245,000 bushels; she will probably have to lighter through the Welland Canal to the extent of 5,000 bushels each trip, at a cost of two cents and a half per bushel; and at Kingston she will transfer her cargo to barges which will be towed thence down the St. Lawrence and canals to Montreal. Her 'round trips' to Kingston will cost $2,000 each, or $14,000 for the season, including lighterage as above mentioned and canal tolls; and her earnings will be, from the east-bound trip alone, at the rate of seven cents per bushel, $2,450 per trip, or $17,150 for the season, leaving a net receipt of $3,150, or nine per cent. on the capital for repairs, depreciation and interest on outlay. This estimate leaves out of consideration any return freight she may carry on her west-bound trip, which in all probability will give her sufficient to pay depreciation at least. From these figures it will be seen what might be done if the navigation of the inland waters was open for the whole of the year; and what a disadvantage it is to have them closed for nearly six months out of every year, leaving unproductive during that period the capital expended on the construction and outfit of the vessel. It has been said that a vessel is capable of making seven round trips in the season. It must here be remarked that she does not make so many, as there is a period during summer, just before the new crop comes in, when vessels are not very busy in the grain trade. Still, enough has been said to show that, so far as competition exists for through traffic, the water-rates are lower than those by land; but, in spite of free (American) canals and free lake navigation, the course of trade appears to drift into the more expensive and rapid means of transport by land.

For local traffic or for short distances water service is much cheaper, and a large number of small sailing vessels are regularly employed in this business all over the lake area. In the case of carriage by railway from Chicago to Montreal, a comparison may be made from Chicago to Kingston, a distance of 670 miles. The cost of the railway, with necessary rolling stock, may be put down at $40,000 or £8,000 sterling per mile, which is about the average of Canadian-built railways—amounting to a total sum of $26,800,000 (£5,360,000) for 670 miles. In order to pay five per cent. on the outlay, annual net receipts of $1,340,000 (£268,500), or gross receipts of, say, $4,020,000 (£804,000) will be needed. Taking the proportion of freight to passenger traffic as two to one, which is about the average on the Grand Trunk Railway, $2,680,000 of this amount will be earned from freight, or $4,000 per mile per annum. Supposing the railway to be unable to obtain a higher rate on grain from Chicago to Montreal than the steamboat, which, averaged over a number of years, has been ten cents per bushel of sixty lbs.—made up of seven cents from Chicago to Kingston, and three cents for lightering in barges thence to Montreal—the proportion to Kingston, due to the mileage of the ten cents through to Montreal, would represent a rate of eight cents per bushel, or $2.66 per ton, being at the rate of

only 44 cents per ton per mile—a sum which it is manifest would be insufficient to carry it and pay the working expenses of doing so.

The railway statistics of Canada show that the average receipts from freight of all kinds on the railways amount to $1.50 per ton, and that, for every ton carried, a freight train runs 1½ miles. This gives the average receipts as exactly $1.00 per train mile. The receipts from passenger traffic are one-third of the gross amount, and the passenger train mileage is one-third of the total train mileage. It may, therefore, be assumed that the cost of carrying the passenger traffic is one-third of the total cost of operating the railway, and, on this assumption, we find, from the same statistics, that the cost of carrying freight per ton per mile amounts to seventy-seven cents. The net earnings of the Canadian railways amount to from 2¾ to 3 per cent. upon the capital cost. From these figures it will be seen that even to pay three per cent. on the capital outlay a profit of twenty-three cents per train mile is necessary; and if we accept 100 tons as the average paying load of all freight trains (which is somewhere close to the mark) it will be seen that a charge of one cent per ton per mile will require .77 of a cent per ton per mile to pay expenses and leave only three per cent. at the outside as the interest on the outlay of capital.

The time ordinarily occupied by a grain-laden vessel between Chicago and Montreal is from ten to twelve days; the cargo has to suffer breakage twice, first, in going through the Welland Canal, where the average lighterage is equal to nearly 25 to 30 per cent., and again, at Kingston, where the cargo has to be tranferred to barges in order to pass the St. Lawrence canals, for delivery at Montreal. From Montreal to Liverpool the average time is ten days. A cargo can, therefore, be delivered in Liverpool in three weeks from the time it left Chicago if it goes by the Montreal route. By the Erie Canal route the same cargo would only have reached tide-water at New York in that time. In the case of a train-load of grain from Chicago to Montreal the time would probably be three days in summer and four in winter; and to New York the time would be about the same. It is time, therefore, which, when long distances have to be covered, will enable the railways to hold their own against water competition, and it is manifest that, for short distances, railway carriage cannot compete successfully with water where the highway is a natural one in which a vessel can make a fair rate of speed in covering the distance. In a very valuable paper which is published in the last volume of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, the speed on canals and open waterways is discussed at full length. The results attained by the writer tend to show that canals can compete with railways for heavy freight and minerals when carried at low rates of speed, and where speed is not of any importance. Even in England canal routes can be used profitably to compete with railways. The attention of persons interested in these questions is directed to that very valuable paper. Where time is of importance, as it is both in the British and Canadian grain trade, in the autumn or fall, when the new season's barley is required for brewing purposes, it is the custom of traders to push on the transport and delivery of barley by the quickest, even if the most costly route. And what holds good of barley holds good of other merchandize to a great extent. The conclusions at which we arrive are as follows:

1. Where land and water routes exist side by side, and time is of importance, the water route cannot compete successfully with the land route.

2. Freight is seeking the land route in preference to the water, although it is dearer, as the saving in time compensates for the extra rate of carriage.

3. It is cheaper to transport freight in large quantities both by land and by water, and it is cheaper to do so at a moderately increased rate of speed, as compared with that obtained a few years ago. This experience holds good for Britain, as well as for Canada and the United States.

The Allan Line of Steamships. In 1852, about the time of the introduction of iron screw steamships in the New York trade, Mr. Hugh Allan, then the head of a ship-building firm, decided that the time had come to replace sailing vessels by steamships in the Montreal trade. Accordingly

he formed the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company and the *Canadian* and *Indian* were built. They were about 1,700 gross and 1,170 net, with engines of 350 H.P., and cost about $250,000 each. Their maximum speed was eleven knots, and their dimensions about 270x34. Immediately after their completion they were put into use as transports for the Crimean War. The mail service was then very unsatisfactory, and in 1855 the contract was given to the Allan firm, with an annual subsidy of $120,000 a year for a fortnightly line. The *North American* and the *Anglo-Saxon* were accordingly built, and they opened the service in 1856. An older brother of Mr. Hugh Allan then opened a branch house in Liverpool, while another was opened in Quebec. The boats were quite a success, the fare for passengers and freight being much lower than the Cunard or Collins Lines.

In 1858 it was decided that a weekly service was necessary and an increased subsidy of $208,000 per annum was promised by the Government. The Allans then bought out the other partners and became sole owners. Four new boats were added, the *North Briton, Nova Scotian, Bohemian,* and *Hungarian,* each of about 2,200 tons gross with engines of 400 H.P. They were large carriers but rather slow. The times were hard and the subsidy was increased to $416,000 a year, with very stringent terms as to speed and heavy penalties for delays. To shorten the time for the mails the boats called at Moville, Ireland. Extensive wharf property was bought at Quebec. Three smaller boats were built to run between Glasgow and Montreal of 1400 tons each. The *St. Andrew, St. George* and *St. Patrick,* and later a fourth, the *St. David,* of 1,600 tons, was added. In 1861 the *Norwegian* and *Hibernian,* of 2,400 tons and 450 H.P., were launched. They were faster than the previous boats and were the first built with "spar decks" fore and aft, and without bulwarks, which added greatly to the comfort and safety. In 1863 Robert Steele, of Greenock, built for the Allans the *Peruvian* and *Moravian,* of 2,600 tons and 500 H.P. They were fast, but their carrying capacity was small. Ultimately they were lengthened, as were also the *Nova Scotian, Hibernian, St. Andrew* and *St. David.* The names of the two latter were also changed to the *Waldensian* and *Phœnician.*

For the first ten years the history of the Company was very disheartening. In 1857 the *Canadian* was wrecked through the stupidity of a pilot. In 1859 the *Indian* was wrecked near Halifax. In 1860 the *Hungarian,* mistaking a light, ran ashore near Cape Sable, Nova Scotia, and every soul on board perished. In 1861 a second *Canadian* was crushed by field ice in the Straits of Belle Isle, and later in the year the *North Briton* was wrecked on the Mingan Islands in a snow storm. In 1863 the *Anglo-Saxon* and *Norwegian* were both lost, and in 1864 the *Bohemian* struck on a rock off Maine while waiting for a pilot. Finally floating compasses were introduced which greatly helped matters. The Government lit up the River and Gulf. Special pilots were retained for the Company, telegraphs were extended and more powerful ships built. With such a rapid loss of vessels there was at first no time to build new ones, so second-hand ones were bought which were not satisfactory. But soon fortune favoured the firm and for over twenty-five years they have carried a weekly

Andrew Allan.

mail service without the loss of a single passenger, and with only one vessel wrecked. They became their own underwriters and saved a large sum of money in insurance premiums. In 1866 the two new boats, the *Nestorian*, of 2,726 tons, and the *Austrian* of 2,682 tons, both with 450 H.P., were built and have run ever since without a serious mishap. In 1869 the *Prussian*, of 3,030 tons, and the *Scandinavian*, of 3,068 tons, both 500 H.P. were built. In 1871 the *Sarmatian*, of 3,647 tons and 650 H.P., was launched, a much larger boat than the previous one, and she acted as a transport in the Ashantee expedition. In the following year the *Polynesian*, of 3,983 tons and 675 H.P., was launched. In 1889 she sank another vessel, and the Allans had to pay the cost. She was re-named the *Laurentian* and still carries the mails. In 1872 a third *Canadian* was bought. To keep all these boats employed they contracted to carry a fortnightly mail to Halifax, and in summer to Newfoundland, while a small vessel was bought for winter service between St. John's, Newfoundland, and Halifax. When the contract was renewed the penalties for delays were taken away and the subsidy reduced.

The *Circassian*, of 3,724 tons and 550 H.P., was built in 1873, and the *Sardinian*, of 4,384 tons and 675 H.P., in 1875. Finally, in 1881, Robert Napier and Sons built for them the *Parisian*, of 5,365 tons and 800 H.P. She makes the passage in less than seven days. When the Intercolonial Railway was opened the boats landed and received mails and passengers at Rimouski and Halifax instead of running direct to Portland, Maine. The Glasgow trade having increased, it was decided to put on a weekly line of larger boats. In 1879 the *Buenos Ayrean* was launched of 4,005 tons gross, and 500 H.P.; in 1880 the *Grecian*, of 3,613 tons and 400 H.P.; in 1881 the *Corean*, of 3,488 tons, 400 H.P. Then followed the *Hanoverian*, of 3,800 tons, and the *Lucerne*, of 1,925 tons and 220 H.P. In 1884 were launched the *Carthaginian*, of 4,214 tons and 520 H.P., and the *Siberian*, of 3,904 tons with 500 H.P., both specially fitted for cattle. The firm also bought from the Inman Line the *City of New York* and re-named her the *Norwegian*. From the Monarch Line they bought the *Pomeranian* and the *Assyrian*. They also established a weekly line between Glasgow and Boston and a fortnightly line between Glasgow and Philadelphia. Also a tri-monthly line between London and Montreal was opened and offices were established in Boston, Philadelphia and London, and an agency at Chicago. To prevent a protracted fight with the Dominion Line the Allans consented to share the mail and subsidy with it. In 1887 they started a line between Glasgow and the River Platte and now do a large trade there. In 1890 they built for the London trade the *Brazilian* and in 1891 the *Mongolian* and *Numidian*, designed to carry large cargoes but few passengers. They also bought out the boats of the State Line, selling some and retaining others for use. They have lost only two freight boats, but their speed is not great. In 1887 the Government advertized for tenders for a line of steamers at 20 knots an hour to carry the mails, and the Allans were to be consequently deprived of their subsidy. It could not, however, be managed at the time and in 1894 the increased subsidy which they asked for was sanctioned. Sir Hugh Allan was President of the Company until his death, in 1882, when he was succeeded by his brother, Mr. Andrew Allan.

The tonnage carried by the steamers of the Allan Line Steamship Company, Limited, on their services between Liverpool and Montreal, London and Montreal, Glasgow and Montreal, Liverpool and Portland, Glasgow and Portland, Glasgow and New York, Glasgow and Boston, and Glasgow, Liverpool and St. John's, Halifax and Philadelphia amounted to 813,253 tons for the year ending 31st December, 1897. According to the official statements of Messrs. H. and A. Allan their steamers during the same year carried the following live stock:

From	Animals.			Mortality.		
	Cattle	Sheep	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Horses
Montreal	35,831	29,253	1,808	73	180	19
Boston	11,507	319	60	65	1	2
Philadelphia	9,453	804	319	199	....	0
New York	9,828	1,121	726	41	11	23
Portland	7,518	5,539	300	223	93	3
	74,137	37,036	3,213	601	285	53

Sketch of the Cunard Line. As early as 1830 Mr. (afterwards Sir) Samuel Cunard had contemplated the establishment of a line of steamships to run between Liverpool, Halifax and Boston, and in 1838 he proceeded to England, where he

first met Mr. Robert Napier, a Marine Engineer of Glasgow, and later Mr. George Burns and Mr. David McIver, who were running rival lines between Glasgow and Liverpool. There was an agitation at the time amongst the people of Halifax for an ocean service and, consequently, in October of that year the Admiralty advertized for tenders for mail steamers. Mr. Cunard advanced a tender on behalf of Mr. Burns, Mr. McIver and himself "to supply three suitable steamships to run twice a month for eight months, and once a month in winter for ten years to Halifax and Boston, for £55,000 sterling per annum." Afterwards it was thought desirable to have fixed days for departure on both sides of the Atlantic, and for over forty years the boats left Liverpool on Saturdays and Boston or New York on Wednesdays. By a subsequent arrangement they agreed to provide four boats instead of three and the subsidy was raised to £81,000 per annum. The first four boats were the *Acadia*, the *Britannia*, the *Caledonia*, and the *Columbia*. They were 207 feet long, 34 feet beam and 25 feet deep, 1,155 tons gross and 619 net.

The engines were constructed by Robert Napier on the side lever principle and their average speed varied from 8.3 to 8.7 knots per hour. The first voyage of the *Britannia* in 1840 was fourteen days, eight hours. In the same year the *Columbia* was wrecked and replaced by the *Hibernia*, about half a knot faster. In 1845 the *Cambria*, a still faster boat, was added. In this year the Americans made the first attempt at rivalry but were unsuccessful. In 1848 the Imperial Government made a new contract with the Cunard Company for a weekly line at £156,000 sterling per annum, the boats to run alternately to New York and to Halifax and Boston. Four larger and faster boats, the *America*, *Europa*, *Canada* and *Niagara*, were added. In 1850 branch lines to carry mails to St. John's, Newfoundland and Bermuda, and in 1851 to St. Thomas, were established. There was now a total subsidy of £178,000 sterling per annum. The American Government in 1849 subsidized the "Collins Line" in opposition to the Cunard Line. The latter, after two or three efforts to better their speed, decided to abandon wood and to build iron vessels, and the *Persia* was started in 1856. She was of 3,300 tons gross, 2,079 net, her average speed was 13.95 knots and her average time twenty-four hours less than that of the rival line. In 1855, during the Crimean War, eleven of the Company's ships had been employed as transports, the Collins Line helping with the mail service. Owing to repeated wrecks the latter Company collapsed in 1858 and the Cunard Line again held undisputed sway.

Not being entirely satisfied with the *Persia*, in 1862 the Company launched the *Scotia*, which reduced the time from New York to Liverpool to eight days, twenty-two hours. In 1859 the vessels arranged to call at Queenstown to land and receive mails, and soon after all their mail boats ran direct to New York, but they built a smaller and slower line of screw boats to run direct to Boston without subsidy. It had now become almost imperative that they should use the screw instead of the paddle-wheel, and in 1862 the *China*, an iron screw, was launched. She burned only half the quantity of coals consumed by the *Scotia*, maintained nearly the same speed and carried much more cargo, in addition to steerage passengers. In 1864 the *Cuba*, very much the same style of boat, was launched. In 1865 J. & G. Thomson, of Clydebank, built for them the *Java*, and two years later a much faster boat, the *Russia*. When the Company's contract expired the subsidy was reduced to £70,000 a year, and they ordered from the Thomsons two boats of inferior power and reduced speed, which were completely eclipsed by the Inman and White Star boats. In 1874 the Company launched two large boats calculated to carry a greatly increased number of steerage passengers, but with reduced speed, so that the first-class passengers largely went by the other lines.

In 1881 the *Servia*, 7,392 tons gross and built of steel, reduced the time from Queenstown to New York to 6 days, 23 hours, 50 minutes. And in 1852 the *Aurania* was built as a sister ship. As most of the first partners of the Company were now dead it was resolved to convert the concern into a limited liability company. In 1884 the *Etruria* and *Umbria* were built, the former of 8,127 tons gross and 3,690 net, the latter of 8,128 gross and 3,699 tons net. Their power and speed were then unprecedented, the *Etruria* making the

westward record of 6 days, 1 hour and the *Umbria* the eastern of 6 days, 1 hour, 15 minutes. In all these years the Cunard Company had had but three serious accidents. In 1848 the *Europa* sank an emigrant brig, in 1858 the *Arabia* and *Europa* collided and both were damaged, and the *Tarifa* ran ashore on Ireland. In 1887 twin screws were introduced in the other lines and, in 1891, the Cunard Company followed suit in the *Campania* and *Lucania*, then the largest and fastest boats in the world. They were 620 feet long, 65.3 feet beam and 43 feet depth of hull, measuring 12,950

Sir Samuel Cunard, Bart.

tons gross, with admirable arrangements in case of accidents. The average time for the trip is now 5½ days. Although no accident has happened to these ships, in 1893 the *Servia* sank an American vessel and at the end of the same year the *Umbria* was delayed for a week by a fracture in her machinery. The *Campania* and *Lucania* are paid a retaining fee by the British Admiralty for their use in case of war, and the Company hold the *Etruria*, *Umbria*, *Aurania* and *Servia* at the disposal of the Admiralty without a retainer. The competition of the service is now so severe that all these lines find it hard to do more than pay their running expenses. During all the years of its existence it is stated that the Cunard Company has never lost the life of a passenger, while for forty-six years it never lost a letter.

The Dominion Line of Steamships. For many years after the introduction of iron screw steamships in the Atlantic trade it was not supposed that they could compete successfully with sailing ships in the carriage of such bulky goods as raw cotton, but in 1870 a number of merchants engaged in the New Orleans trade with Liverpool resolved to make the attempt, and formed the Mississippi and Dominion Steamship Company, Limited, under the management of Messrs. Flinn, Main & Montgomery, of Liverpool. They were to run to New Orleans in winter—calling on the outward voyage at Bordeaux, Lisbon, and Havana—and to Quebec and Montreal in summer. Their first boats were the *St. Louis*, *Vicksburg*, and *Memphis*, all under 2,000 tons gross, and built in 1870. In 1871 they built the *Mississippi*, 2,129 tons (now the *Silicia*), and in 1872 the *Texas*, 2,822 tons. After a time the Directors abandoned the New Orleans trade and confined themselves to the Canadian trade, sailing to and from Portland, Maine, in winter, and thus the boats became known as the "Dominion Line." According to Mr. Henry Fry in his valuable little volume entitled, "History of North Atlantic Steam Navigation," the Company gradually sold the smaller boats and substituted larger ones, designed to carry large cargoes, with good accommodation for passengers, and fitted with compound engines of moderate power. Being of less speed at first than the Allan boats, they were not as popular with passengers, but latterly they became powerful competitors both for goods and passengers, and two of their boats were in 1896 almost a match for the popular *Parisian* in point of speed. In 1874 they built the *Dominion*, 3,176 tons, 350 H.P., and the *Ontario*, a sister ship, at Dumbarton; in 1879 the *Montreal*, 3,300 tons, 375 H.P.; in 1880 the *Toronto*, 3,316 tons, 375 H.P., and the *Ottawa*, a sister ship; and they bought from the Inman Company the *City of Dublin* (re-named the *Quebec*) and the *City of Brooklyn* (re-named the

Brooklyn), 2,911 tons, and 450 H.P. In 1882 they built the *Sarnia*, 3,694 tons, 500 H.P., at Whiteinch, and in 1883 the *Oregon*, 3,672 tons, a sister ship, two very fine boats of larger size and power with midship saloons and state-rooms.

But the Line had its full share of misfortunes. The *Vicksburg* stranded below Green Island, in the St. Lawrence, in 1874, and, after undergoing heavy repairs, struck field ice in the following spring (30th May) and sank with forty to fifty of her passengers and crew, including her captain. The *Quebec* ran into two sailing ships when leaving Quebec in 1876, and, after a long Admiralty lawsuit, had to pay some $30,000 damages, besides heavy costs. The *Ottawa* struck the ground about fifty miles above Quebec, on the 21st November, 1880, could not be rescued, and gradually broke up. The *Sarnia* ran ashore but came off and was repaired; and the *Brooklyn* was totally wrecked on Anticosti. Happily there was no loss of life in any but the *Vicksburg*. Nothing discouraged, however, in 1883 the Company contracted with Messrs. Connal & Co., of Glasgow, for a magnificent ship of over 5,000 tons and of good speed, but before she was completed sold her to the Inman Company to replace the *City of Rome*, and she became known as the *City of Chicago*. They at once had built by the same firm the *Vancouver*, launched in 1884. She is an excellent and fast ship, 5,149 tons gross and 2,859 net with powerful compound engines of 1,000 H.P. (nominal), giving her an average speed of fully fourteen knots at sea, and placing her nearly on a par with the *Parisian*, their best passages showing only a difference of three or four hours. Having good accommodation amidships she soon became a great favourite with passengers, and in August, 1890, carried 201 saloon passengers, while in April, 1893, she landed no less than 1,340 in Halifax—78 cabin and 1,262 steerage. She has, however, met with several accidents. In August, 1890, in a fog near Belle Isle, she struck an iceburg, but got clear with little damage; in November her popular commander, Captain Lindall, was swept overboard by a sea, together with a quartermaster, and both were drowned; and in November, 1894, her screw slipped when entering Lough Foyle, and she grounded on Lyle's Bank, but sustained no damage, and was towed to Liverpool. As she never realized a rate of speed proportionate to her great power, in 1883 Messrs. Harland & Wolff gave her new engines and boilers of the latest type (triple cylinders) which, although of less nominal power than the original ones, and consuming much less coal, gave her quite as much speed.

Misfortunes, however, continued. In August, 1889, the *Montreal* was totally wrecked in a fog on the Island of Belle Isle, but passengers and crew were saved. In 1890 the *Idaho*, a chartered boat, was wrecked on Anticosti, with a very valuable cargo of grain, cheese and cattle, but no lives were lost. In 1891 the Company launched from the yard of Harland & Wolff, Belfast, a very fine new ship, the *Labrador*, 4,737 tons gross, 2,998 net, 650 H.P. (nominal), 3,800 indicated. Although of less power she exceeded the *Vancouver* in speed, while carrying a very large cargo of 5,700 tons. She had some novel arrangements, such as pipes for conveying fresh water to cattle, automatic ventilators, open in all weathers, and others supplying fresh air to the 'tween decks by fans; steam pipes to each compartment for extinguishing fire, and refrigerating machinery for fresh beef, fruit, eggs, etc. In the steerage the canvas beds in frame-work of wood could be folded up by day, and she was lighted throughout by electricity. So far she has been very successful and has made some remarkable passages. In May, 1894, she averaged 365 knots per day from Moville to Rimouski, or fifteen knots per hour. In August she ran from Moville to Rimouski in six days, eight hours, the quickest passage ever made by that route, and in December she ran from Moville to Halifax in six days, twelve hours, averaging 348 knots per day.

In addition to the Liverpool Line the Company now run one between Montreal and Avonmouth (Bristol); and in 1893 the *Nevada*, 3,617 tons, was bought at a very low price (said to be only £4,500) for this line from the Guion Company and re-named the *Hamilton*. All their boats, except the *Vancouver*, carry cattle, sheep, and horses, and latterly, to prevent a useless competition, the Allans agreed to share the small mail subsidy with the Company, the *Vancouver* and *Labrador* carrying the

mails for two weeks out of every five. The *Sarnia* has been particularly unfortunate. In March, 1893, when bound from Liverpool to Halifax with 700 passengers, in longitude 44° W., the bearings of the after crank shaft broke. They were temporarily repaired at sea in six days, and she reached Halifax without assistance. In August of the same year, she broke her shaft and was towed 1,000 miles to Queenstown by the Allan steamship, *Monte Videan*, and on December 22nd., 1894, she lost her rudder in lat. 55° N. and long. 12° W. After drifting for several days, helpless, she was towed to Instrahull by the Allan steamship, *Norwegian*, and thence to Belfast by tugs. In May, 1894, the *Texas* ran ashore near Cape Race in a fog and became a total wreck, but Captain Hunter was absolved from all blame by a Court of Enquiry. As a set-off against all these losses the *Oregon* fell in with the *Ethiopia*, of the Anchor Line, disabled, and towed her to Ireland, and the *Texas* towed the Allan steamship, *Sardinian*, to Liverpool—the latter ship having lost her rudder. The Company thus earned considerable salvage. In the autumn of 1894 Messrs Flinn, Main and Montgomery, the managers, resigned. On the 12th of December, to the surprise of everyone outside the shareholders and directors, it was announced that all the boats had been sold to Messrs. Richards, Mills & Co., of Liverpool, at a great sacrifice. The original £20 shares (afterwards reduced to £15) realized only £1 16s. 6d. per share, the buyers assuming the Company's liabilities. There are besides debentures to the extent of £8,000. Thus over £400,000 sterling appear to have been lost by the extreme depression in ocean freights and from other causes.

Tonnage of Vessels to or from Canadian Ports. The following table gives the total number of vessels (sea-going and inland) arrived at and departed from Canadian Ports (exclusive of coasting vessels) in each year from 1867 to 1896. It is compiled from the Government Year Book for the latter year:

	British.		Canadian.		Foreign.		
Year.	No.	Tons Reg.	No.	Tons Reg.	No.	Tons Reg.	Total Ton.
1868..	40,593	8,283,893	.....	.....	15,537	4,698,932	12,982,825
1839..	39,278	7 3·8 272	.....	.....	14,022	3 072,772	10,461,044
1870..	40,421	7,973,160	.....	.....	14 764	3,442 710	11,415,870
1871 .	43 120	8,985,153	.....	.....	18 517	4 140 885	13,126,038
1872 .	37,656	8 154,802	.....	.....	16 269	4,653 358	12 808,160
1873 .	39,361	7,449 582	.....	.....	18 688	4,299,415	11,748,997
1874 .	31 470	6,760,476	.....	.....	18 295	4 639,381	11,399,857
1875 .	26,100	5 8 7,632	.....	.....	16,412	3,719,823	9,527,455
1876..	26,641	5,715,726	.....	.....	16,806	4,195,473	9,911,199
1877..	2,933	2 216 516	21 383	4,104,926	19 334	4,769,802	11,091,244
1878 .	2,954	2,294 688	25 850	4,833 852	18,223	4,876,340	12,054 890
1879 .	2,618	2,155,444	27,418	5,051 139	17,805	4 449,229	11 645,812
1880 .	2 990	2,642 935	33,077	6 779,933	16,899	4 151,947	13,577,815
1881 .	3,707	3 523,105	31 595	5,894,639	18,149	4 381,788	13,802,432
1882 .	3 335	3 164 839	33,607	5,722,399	18 678	4 492,644	13,379,882
1883 .	3,103	3,001,071	31,332	5,835 858	20,095	4.932 806	13.770,735
1884..	3,327	3,257 219	31,260	5,939,731	20 539	5,162,076	14,359,026
1885 .	3,219	3,007,314	29,438	6,438 750	18 494	4,638,648	14 084 712
1886..	2,960	3,101,285	30 011	5,943 341	19,357	4,924,606	13,969,232
1887..	2,679	2,657,619	30,960	6,245.632	24,296	5,187,747	14 090,998
1888 .	3,316	3,326,417	33,395	6 182 697	27,592	5,708,194	15,217 308
1889 .	3,305	3 333,079	34 564	6,636 032	27 188	6,085,110	16 054 221
1890 .	3,671	3,617 013	38 222	7,709 133	30,532	7,119,954	18 446 100
1891..	3,483	3,523 238	35 667	7,516.645	30,179	7,763,765	18 893 648
1892 .	3,402	3 583,335	32,944	7,631 430	28,997	7,474,090	18,632,155
1893 .	3,271	3,780 915	33.034	7,298,151	26,876	7,460,468	18,539 534
1894..	3,381	4 146 645	34 719	8,251,226	27,906	7 955,210	20 353,081
1895 .	3 206	3,994,224	29,784	7,250,835	27,299	7,855,904	19 100,963
1896 .	3 226	4 385,055	31 537	7,464,532	30,161	10,0 0,8 6	21,870,473

Andrew Allan, President of the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, was born at Saltcoats, Ayrshire, Scotland, December 1st, 1822. His father was a prominent ship-master running between the River Clyde and the St. Lawrence. The son received a good common school education in Scotland, and, coming to Canada in 1846, identified himself with his brother, the late Sir Hugh Allan, and the late William Edmonstone, who were carrying on business as importers and general merchants. The trade increasing rapidly the firm decided to cater to the freight and passenger traffic between Canada and Great Britain by establishing a line of fast sailing packets on the route. In 1853 they increased their fleet by the addition of some steamships. This innovation was such an improvement that they subsequently founded the Montreal Steamship Company which now controls a large fleet of swift and sea-worthy vessels. Mr. Andrew Allan became President of the Company upon the death of Sir Hugh Allan in 1882. He also succeeded to the Presidency of the Merchants' Bank and of the Montreal Telegraph Company, and is connected with other and numerous financial interests. Amongst the more important offices filled by him may be mentioned the Chairmanship of the Board of Harbour Commissioners of Montreal; the Presidency of the Sailors' Institute; Trustee of Queen's University, Kingston; President of the Railway Security Com-

pany, etc., etc. In June, 1897, the Allan Company became a joint stock affair, registered in England with a capital of £650,000. In religion Mr. Allan is an adherent of the Church of Scotland and during a long and honourable business life has become one of the commercial leaders of the Dominion.

The Hon. Loran Ellis Baker, M.L.C., was born on May 13th, 1831, at Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. His paternal ancestors were from Massachusetts, while his maternal ancestors were early settlers in Barrington, Shelburne County, N.S. Mr. Baker received his education in Yarmouth, completing it at the Academy in that place. He became a clerk in the establishment of W. H. Townsend, a leading local merchant and, in 1855, embarked in general business and ship-building, in company with John Young—the firm's name being Young & Baker. This partnership was dissolved in 1864, and since then Mr. Baker has been operating alone as a general ship-owner, banker, etc. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1878 as a representative of the Liberal party. In 1872 he founded a local museum and public library which is free to the community. He is President of the Bank of Yarmouth, the Yarmouth Steamship Company, the Yarmouth Marine Railway Company, the Yarmouth Agricultural Society, the Mountain Cemetery Company, the Yarmouth Woollen Mill Company, the Grand Hotel Company, and is a Director in the Eastern Assurance Company.

Allan Gilmour was born in the Parish of Shatts, Lanarkshire, Scotland, August 23rd, 1816. After securing a good common school education he came to Canada and engaged in commercial life, being sixteen years of age when he first became a clerk in the dry goods and grocery business of William Ritchie & Co., of Montreal. In addition to these lines this firm did an extensive trade in square timber on the Ottawa and its tributaries. Mr. Gilmour remained in this connection until 1840, when Mr. Ritchie retired and the business was assumed by Mr. Gilmour and his cousin, James Gilmour, who had accompanied him to Canada. The firm of Gilmour & Co. gave special attention to the procuring of timber and sawn lumber in the Ottawa district and their disposal in the Quebec market. Mr. Allan Gilmour superintended these operations, spending his time largely between the forest and the market, and by his ability and enterprise very materially increased the business. In addition to their immense trade in square timber the Messrs. Gilmour established and worked for many years numerous large saw-mills on the Gatineau, and steam mills at Trenton. They also operated for a considerable time saw-mills on the North station and Blanche Rivers. They were, besides this, interested more or less in the steamship enterprises of the period. Mr. Allan Gilmour retired from business in 1873 and then spent much of his time in hunting, fishing, steam-yachting, etc., in Canada and the United States. He also crossed the ocean and travelled over Egypt, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Germany and Austria. Before returning he made a tour of Palestine, visiting all the important sacred places of Scripture history. His Ottawa residence contained one of the best collections of pictures and works of art to be found in Canada. Some most beautiful productions of foreign skill contributed to adorn the stately home overlooking the Ottawa River, where this Canadian business pioneer died, on February 25th, 1895.

The Hon. Louis Adelard Senecal was born at Varennes, Verchéres County, July 10, 1829. His education was such as the common schools of Varennes and Burlington, Vermont, afforded. After spending about two years in the United States as a young man, he settled in Verchéres County, Quebec, where he began a general store. The energy early displayed in business not only won success, but the admiration of his rivals. In 1853 he made a new departure by purchasing a steamboat and running it upon the rivers from Ogdensburg, N.Y., to Montreal through the then floating ice. With this boat, the *Frederick George*, he opened traffic between Montreal and Sorel and did good service. In 1857 he built the *Yamaska*, completing her in two and a half months, to navigate the Yamaska River and to connect Montreal with Ste. Anne. The following year he built the *Cygne* to run on the St. Francis River and establish a route between St. Francis

and Sorel. Navigation was in this way commenced in these rivers and increased and improved as time went by. It was in 1859 that he constructed the *Ottawa* and placed her in competition with the boats of the Richelieu Company running between Montreal and Quebec. After a varied and successful business career Mr. Senecal was induced to accept the Presidency of the Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Company in 1882 and at once proceeded to refit the entire line and to place its finances on a sound basis. He proved in this position to be a man of wonder-

The Hon. L. A. Senecal.

ful business capacity and energy. His ability to overcome obstacles and to ensure despatch was phenomenal, and the Company under his control made most substantial and gratifying progress. Concurrently with his Presidency of the Richelieu Company he was also carrying on an extensive trade with the United States in grain and lumber.

He was the owner of at least 100 barges and steamers plying between Montreal, Sorel and Whitehall, N.Y., and did an estimated trade of three millions of dollars per annum. For a time, owing to severe misfortunes, he was obliged to suspend this branch of his business, but a man of his invincible will could not long be held back. He built and owned saw and grist-mills at various points and brought activity and employment to many centres in Quebec. As an evidence of his despatch under difficulties it may be stated that he rebuilt one of his saw-mills and had 146 saws in full operation just forty-seven days after the premises had been destroyed by fire. A second time this property was consumed, and in thirty days after the fire the new saw-mill was in full blast as though nothing had happened. In 1866 he bought nearly a whole township and initiated an unique scheme of colonization. The plan was begun by Mr. Senecal clearing a lot and selling it to a farmer, who in time was to clear another lot which was to be sold in like manner. Some five years later, 1871, he solved the problem of building railways on limited resources. His first venture was the line between Sorel and Wickham, forty-three miles, laid with wooden rails. This he completed a full year ahead of time, and thus had the road for that period free of charge. For a considerable number of years after his advent as a railway constructor he completed numerous lines and extensions which had been abandoned and considered hopeless from bankruptcy, or other apparently substantial causes. His skill in bringing defunct roads into good running order, and in securing funds to complete his plans, was almost without a parallel. He never intended to be financially or legally obstructed, and as a rule succeeded, even when without money and opposed to combined wealth and influence.

In addition to his many railway enterprises Mr. Senecal was one of the founders of the Montreal City Passenger Railway, of which he was President in 1883-4. He was a large shareholder in the "Coaticook Cotton Company" and the "Richelieu Pulp Co." He spent a large sum of money in introducing the electric light system and secured the power to dam the Caughnawaga Rapids. His purchase of the timber limits and the Hull mills proved a failure mainly because no one was in a position to advance so much money. His plans are claimed to have been feasible, but owing to lack of funds he had to withdraw from

the enterprise with a loss of about $400,000. It is said that when he had money he considered the hoarding of it discreditable, and there is no doubt that many of his enterprises were for the public good. During 1879 he used all his personal and political influence to ensure the retirement of Lieutenant-Governor Letellier de Saint Just for his action in dismissing the De Boucherville Ministry. In the same year, and by much the same methods, he aided the downfall of the Joly Ministry in Quebec, which had taken up the reins. Here was largely the secret of the success of the Conservative party in Quebec during Provincial and Dominion elections in 1881-82. When Mr. Senecal made up his mind that in Provincial matters a certain object was desirable, it was considered that much had been done to realize the policy. His appointment to the Senate in 1887 was in recognition of many substantial services rendered to the party in power in the Dominion.

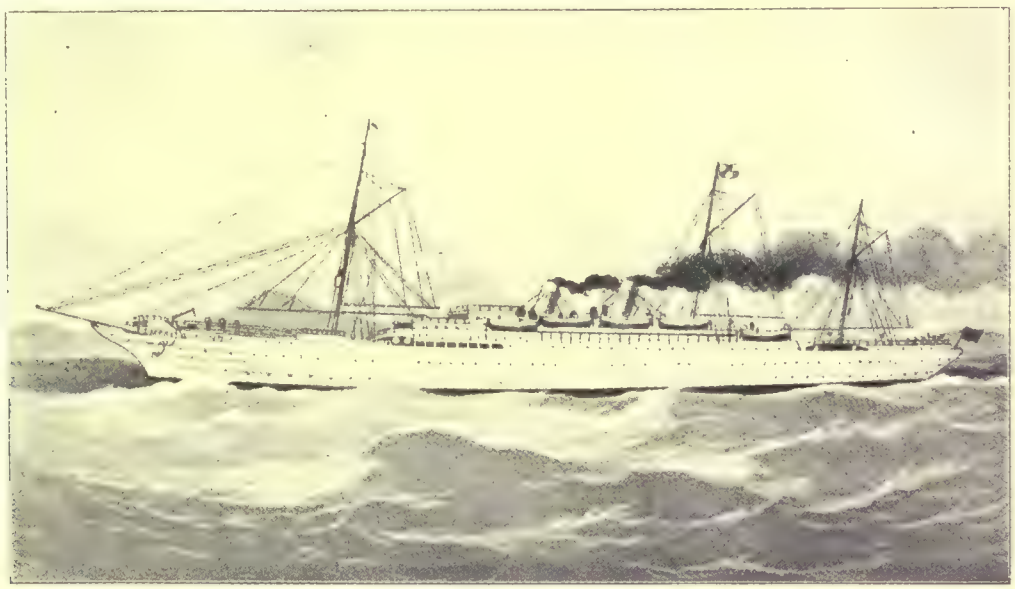
Mr. Senecal was originally a Liberal and as such was elected to the Legislative Assembly for Yamaska from 1867 to 1871, and at the same time sat for Drummond and Arthabaska in the Commons from 1867 to 1872. He occupied the unique position of being the only man in Canada who had been elected in two separate constituences, for two separate chambers, in two separate elections. In 1874 he tried, in connection with the Hon. Mr. Cauchon, to unite the two political parties in Quebec along certain lines, but failed owing to a speech made by M. Joly de Lotbinière, the Leader of the Opposition, in Montreal. He then withdrew from the Liberals but subsequently abandoned the Conservative Government on the Riel question. He was a great force in the ranks of any organization to which he gave his confidence, but a man of his temperament, prompt action and independent thought was liable to find something to cause him sooner or later to diverge from party lines. He died on October 11th, 1887.

The Canadian Pacific Line. This important steamship line consists of three splendid ships, the property of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. They were not only a great advance on the ordinary screw steamship when built but are a credit to the Dominion. They were built at Barrow-in-Furness by the Naval Construction and Armaments Company under a contract made in the autumn of 1889. The *Empress of India* left Liverpool for Vancouver, B.C., (*via* Suez Canal and Hong Kong), 8th February, 1891; the *Empress of Japan* on the 11th April, and the *Empress of China* on the 15th July. They were all alike, 485 by 51 by 36; 5,920 tons gross, with twin screws and two sets of triple-expansion engines, developing 10,000 I.H.P. per hour when going at full speed. They were built of steel with very fine lines; had accommodation for 180 first-class, 32 second, and 600 steerage passengers, and were capable of carrying 3,250 tons of cargo. They were guaranteed to make 18 knots on the measured mile, and 16½ on a 400-mile sea trip, but the *Empress of India* made 19¾ on the measured mile; the *Empress of Japan* 18.91, and an average of 17.85 knots on a 400-mile trial at sea, consuming only 1.56 lbs. of coal per I.H.P. per hour, or about 170 tons per day, with 89 revolutions per minute. The *Empress of China* made 19 knots on the measured mile. The early Cunard boats, it might be mentioned, consumed 4.7 lbs. of coal per I.H.P. per hour to make an average of only 8.3 knots.

Mr. Henry Fry, in the work already quoted, states that they cost about $1,000,000 each, or about $170 per gross ton. The promenade deck was 250 feet long, 100 feet being covered, with ample room for exercise. When nearing completion the Company advertised cheap "round the world" trips—calling at Gibralter, Naples, Port Said, Suez, Colombo, Penang, Singapore, Hong Kong, Woosung, Nagasaki, Kobe, and Yokohama, and returning *via* Vancouver over the Canadian Pacific Railway, and any line of Atlantic steamship—for $600. The result was that every berth was taken in all three ships and the scheme carried to a successful termination, all the passengers expressing their delight with the trip. The first boat, the *Empress of India*, with 141 saloon passengers, reached Hong Kong on the 23rd March, 1891, in forty-three days; leaving there on the 7th April, she reached Yokohama on the 16th, having steamed at little over half speed from Liverpool. She left on the 17th, and, although encountering a very heavy gale, reached

Victoria, B. C., at 6.30 A.M. of the 28th, in 10 days, 14 hours, 34 minutes. As the distance is 4,300 knots, this gives an average of 406 knots per day, or just 17 knots per hour. The time was two days, six hours less than the previous run. A special train carried the mails and passengers from Vancouver to Montreal, 2,906 miles, in 3 days, 17 hours, 35 minutes, arriving there at 5.56 P.M. of May 2nd—14 days, 22 hours' passage from Yokohama, including ten hours detention at Vancouver. A mile a minute was made by the train on the prairies, but for 500 miles the route was over mountains reaching an altitude of 5,296 feet above the level of the sea. The average speed was 32 miles an hour, including all stoppages and twenty changes of engine. This feat, however, was surpassed a little later on. The *Empress of Japan* left Yokohama on her second trip on the 19th of August, and arrived at Victoria on Saturday the 29th (in 9 days, 19 hours, 39 minutes, or an average of 18.50 knots per hour), beating all records. A special train left Vancouver at 1.08 A.M., and it was determined, if possible, to catch the Inman mail boat, which was to leave New York on Wednesday the 2nd September, at 5 A.M. The train arrived at Brockville, 2,802 miles, on Tuesday the 1st at 9.03 P.M., in 76 hours, 55 minutes, allowing three hours for difference in time, or an average of over 36 miles an hour. Transfer across the St. Lawrence required 38 minutes, and the New York Central train ran from Morristown to New York, 360 miles, in seven hours, two minutes, reaching there at 4.43 A.M. At 5.10 A.M. the mails were on board the *City of New York*, and she arrived at Queenstown at 2 P.M. of the 8th—in 5 days, 22 hours, 55 minutes. The mails were delivered in London on Wednesday morning the 9th, in 20 days, 9 hours from Yokohama, allowing for difference of time. The official time *via* Suez is 43 days.

England was astonished. The *London Times* in an editorial declared that "this record is pregnant with untold issues for the future of our Empire." On the continent of Europe, in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and other American cities, the event was discussed with fully as much interest. Thus a new era was commenced in Eastern travel. The C. P. R Company afterwards made arrangements with the Peninsular and Oriental Company and several Atlantic lines which enabled them to carry passengers from London *via* Hong Kong, Yokohama, Vancouver, Montreal, Boston or New York, round the world, at the low cost of £122 sterling, or $610, including meals and berths



Canadian Pacific Steamship Line.—*The Empress of India.*

on steamships, but not on railways. They receive a subsidy of £60,000 sterling ($300,000) a year for a monthly line between Vancouver, Japan, and Hong Kong, three-fourths being paid by the Imperial Government and one-fourth by the Canadian. Each boat is fitted under Admiralty supervision to carry ten powerful guns, and the Imperial Government has the right to their services as transports or cruisers at any time, for which it gives a retaining subsidy of £7,312 10s. per annum in addition. There is also a monthly line of boats running between Vancouver and Sydney, New South Wales, enjoying subsidies of £25,000 per annum from the Dominion Government, £10,000 a year from New South Wales, and £2,000 a year from Fiji. It consists of the *Warrimoo*, the *Minerva*, and another boat launched in August, 1897, and carries on a steadily expanding traffic in both passengers and interchanged products. The first steamship of this line was the *Miowera*, which left Sydney, Australia, on May 18th, 1893, and arrived at Victoria, B.C., on June 8th, with mails for Canada, the United States, Great Britain and Europe. Her dimensions were: length between perpendiculars, 340 feet; breadth of beam, 42 feet; depth of hold, 28 feet, and she carried 31 saloon passengers and 44 second-class passengers.

The Temperley-Ross Line. Messrs. Temperley, Carter and Drake long owned several sailing ships trading between London and Montreal, the best known being the *John Bull*. Mr. Carter was formerly a member of the firm of Carter and Bonus, of London, who owned a favourite Montreal trader, the *Great Britain*, Captain Swinburne. She was followed by the *New Great Britain*, and she in turn was succeeded by a third *Great Britain*, Captain Wilson, which once carried troops from Quebec to Fort York, on Hudson's Bay. Ultimately she had to give way to steam, and in 1871 the Messrs Temperley built at Dumbarton and elsewhere the *Thames*, *Scotland*, and *St. Lawrence*, and afterwards the *Medway* and *Gamma*. The *St. Lawrence* was wrecked on the South African coast, and the *Medway* in the Straits of Belle Isle. Then Messrs. Temperley joined William Ross & Co., of London, who provided the *Erl King*, 2,193 tons, 250 H.P., the *Viking* and the *Ocean King*, 2,449 tons, 450 H.P. The *Viking* was wrecked on Anticosti, and Messrs. Temperley having dropped out of the business, Messrs. Ross & Co. added, in 1890, two fine boats, the *Norse King* and the *Storm King*, which ran to London with the *Erl King* and *Ocean King*. They did not cater for passengers, but the boats, especially the new ones, were admirably fitted for the cattle trade. The *Storm King* was built at Middlesborough, was 3,279 tons gross, with triple expansion engines, cylinders 28, 44, and 72 inches in diameter, 450 H.P. and 2,280 I.H.P. The *Norse King* was built at Sunderland, and was 2,985 tons gross, and 450 H.P.

The death of Mr. William Ross, the head of the firm, in 1896, caused the Company to be wound up and the boats to be transferred to other routes. The London service with Canada, which was once so largely controlled by the Temperley-Ross Line, is now divided between the Thomson Line, of which the Robert Reford Co. of Montreal are Canadian agents, the Elder, Dempster Line and the Allan Line. They all make weekly sailings between Montreal and London in summer.

The Richelieu & Ontario Navigation Company. This Company had its inception in 1845 when the *Richelieu*, a small boat of 125 tons, commanded by M. Sincenennes, who formed the Company, was put on its route between Montreal and Chambly for the transportation of freight and passengers. As this venture proved a success, the *Jacques Cartier* was built three years later and ran between Montreal and Berthier. In 1855 the Company added two greatly improved boats, the *Victoria* and *Napoleon*, 350 tons each, to ply between Montreal and Quebec. As a result of the keen competition thus produced the Torrance Company, which had prior to this controlled the entire traffic of the route, in 1858 sold their boat, the *Quebec*, for $30,000, to the Richelieu Company, which by this time had a capital of upwards of $125,000. During 1860-61 two additional boats, the *Columbia* and the *Europa*, were added, and the capital of the Company considerably added to. During 1862 the capacity and capital of the Company were further greatly increased by the fusion of the Terrebonne and l'Assomption and Lake St. Peter Lines with the Richelieu

Company. This gave four new boats to the already substantial line running between Montreal and Three Rivers, Chambly, Terrebonne and l'Assomption, and increased the capital of the Company to $230,000. Some time during 1861 a successful attempt was made to further cater to the traffic on the St. Lawrence River by placing on the route the steamboat, *Montreal*, which cost $120,000. Two years later the *St.*

David Torrance.

Francois Yamaska was added to the fleet, and in 1864 the *Quebec* was constructed at a cost of $172,000, and was placed with the *Montreal* on the run between Montreal and Quebec. These excellent steamers gave Canadian transportation in every sense equal to that which prevailed on the Hudson and other American water routes. In 1875 the Company's line and resources were further enlarged by the taking over of the line of boats running from Montreal to Toronto and Hamilton.

This amalgamation took the name of the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company, and had a capital of $1,500,000, with eight steamboats. Four more steamers were then added to the Line—the *Athenian* and *Abyssinian* in 1876; the *Cultivateur* in 1880; and the *St. Francis* in 1853. The late Sir Hugh Allan greatly advanced the interests of the Company during his Presidency from 1876 to 1882, and when Mr. L. A. Senecal became its head in the latter year a still greater impetus was given to the traffic. Mr. Senecal was one of the pioneers of the river trade of Quebec, as well as greatly interested in its railways. It was he who first opened up the river traffic by steamer between Montreal and Sorel, Montreal and Ste. Anne, and St. Francois and Sorel. The value of the early work which he thus did, at a considerable cost to himself, was in later years abundantly demonstrated. He was at one time no mean competitor of the Richelieu Company, but meeting misfortune was obliged for a time to turn to other lines of business. However, when he became President of the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company it was getting back to more congenial work. From that time until his death in 1887 he did much to advance the further interests of the Company.

On June 21st, 1898, the Richelieu Line launched from the Bertram Engine Works, Toronto, a handsome new steel steamer to run between that city and Prescott and named *The Toronto*. It cost in the neighbourhood of $250,000 and is stated to have been the largest vessel ever built in the Ontario capital. Its length over all was 278 feet and its length of keel 270 feet. The President of the Company at that time, and since 1895, was the Hon. Louis J. Forget, a member of the Dominion Senate, and President of the Montreal Street Railway.

SECTION V.

THE MINES AND MINERALS OF CANADA

MINERAL RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT IN CANADA

BY

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THE object of this article is to give a brief sketch of the Mineral possibilities of the Dominion as deduced from Geological indications; some historical notes of the past development of its economic Minerals; and a few facts concerning present operations. There is a good deal of difficulty in getting information concerning the first efforts that were made to open mines in Canada, chiefly because for many years no special Bureau or Mining Department existed in some of the Provinces, and therefore the facts which were brought to light by the pioneer operations have largely been forgotten. Sir William Logan, in his Report of the progress of the Geological Survey from its commencement in 1843 down to 1863, gave an admirable summary of the work of development during that period, but after that date the compilation of information was not kept up. A considerable gap, therefore, occurs which might well be bridged over in some measure at the present time.

In Canada we have a difficulty similar to that existing in the United States when we come to questions bearing on the procuring of general information regarding Mineral statistics, or the publication of information in connection with Mines or economic Minerals. Both in Canada and in the United States Minerals are the property of the Province on the one hand, and the State on the other. The Federal Government being in no way interested financially in the development of the Minerals, it does not feel justified in incurring large expenses in compilations relating to the whole country. This is particularly the case in our own Dominion, but in the United States it is bridged over by the valuable summaries of information got together by the Census Department every ten years. With us the Geological Survey makes a summary of reports of Mineral development taking place in the different Provinces, and no doubt this will be amplified and improved as time goes on.

In the different Provinces of Canada a varying amount of attention has been paid to the Mineral wealth, and correspondingly varying attention has been given to the preservation of facts relating thereto by the different Provincial Governments. Nova Scotia has an excellently equipped Mines' Department, operated by thoroughly practical men, and good work has been done in that Province. The Mines' Department was created by an Act of the Legislature in 1862 and placed under charge of a Chief Gold Commissioner. The first to fill the position was Samuel Creelman, appointed April 15th, 1862; the next, Peter S. Hamilton, appointed July 29th, 1863. Then the head of the Mines Department was made a Ministerial position, May 17th, 1867. The following list gives the dates of the appointment of the Ministers who have held the post since that time:

The Hon.	Charles Allison	4th July, 1867
"	Robert Robertson	7th Nov., 1867
"	William Garvie	18th April, 1871
"	Daniel McDonald	17th Jan., 1873
"	Robert Robertson	4th Jan., 1875
"	Albert Gayton	15th Dec., 1877
"	Samuel Creelman	22nd Oct., 1878
"	Albert Gayton	3rd Aug., 1882
"	C. E. Church	28th July, 1884

Mr. E. Gilpin, Jr., became Inspector of Mines on the 29th Sept., 1879, and Chief Inspector and Deputy Minister on Oct. 15th, 1886. The Department is known as that of Public Works and Mines and it has also control of Railways, Highways, Bridges and all Public Works and Buildings.

British Columbia has had long experience in Mining, dating back from the Placer excitement,

of which I shall speak later on; and on this account the Province has given much attention to Mining development and to the laws and regulations relating thereto. These latter have been largely copied (as they were found to be most successful) from the rules governing Mining in the great metalliferous ranges of the United States to the south. The first Minister of Mines was Mr. J. B. Humphreys. He was succeeded by Mr. John Robson, who was followed by the present Minister, Lt.-Col. James Baker.

The Province of Quebec was the next section to organize a Provincial Department in 1888, under a practical Mining engineer, to supervise Mineral operations in that Province. In 1896 the Department of Colonization and Mines was formed, and the Hon. Thomas Chapais became its first Minister on June 12th, 1897, with Mr. S. Dufault as Deputy Minister, Mr. Jules Coté as Secretary, and Mr. J. Obalski, M.E., as Inspector. On 26th May, 1897, the Hon. H. Turgeon succeeded the Hon. T. Chapais as Minister. Mining operations have not been as extensive in Quebec as in the first two Provinces alluded to, and therefore there was not the same justification for an organized Bureau of Mines and the expense attending publications in connection therewith. But it must be said that the Reports of the Engineer of Mines furnish a great deal of valuable information, and no doubt with increased operations and increased grants from the Government they will be all that can be desired.

In the Province of Ontario the youngest Bureau of Mines exists, and, as there has been until very recently but little need for any serious supervision of Mining operations, a staff more for Geological work and office work has been employed, and a great deal of interesting and valuable information of a general character has been got together in the short time in which the Bureau has been in existence. The Bureau was formed on March 4th, 1891, with Mr. A. Blue as Director.

No Geological mapping work has yet been carried on by any of the Provinces, except to a very slight extent by co-operation of the Province of British Columbia with the Dominion in the excellent maps and short Report by the late Mr. Bowman on the Cariboo District, and, as already mentioned, some preliminary work in the Province of Ontario—the Geological Survey of the Dominion of Canada being relied upon to furnish information for the whole country. It is not to be expected that this state of things will continue for many years. It is evident that the different Provinces will be compelled to do Geological work, as well as the essential work of inspection, supervision and compilation of information, in connection with their economic Minerals. We cannot expect that the Geological work can last a great time in the smaller Provinces, but in the larger ones there must be a wide field for operations. If we turn to the Reports of such a State as the State of California where Mining has been carried on in a scientific manner for many years, we will find that not only has the Geological work been conducted in a thorough and systematic manner, but an immense quantity of valuable information relating to the statistics of the Mineral output, and to the milling and smelting in vogue in their own State as well as in other States, is to be found, together with full and ample details of the Mineral development taking place from

W. Hamilton Merritt.

year to year in the individual Mines and Mining locations.

It will therefore be seen that the sources of information regarding the Geology of Canada are entirely in the works of the Geological Survey of the Dominion of Canada, and that the sources for information in connection with the development of the economic Minerals are to be found in the Reports of the Department of Mines for the Province of Nova Scotia; the Reports of the Minister of Mines for the Province of British Columbia; the Reports of the Government Mining Engineer in the Report of the Department of Colonization and of Mines for the Province of Quebec; and the Reports of the Bureau of Mines in the Reports of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Province of Ontario. Certain information has been printed in Government publications in the Province of New Brunswick from time to time, but it cannot be said that they have any Department there which gives its special attention to information connected with economic Minerals, although some important Minerals have been developed and are now being worked in that Province.

The rest of the Provinces of Canada and the immense area in the Territories to the north and west no doubt will have Minerals developed in them to an extent that will make it necessary to organize Bureaus and to have reports and documents which can be referred to for information, but up to the present this has not been the case. Information relating to Mineral development of the North West (including the Klondike region) is to be found in the Report of the Minister of the Interior published by the Dominion Government. Considering the country at large it can be said in a general way that almost every known Mineral is found, and although the development of the economic Minerals has not been great up to the present, there can be no question whatever that in the course of time intelligent prospecting and judiciously invested capital will bring about an immense production of Minerals of value, as has been the case in the United States to the south of us.

It is difficult to say exactly which was the first development of importance in Canada, but the iron ores of the Province of Quebec and the coals of Cape Breton, N.S. and the Island of Vancouver, B.C., were among the first economic Minerals worked in the country. The gold ores of Chaudière, Province of Quebec, of Nova Scotia and of Cariboo received attention not long afterwards. The copper deposits in Lake Huron and Lake Superior districts are amongst the older developments of Minerals. We then have opened up by degrees the copper deposits of the Eastern Townships; the iron ores of Nova Scotia; the phosphates and asbestos of Quebec; the gypsum of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; the salt and petroleum of the peninsula of Ontario; the silver mines of Port Arthur district in Western Ontario; and in the more immediate modern history we have the development of the gold, silver and copper mines in British Columbia, the gold ores in Ontario, and the Placers of the Klondike in the North-West Territories of Canada. It may be of interest to consider in detail the Mineral development in each Province, though naturally the matter must be somewhat general and without entering into statistical and individual description of the various Mines.

Province of Nova Scotia. The oldest record that is known of Mineral discovery in Canada is to be found in Denny's work published in 1672, which alludes to the large out-crops of coal in Cape Breton. In 1720 this coal was first mined at the time of the building of the great fortress of Louisbourg, as pointed out by Dr. Gilpin, the Deputy Commissioner and Inspector of Mines for Nova Scotia, who has stated that the great numbers of artificers, soldiers, etc., who were engaged in constructing that fortress, were supplied by fuel from the ten-foot seam on the north side of Cow Bay, now known as the Block House seam, and that the workings were carried on above water level and can still be entered. Coal was also mined there during the English occupation of Cape Breton from 1745 to 1749. In 1752 the pit took fire, and until 1784, when Cape Breton was made into a Province, little was done in the way of coal mining. In 1820 when the Island became part of the Province of Nova Scotia more decided steps were taken, and considerable amounts of coal were mined from the Sydney main seam. In 1827 all the Mines of the Province passed into the hands of the General Mining Association of London

through the grant by King George to his brother, the Duke of York, who had become financially embarrassed. The Duke of York transferred the grant to the great firm of London Jewellers, Messrs. Rundell & Bridge, who organized the above mentioned Association. The monopoly was broken later on, but the General Mining Association of London to this day carries on the operation of Mining in Cape Breton, though at present the largest producers in that district are the Dominion Mineral Company which controls nearly the whole of the coal areas in the Island. In considering the Nova Scotia coal fields one must not lose sight of the Pictou County and Cumberland County areas which have proved nearly as important as the first above mentioned coal fields. From an Imperial point of view the coals of Nova Scotia, as well as those of Vancouver Island, play an important part, because both are situated on tide water and both have large workable seams of an excellent quality.

The discovery of gold in Nova Scotia does not date so far back as that of coal. According to Mr. Samuel Creelman, at one time the chief Gold Commissioner of the Province, the earliest discovery of gold is said to have occurred in 1860 on the Tangier River, where John Pulsiver of Musquodobit found several pieces of gold quartz while in the company of some Indians whom he had hired to prospect with him. In the same year Peter Mason, while drinking in a brook, found gold in a piece of quartz in the same neighbourhood; and in 1861 the Government sent a Surveyor to the place and laid off mining lots of 100 feet square, measuring 50 feet across and 20 feet along the supposed course of the leads. Nearly 100 of these lots were soon leased at an annual rent of $20 paid in advance, and in a short time some 600 men were actively engaged on the ground in the operation of prospecting and mining for gold.

Dr. Gilpin has pointed out that the gold fields of Nova Scotia occupy the district extending along the Atlantic Coast from Cape Canso to Yarmouth, some 280 miles, and varying in width from ten to forty miles. The quartz veins carrying the gold occur in slate, or between slate and quartzite, near areas of intrusive granite. It may be noted that some of the free milling gold-carrying veins of British Columbia occur very similarly. The Nova Scotia gold fields are largely peculiar in the bedded character of the quartz, occupying anti-clinals, and the pay chutes are found to dip in opposite directions on each side of the anti-clinal. Many of the veins are small, and in the past gold-milling was carried on in Nova Scotia in small mills crushing high-grade rock from narrow veins. The present day mining and milling is undergoing a change, with large mills working low-grade bodies of greater size. Gold-milling in Nova Scotia is carried on perhaps as economically as in any place in the world. One mill, as an example, crushes quartz at a cost of 65 cents per ton, with steam power, and the mining of the rock from a wide ledge does not exceed $1.05 a ton on the average. Of the smaller-sized seams the usual width may be from four to eight inches and a 20-inch seam is considered a large one. This class may carry pay streaks running as high as 20 oz. to the ton. Taking 1897 as an example the yield of gold per ton of ore averaged all the way from 4 dwt. 4 grs. from the large deposits of low-grade to high-grade ore, milling 1 oz. 6 pennyweights and 23 grains, and the districts producing gold were 14 in number, with 40 working Mines.

The next important Mineral in Nova Scotia is gypsum, which occurs in enormous beds in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, but which is worked only in the former place; the bulk of the output being sent to the United States. Iron ore is mined on the East River and Pictou County, the quality being hemitite and limonite. The following are the returns for Nova Scotia Mines for two years ending September 30th:

	1896.	1897.
Gold, ounces	26,112	26,579
Iron ore, long tons	56,334	44,146
Manganese, "	129	100
Coal, "	2,234,472	2,320,916
Coke, "	58,741	45,000
Gypsum "	130,489	125,000
Grindstone, etc., value	$30,319	$32,400
Limestone, long tons	31,171	25,000

Province of Quebec. Considering briefly the Minerals of the Province of Quebec, I may first say that the existence of gold was first noticed in 1835 in the Valley of the Chaudière. It was worked

there in 1846, when M. Charles de Léry secured from the Provincial Government by letters-patent the exclusive right of mining and working for gold in the Seigneury Rigo-Vaudreuil-Beauce and was associated with Dr. James Douglas of Quebec. Very good alluvial ground was found on the river Gilbert, where uncommonly rich bed-rock was exploited by deep digging on the old river channel. Nuggets as large as 71 oz., 52 oz., and several of 50 oz. have been found on the creek.

Asbestos Mine in the Eastern Townships, P.Q.

Also it is recorded that one man, James McCrae, took $50,000 from 100 square feet; that the Canada Gold Company obtained $65,000 from a single acre; that the Poulin Bros. panned $1,200 in one day; and it is claimed that the workable surface of lots 16 to 21 of the De Léry concession on the Gilbert yielded alone not less that $700,000, the gravel yielding some $2.85 gold to the cubic yard. Notwithstanding the fact that good placer gold has been found in places in the Eastern Townships no quartz veins have yet been located which have yielded pay ore.

With regard to iron ores, it has already been noted that the oldest iron ore worked in Canada was bog ore mined and smelted in the Seigneury of St. Maurice near Three Rivers. The plant has always been known as the St. Maurice forges. Bog iron ore has both been mined, and also dredged out of a lake (Lac de la Torque) in connection therewith for more than a century. Titanic ore was worked in the vicinity of Charlevoix in connection with some blast furnaces in 1873, but it was not a success. Previously, in 1867, the magnetic sand on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was separated and smelted by the Moisic Iron Company, but this was also not a success. Other deposits of magnetite have been opened in Quebec but at present none of them are being wrought. The best known names are the Bristol Iron Mine, the Hull Iron Mine, the

Leeds Iron Mine, and the Sherbrooke Iron Mine, etc. Copper ore in the Province has been worked successfully, especially in connection with the manufacture of sulphuric acid from the pyrites which occurs with the copper ore. A certain amount of silver is also found associated with these copper ores. An average shipment from the Eustis Mining Company is copper 4.76 per cent., silver 3 oz., sulphur 40 per cent. G. H. Nichols of New York controls the "Canada Copper and Sulphur Company" which has a large output chiefly treated in New York. Before the discovery of nickel ore at Sudbury, the Province of Quebec could boast of being the only place in Canada where nickel ore was found, though it did not occur in merchantable quantities. The form in which it was found generally was in crystals of millerite.

The most profitable Mineral in Quebec has been the asbestos, occurring in the Eastern Townships, where it is found as veins cutting serpentine rock. It was first worked in 1878. The quality of the asbestos is the very best, and Quebec and Italy virtually supply the world with this product. To give an idea of the variableness of its occurrence, it is stated by the Government Mining Engineer that one per cent. represents the average of all thus far extracted, and falling below this amount it cannot hope to be a profitable undertaking; that an average of 2.03 per cent. is a very good margin, and four per cent. is exceptional. The district in which the largest amount of asbestos has been produced is the Thedford district, with the Coleraine district coming next, and the Shipton district third.

Formerly the mining of apatite or phosphate of lime was a very important factor in the Mineral output in the Province of Quebec. This Mineral is the purest form of phosphate of lime, and frequently was shipped running considerably over eighty-five per cent. Apatite is first recorded as having been found on the Lievre River in 1829, but it was not until 1875 that it was mined in Quebec. The first quality was considered to run from eighty to eighty-seven per cent., the second quality from seventy-five to eighty per cent., and the third from seventy to seventy-five per cent. The apatite occurs in veins, or irregular deposits, cutting the oldest formation (Laurentian) and intimately connected with pyroxenite. The occurrences are extremely irregular, and phosphate miners only calculate on the ore which they have actually opened in sight. A good deal of money was made in shipping this high-grade fertilizer to the European market, but the opening up of cheaply-worked beds of phosphate of lime in Florida, U.S., has closed down the Canadian industry for the time being. The localities where the best occurrence of phosphate was found were on the north side of the Ottawa, chiefly clustering along the Lievre River north of Buckingham, and also one extending further west in Templeton and Wakefield Township.

Quebec has a certain number of mica mines to the north of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the Saguenay district, and in different places to the west as far as the vicinity of Ottawa. The mica is used for various transparent types of fireproof shielders, and especially for non-conductors in connection with electrical machinery. The occurrence of the mica is as irregular as that of phosphate, if not more so, and therefore a great many small deposits have been partially opened up. At one time only pure white Muscovite mica could be disposed of, but for electrical purposes the amber mica is worked. This variety is less tough, but equally as good a non-conductor, and it is much more common. As the mica has to be quarried, and as it occurs in even a smaller proportion to the main bulk of rock than asbestos, and as a very small proportion of crystals are perfect enough to be utilized, it will be seen that large deposits are necessary to insure profitable working, and that small and comparatively narrow streaks of mica-bearing rock cannot be worked with profit. The following represents the Mineral output for the Province of Quebec for the year 1897:

OUTPUT FOR THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC IN 1897.

Mineral.	Quantity.
Iron, pig, tons	8,386
Iron ore, tons	19,766
Charcoal, bushels	1,031,800
Limestone, tons	72,545
Chrome ore, tons	4,340
Ochre ore, tons	1,239
Iron, copper pyrites, tons	36,815
Copper pyrites, tons	20

Galena, tons	5,000
Zinc-blend, tons	430
Gold, dollars	900
Asbestos, tons	12,565
Mica, thumb-trimmed, tons	200
Felspar, tons	1,260
Slate, tons	3,208
Flagstone, tons	1,072
Cement, bbls	14,000

Lime kilns, 300 (producing 1,000,000 bushels of lime).

Brick yards, 150 (producing 120,000,000 bricks).

The total production of the Province in 1897 was $1,800,000, including building material. The number of men employed was about 4,000.

Province of Ontario. The first Mineral worked in Ontario was probably copper ore in the vicinity of Pointe Aux Mines, or Mica Bay, where, in 1770, an English company sank some thirty feet on a vein which decreased in size and was abandoned. After that the copper ores of Houghton on the south shore of Lake Superior (in the United States) were opened out, and this led to the formation of a Montreal company which purchased the Bruce Mines to the north of the St. Mary River. It will be recognized that large prices were paid even in those days when we learn that £4,000 (Halifax currency) was paid for the property. Work was started vigourously in 1848 and subsequent years. It was then sold to an English company, the West Canada Mining Company, managed by the well-known firm of John Taylor & Sons, of London, and was continued until 1876, when operations were suspended. The difficulties in connection with these Mines were the heavy cost of dressing, the large loss of copper under the system of washing adopted, and the high rate of freight from the Mines to England. These drawbacks, coupled with the lower price of copper, made it impossible to contend with the conditions prevailing in the native copper Mines on the south shore of Lake Superior. At Michipicoten Island and at Point Mamanise copper-bearing beds occur similar to the famous Calumet and Hecla and other Mines at Houghton on the south shore of Lake Superior in the United States. These beds in Ontario have been opened out and worked to a limited extent, but up to the present, unfortunately, the same richness in copper has not been discovered, though the Geological conditions are identical, and it is possible that similar rich areas of beds to those found in Michigan may be discovered in Ontario in the future.

Next to copper, the iron mining industry was probably the earliest entered upon in this Province. We find that in 1800, in Leeds County, iron was manufactured from ore exploited in the vicinity. In Hastings County, at Marmora, in 1820, an iron smelting furnace was erected to smelt the magnetic ore of the district. Again in 1822, in Norfolk County, bog ore was smelted in furnaces in the Township of Charlotteville. In the eastern and north-eastern part of the Province similar conditions prevail to those which are found in the northern part of the States of New York and New Jersey—magnetite and hemitite iron ores being found in connection with the Laurentian series, the magnetite being the most abundant ore, in the general proportion of about eight of magnetite to one of hemitite. While the States before mentioned to the south of us have annually produced large amounts of ore for a great number of years, the development in Ontario has been extremely intermittent, chiefly because of the fact that the smelting has not been carried on in the Province, while the demand for the ore has come chiefly from the American side of the boundary line where their own producers were increasing the price on the smelter.

A blast furnace is smelting iron ore at Hamilton with imported coke as fuel, and most of the ore is as yet imported. A charcoal furnace is about to be erected at Deseronto which also will depend for a time chiefly on importations. These enterprises should have the excellent result of eventually creating permanent iron mining in the Province.

Up to the present some 500,000 tons of iron ore have been mined from time to time in this eastern part of Ontario. In the western part of the Province we find the immense iron ranges of Minnesota continuing in a north-easterly direction into Ontario, where, to the south-west of Port Arthur, there is every promise of large Mines of iron ore when the demand arises for the same, and facilities which are furnished in Michigan

and Minnesota for bringing it to the market are given. Indeed, it is by no means improbable that nearer the centre part of the Province, to the east of Sault Ste Marie, we may find to the north of Lake Huron the continuation of the great ranges of northern Michigan, for it has long been recognized that here and there the very best type of specular hemitite has been found on Canadian territory. The production in the United States, to the south of the last two mentioned localities, has been so prodigious that we can hardly reconcile ourselves to the belief that nature has discriminated materially between the two sides of the boundary line, so that we may with the strongest hope and confidence look forward to the development of large and permanent supplies of iron ore in the Province of Ontario. The one thing which is wanted, not only in Ontario, but throughout the Dominion of Canada at large, is some fixed and determined policy regarding the manufacture of iron and steel, and that all classes of the community should be put on an equal footing in the building up of this most important of all industries. While the railroads have, as at present, a discrimination in their favour with free steel rails, the desirable object of a complete rounded-off policy for the production of Canadian iron and steel for Canadian manufactories and railroads is defeated.

Gold ore at present is receiving a good deal of attention in the Province of Ontario. It is said that, in 1660, Jesuit missionaries reported some gold as having been found on St. Joseph Island in Lake Huron. More than one-quarter of a century ago, the first time that gold was found in the Province was in Hastings County and in the form in which it is usually first discovered in new fields, viz., as placer gold. The actual date of the first discovery was August 15th, 1866, and the discoverer was Marcus Herbert Powell. The placer was in the outcrop of a decomposed dolomitic quartzose formation, and was in the nature of a mere pocket, which was soon worked out. The excitement was so great that the shaft head had to be protected by a Company of Militia, which were called out to prevent the place from being actually invaded by excited visitors. No rich quartz was struck there at the time, and exploratory work which was carried on to a limited extent in the neighbourhood soon died out.

One very interesting class of ore in this Hastings or Marmora district is a gold-carrying arsenical pyrites. This ore had several attempts at treatment, and until recently, the practical result of much work had not been successful. Now, however, its treatment by bromo-cyanide is reputed to have solved the difficulty, and we may confidently expect a satisfactory and permanent industry in the near future. The next gold excitement took place some fifteen years ago in the Lake of the Woods, which is now being rapidly opened up by mining and milling. The operations consisted somewhat of a prospecting type, and an inadequacy of capital, coupled with difficulties relating to the title of the land, caused a speedy cessation in the attempted development. Now, however, the renewed activity in the Lake of the Woods district has spread from Rat Portage south into the Rainy River district, thence north-eastward up the Seine River all the way to the Shebandowan, and constant new discoveries, both from prospecting and from mining development, are tending to prove that the area of possible gold Mines is a very extensive one in the western part of the Province of Ontario. Not only in the west, but in the northern part of central Ontario we find some Huronian ranges of rocks which consist chiefly of green schists accompanied by intrusive granites, both being often seamed with quartz-carrying gold. These conditions in the Sudbury and Wahnipitae districts have resulted in rich gold finds, some of which are now being worked in the latter district. Another very promising area of the same class has still more recently been found in the north-east end of Lake Superior, in the vicinity of the Michipicoten River. All of these ores are of the free-milling type, except those as above described, at Marmora. Some of them mill uniformly as high as from $15 to $25 a ton, chiefly on the plates. Some of the ores yield concentrates that are chlorinated, and in other cases it is necessary to cyanide the tailings to get the values satisfactorily.

We are yet in a condition of discovery and testing, and it is impossible to predict the ultimate position of Ontario as a great gold pro-

ducing section. This much may be said at any rate, that there are without doubt going to be some successful gold Mines, probably a good many, and that at the present we have excellent prospects extending over an immense section of the country. Several of the Mines are over 300 feet in depth, and at the *Sultana* in the Lake of the Woods district, as much as 40 feet in thickness of ore has yielded a handsome profit. It may therefore be said that gold mining and milling is established in Ontario as a permanent

Sultana Island Gold Mine, Lake of the Woods, Ontario.

industry, and this pleasing condition of things is due more largely to Mr. John Caldwell, of Winnipeg, owner of the *Sultana*, than to any other man living.

Silver mining in the Province has had a very varied experience. A good many ups and downs have centred about the lava-capped black Cambrian shales of the Port Arthur district. In 1866 the authentic discovery of silver veins is recorded, and in 1870 the first work was done on the famous Silver Island (Lake Superior), which is reported to have produced varying millions of dollars, probably anywhere from two to five million dollars. Later on the same class of silver ore was found on the south shore of Port Arthur, and about the year 1882 a good deal of work was done, the veins of the silver-bearing rocks following the general characteristics of veins in being somewhat irregular and the silver contents very bunchy. Therefore at one time a Company might be shovelling out silver sulphides for a short time, and then for weary weeks or months it might be hunting again to find pay ore. A good many Mines were opened in this district to a limited extent, but the rapid decrease in the price of silver brought a general collapse from which the silver mining industry in the Port Arthur district has not yet recovered, there being at present only a couple of Mines in operation.

Intimately connected with the copper deposits are the nickel deposits in the Sudbury district. Large masses of magnetic iron pyrites, or pyrrhotite, occurring in a green-stone rock, include vary-

ing quantities of copper and nickel in that vicinity. During the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in blasting through a cutting, some of these copper pyrites were found in a fairly solid condition. The fact that ores of value existed in the locality was recognized in 1886, in which year a strong company was organized known as the Canada Copper Company, and on developing some of their products, the discovery that nickel was associated with the pyrites was made, and eventually the industry, instead of being a copper one, has deviated into an important and satisfactory mining and smelting industry for the extraction of nickel. These deposits are irregular, but where they are mined they are very large. Before opening a deposit it is the custom to thoroughly test its extent by boring with a diamond drill, hence the mining of ore has not the uncertainty contended with in the development of a characteristic vein. The ore is roasted in large heaps and is then smelted, in a Herreshoff water-jacket furnace near the Mine, into a copper-nickel matte, which at present is shipped out of the country to be refined. There is a strong feeling that this refining should be done in Canada.

Non-metallic substances such as gypsum, salt, petroleum and graphite are found and worked to a considerable extent in Ontario. Building-stone also, clays and natural cements all occur and are exploited to the extent required by the local markets. The following table speaks for itself in this connection:

MINERAL PRODUCTION FOR THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO IN 1897.

Product.	Value.	Employés.	Wages.
Cement, natural rock	$ 76,123	70	$21,500
Cement, Portland	170,302	161	67,560
Pressed brick, plain	53,727		
do fancy	9,350	143	40,084
Roofing Tile	400		
Terra Cotta	35,809		
Paving Brick	45,670	66	23,226
Sewer Pipe	73 551	64	19,600
Petroleum			
Illuminating Oil	1,131,083		
Lubricating Oil	199,755		
Benzine and Naptha	77,340	364	196,956
Gas and Fuel Oils and Tar	281,035		
Paraffin Wax and Candles	88,378		
Natural Gas	308,448	84	42,338
Salt	247,175	207	57,698
Gypsum and products of	17,950		
Graphite and products of	8,500	15	5,000
Iron	288,127	130	40,000
Nickel	$359,651		
Copper	200,067	535	$253,226
Gold	190,244	430	212,966
Total.....1897	$3,862,685	2,269	980,154

Province of New Brunswick. There is no Department in this Province, as has previously been mentioned, which deals with the Minerals of the Province exclusively, but the information relating thereto can be obtained through the Department of Trade and Commerce at Ottawa. The chief product of the Province is gypsum, which occurs in immense quantity, and of especially fine quality, in the neighbourhood of Hillsboro'. Most of the gypsum is exported to the United States for the manufacture of Plaster of Paris. The pure white variety, of a close-grained and marble-like structure, is exported for use in paper fillings and the adulteration of sweets. It is usually sold under the name of Terra Alba. At Hillsboro' there is a mill which grinds the gypsum for land plaster and for the manufacture of Plaster of Paris and patent house plasters. The largest proportion of Plaster of Paris used in Canada comes from this locality. Coal has been worked to a limited extent, but up to the present the seams are found to be narrow, and the industry has not grown to any considerable extent for some years. A fine variety of granite is quarried in the Province for tomb-stone and other work, and another growing product of New Brunswick is in the making of grind-stones from a suitable material there found. The following are the statistics of its Mineral output for 1897:

Gypsum	$118,116
Grind-stones	24,840
Mineral water	25,600
Coal	15,000
Granite	26,750
Other products	2,075
Total	$212,381

Province of British Columbia. This Province is without doubt destined to be by far the greatest mineral producer of any Province in the Dominion. This thought is brought home very forcibly to us when we look at a map and recall the immense production of the almost unbroken metalliferous ranges which continue from Mexico to

the Canadian boundary line. The names of such States of the Republic as California, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, South Dakota, Idaho and Montana are synonymous with great Mineral production, and their yield in silver, gold, copper, lead and mercury has, in the aggregate, surpassed any other part of the world, the average annual yield being nearly a couple of hundred millions of dollars. To the north of the boundary line the same metalliferous ranges extend unbroken for a greater length in the Dominion of Canada than they do in the United States. Rich gold deposits have already been found almost at the extremes of these ranges in Canada, namely, at Rossland in British Columbia, just north of the boundary line, and at Klondike in the North-West Territories of the Dominion, almost within the Arctic circle. At various places within this immense stretch of country such districts as Cariboo (which has produced some fifty million dollars' worth of gold) prove that many other very rich spots will be found in these great Mineral ranges.

Nickel Copper-Matte, Sudbury, Ontario.

Coal was the first Mineral discovered in British Columbia (in 1835). The first work was done upon it in 1851 on the West Coast, and in 1852 at Nanaimo. The former work was discontinued. At Nanaimo the Hudson's Bay Company carried on the work of mining and shipping coal under the name of the Nanaimo Coal Company, and in 1861 sold out to the Vancouver Coal Company by whom the collieries are now operated. The first serious development at Wellington was carried on in 1871 by Mr. Robert Dunsmuir, a Scotch miner, who discovered outcrops of coal north of Nanaimo, in what is now known as the Wellington coal field. Three coal fields are operated on the Island of Vancouver—the Nanaimo, the Wellington and the Comox. Large quantities of these coals are shipped to the cities on the Pacific sea-board of the United States. There are abundant beds of coal in the United States more or less tributary to the Pacific Coast, but they are not as good bituminous coals as those of Vancouver Island, being for the most part more or less lignitic in character. Therefore, in spite of the adverse duty, a steady market has been enjoyed in the United States at very remunerative prices. In the Nanaimo coal field there are two seams 4 ft. and 3 ft. to 4 feet thick and work has been run for two miles under the sea in one seam. In the

Wellington coal field 2 seams are worked each 5 feet in thickness, and in the Comox coal field one seam 7 feet thick is mined, and there are several other good seams available.

On the Mainland there are a number of coal fields, but none of them are at present working. In the Crow's Nest Pass some important seams of good bituminous coal are now being opened up, principally to furnish coke for the smelters in the Kootenay. In the Nicola Valley, tributary to the coast, an excellent coking coal occurs, but as there is no railway it is yet undeveloped. Most of these inland coal fields, however, are lignites, and they have been found in patches in many places in the Province. A good grade of bituminous coal and a limited quantity of anthracite have both been found in the Queen Charlotte Islands. In 1897 the output of coal was 882,854 tons, of which 619,860 tons were exported, San Francisco, San Pedro and San Diego, in California, U.S.A., being the ports to which most of it was shipped.

The first gold discovered in British Columbia was found by an Indian woman on the beach at Gold Harbour, on the west coast of Queen Charlotte Islands. A slight excitement ensued, and a couple of expeditions in 1852 realized a small yield from a seven-inch irregular quartz vein. The first report of genuine placer gold is from the Agent of the Hudson's Bay Company at Kamloops, who bought it from Indians. In 1857 some French-Canadians and Half-breeds found placer gold at Nicoamen, nine miles from the mouth of the Thompson River. Some 300 ounces passed through the hands of the Hudson's Bay Company. A rush from California then commenced, and between March and June, 1858, over 20,000 persons arrived at Victoria by sea from San Francisco. The first work was carried on upon the bars of the Lower Fraser, especially between Hope and Yale. Hills Bar, just below Yale, is reported to have yielded nearly a million dollars, and Emery Bar, lower down, perhaps half that amount. When the first miners began to ascend the Fraser, the Indians of the coast, an inferior type of the noble Red-man, became alarmed lest their country should be taken from them. They inaugurated a species of guerrilla warfare, and as one of the pioneers has expressed it to me, "it was a very gruesome thing to paddle along the dark, tree-clad sides of the rapid river, not knowing the moment when a savage would peep out from between the thick foliage, and an arrow from a bow, or slugs from a Hudson's Bay musket, would sing past your ears." This same pioneer, Mr. Edward Stout, of Yale, still carries the mark of an arrow through his wrist, and some slugs deeply imbedded in the muscles of his chest.

This state of things went on for some time until one morning the bodies of five miners were found in the little bay at Yale and following them the corpses of one or more Indians. At this the miners armed themselves, went over the hills, passed the great Canyon, and carried by storm and slaughter the principal Indian village. After this the natives succumbed to the inevitable. In the year 1858 the output of gold started, and each month mounted up at a rapidly increasing ratio—June $6,000, July $45,000, August $45,000, September $164,000 and October $283,000, or a total for the five months of $543,000. In 1859 the miners who had pushed their way up the Fraser, and others who had worked north through interior routes, reached the Quesnelle River, and in 1860 rich diggings were found on the river and on Antler Creek. In 1861 Williams and Lightening Creeks, the richest in Cariboo, were discovered. The former is stated to have yielded $19,000,000 and the latter $10,000,000. In 1862 most of the other rich creeks were found. In this year a second influx commenced owing to the rich finds in Williams and Lightening Creeks and among the expeditions were a couple of parties overland from Eastern Canada via the Red River and Fort Garry (Winnipeg), the Little Saskatchewan and Fort Ellis, the north branch of the Saskatchewan and Fort Carlton, Fort Pitt and Edmonton, Lake St. Anne and the Athabasca River, through the Rocky Mountains to the upper part of the Fraser River and Tete Jaune Caché. At this later place the parties divided, one going down the Fraser via Fort George, and the upper canyons of the River, to the mouth of the Quesnelle, and the other down the Thompson to Kamloops. The hardships of these parties were great and six of them lost their lives. The story, "Overland to Cariboo," is well told by Mrs. Archibald Mc-

Naughton of Quesnelle Mouth, whose husband was one of the party which went down the Fraser. The total yield of gold from Cariboo was some $50,000,000, the largest yield being from 1863 to 1868, when there was an average output of over three million dollars a year. The yield for the last three years has been as follows:

	1895	1896	1897
Bakerville Division...	$81,000	$82,900	$65,000
Lightening Creek ...	40,700	53,000	25,000
Quesnelle Mouth.....	18,200	51,100	35,000
Keithley Creek	142,500	197,050	200,000
Lillooet.....	40,663	35,665	37,480
Cassiar		21,000	37,060

As an example of some of the old-time yields in Cariboo, I might quote the figures of some claims on Williams and Lightening Creeks. According to the reports of the Gold Commissioner of the District, Williams Creek and its tributaries yielded over nineteen millions of dollars, and Lightening Creek and its tributaries some ten millions of dollars, as has already been noted. In the Lillooet district, Cayoosh Creek was most productive and yielded nearly a million dollars. On Williams Creek the Aurora and Cameron Claims each yielded some $800,000, a few other claims over half a million of dollars, and a number from $200,000 to $300,000—one hundred and eight claims yielding $17,355,000, or about $160,000 on an average per claim. On the Dillar Claim, on April 13th, 1863, three men washed up 104 pounds (2,080 ozs.) in the afternoon. The Gold Commissioner, Mr. Bowron, states that he has seen 1,000 ozs. washed up in the Aurora Claim for three days' rim drifting underground. On Lightening Creek, the best week's wash-ups were in the Vulcan Claim, 400 odd ounces, in the Vancouver 603 ounces, in the Victoria 964 ounces, and higher up stream, in the Van Winkle, 1,570 ounces from thirteen sets of timber, or 455 square feet (viz., about 3½ ozs. per square foot of bed rock, or 120 ozs. per set), and in the South Wales, 1,000 ozs. for the week ending October 9th, 1871. The best month's yield in the Van Winkle Claim gave:

Week ending 5th Sept., 1875,	858½ ozs.....	...	$15,169.69
" 12th "	1,251 "		22,106.67
" 19th "	1,570½ "		27,749.87
" 26th "	893½ "		15,790.96
To Sept. 30th (four days),	495½ "		754 64
Total for September, 1875			$81,571.83

These figures are extracted from the original books of the Van Winkle Company, in the possession of the Gold Commissioner. The best pan (about twenty lbs.) on record on the Creek from favourable crevices was got by Harry Jones in the Van Winkle—101 ounces. Other big pans on record ran up to seventy-two ounces, and numbers of thirty ounces and upwards were obtained.

There is placer gold in nearly every part of the Province, and among the discoveries outside of Cariboo the following may be noted. In 1863 in East Kootenay, Wild Horse Creek was found to be rich. This creek is still worked, and a plant for hydraulic mining has been installed by an English company, and good results are expected. In 1864, Leech River, in the southern part of Vancouver Island, yielded some gold. In 1865, the Big Bend of the Columbia was found to have rich placers, and there was a rush there in the following year. From 1869 to 1871 the feeding creeks of the Omenica branch of the Peace River were worked, but abandoned in 1873 for the richer placers discovered in the previous year in the Cassiar districts, where the McDame's Creek in the Stickine district is still worked.

These Cassiar Mines carried the miners into the Yukon, and further north in 1880, and as far back as 1886 coarse gold was found on Forty-mile Creek. From 1879, for the next seventeen years, Cayoosh Creek, in the Lillooet district, yielded over a million dollars from its placer gold. In 1885 Granite Creek, in the Similkameen district was found to have rich placers, and a good deal of platinum was found as well as gold. Lately, in the North-West Territories, the tributaries of the Yukon River, and especially the Klondike River, with the Bonanza, Eldorado and other Creeks, were explored in 1896, and have established an unprecedented excitement and influx of adventurers.

Present Placer Operations in B.C. The most important operations in placer mining in the Province of British Columbia are being carried out in the Cariboo district. The developments are chiefly in the direction of hydraulic placer mining, and some of the enterprises give promise of very important outputs of gold. The largest operations are carried on by the Cariboo Hydrau-

lic Company, which is working an ancient river channel occurring at a higher level than the present Quesnelle River, and cutting it. This Company produced some £26,000 in 1896, and some £27,000 in 1897. The face operated on is about 200 feet high, and underlying that there is from 150 to 100 feet of rich gravel still to be worked. As the old channel has been uncovered for some 1,600 feet of its width, and was some 700 feet in width of gravel, the immediate future possibilities of this claim are very great. In fact, those interested have good reason for the belief that it will prove one of the greatest Hydraulic Mines in the world. The reason that this Mine and many other gravel benches in the Province are not worked to their full capacity is scarcity of water. Enormous amounts of water come down in the early summer, when the snow is melting in the mountains, and make torrents in every gulch and depression. Then, so soon as frost arrives, there is no water coming from the mountains, and creeks that were raging torrents in the summer can be stepped across in the autumn and winter. The duration of water for hydraulic placer operations is therefore very short in nearly every case where the source of supply is not from some river or very large lake.

Extensive dams are therefore necessary to make immense reservoirs or to raise the level and restrain the outflow of mountain lakes, and ditches often have to be made for many miles to bring the water on to gravel banks. In the case of the Cariboo Hydraulic Company's Mine, to which reference has just been made, there are 21 miles of ditches, one ditch being eleven miles in length with a grade of six feet to the mile and a cross section showing a depth of three feet and a width of thirteen and seven feet on top and bottom respectively. A ditch such as this carries about 3,000 miner's inches (4,500 cubic feet per min.). The largest giants or monitors at the Cariboo Mine have nozzles of ten inches diameter, and steel pipes varying from 48 to 30, to 24 and finally to 22 inches bring the water to the monitors from the ditches. The sluices are five feet wide and 2 feet deep and from 75 to 80 pounds of mercury are used per day in the one large pit when two monitors are running. Since work commenced in 1894 some £70,000 have been taken from this Mine, all of which has gone into operating and construction expenses. This will serve as an example of an actively prosecuted hydraulic placer mining operation, of which there are a number of smaller plants in Cariboo district, both in the Quesnelle, the Horse-fly and the Barkerville districts.

Hydraulic elevators are being used at the Ward Mine on the Horse-fly, and the same way of raising the gravels will be followed in working the lower ground of Williams Creek by the Cariboo Gold Mining Company. The latter company are installing two Campbell Hydraulic Elevators, which will each raise some 1,200 cubic yards of gravel per 24 hours, with 600 miner's inches (900 cubic feet of water per minute). A drainage tunnel about 3,000 feet in length drains the foot of the elevator shafts, and two sluice boxes, each 4x4 feet, with riffle blocks, each 4x4 feet, situated 88 feet above the elevator, will carry off the raised gravel. Fourteen miles of ditches have been constructed. A good deal of work is being done in trying to bottom the lower ground of rivers which have paid handsomely in Cariboo. In this class of operation the most important are the Willow River and the Slough Creek mining operations. These are carried on on modern principles by locating the exact position and depth of the old channel by hydraulic boring machines and then sinking bed-rock shafts in which heavy pumps are placed, and drifts then run at the proper level to catch the old channel.

Another type of placer work being carried on in the Cariboo and Lillooet districts is exemplified by the operations on the Quesnelle River where the river bed will be temporarily laid bare by means of a dam. In Lillooet a company proposes to divert the course of the Bridge River by means of a tunnel and thereby get at the river bed. Dredging for gold in these northern districts has been carried on in several of the rivers, notably the Fraser and the Quesnelle in British Columbia, and in the Saskatchewan in the North-West Territories. Operations of this character are being carried on at this present time in some other localities. The general experience has been similar to that of the Western United States where dredging has not been satisfactory from a commercial point of view. In view, however,

of the immense improvements made in New Zealand in the type of dredges used for raising and saving the gold, and disposing of the large boulders generally associated with it, a number of new dredging schemes are constantly on foot, and it is altogether probable that profitable dredging will be inaugurated in the Province.

The Cassiar district is the connecting link between Cariboo and Yukon. Placer gold has been mined there for many years. It commenced on the bars of the Stikine River and later the Dease, Thibert and McDame Creeks gave satisfactory yields; over five million dollars' worth of gold having been taken from this district in the last 25 years. McDame's Creek has been worked up to the last few years. It has produced from $50,000 down to $20,000 for the last ten years, but may now be said to be worked out. As the country opens up there is but little question that richer placer deposits will be found in the Cassiar district than have yet been discovered. The Omenica district may be said to be the northern end of the Cariboo district and has great possibilities. The known yield so far has been unimportant.

Vein or Lode Mining in British Columbia. In 1877-78 a good deal of work was done on the veins in Cariboo, but the enormous difficulties of transport and low grade or refractory character of the comparatively few veins exploited made the effort premature. In these northern placer countries prospecting for quartz veins is very difficult owing to the enormous amount of gravel, or debris, from the easily disintegrated schists. "Float" from quartz veins is everywhere, but the veins are seldom seen outcropping on the mountain sides, though constantly met with when drifting is done on, or in, the bed-rock in the placer workings. The general geological features of most of the northern British Columbia districts is that comparatively soft schists interlaced with auriferous quartz seams have been worn down to form the placers. Regular and well-defined strong veins are found, but the general characteristic of the quartz is its great irregularity and abundance in the schists. Therefore, conditions occur where nature has been able to mill down vast areas of this sort of formation to make rich placers when man could not profitably accomplish the extraction of the gold from the matrix it occurs in.

Another curious anomaly found in the northern placer countries is that many of the veins, instead of carrying the majority of their auriferous value as free gold, have it associated with pyrites, and only a comparatively small percentage can be extracted by the ordinary process of milling and amalgamation. Even in these cases it has been found that the gold is only satisfactorily extracted by cyanide or by chlorination—trials made on some of the ores so far having shown that the former process is the more economical. However, there is no question but that strong quartz veins will be found, or some of those already found will be exploited in the near future in these northern districts. Also, that instances will be found where it will be profitable to mine and treat the entire belt of quartz and schists where the irregular condition, above alluded to, occurs. The great problem to be solved in connection with the vein development of these districts is the question of transportation, or railways, and it is gratifying to note that both the Dominion and the British Columbian Governments have adopted a policy which will lead to the opening up of these districts in the near future. Once railway communication is pushed into northern British Columbia, gold quartz mining will with leaps and bounds forge to the front as the most important industry in the Province. The gold discoveries, next in importance to the above-mentioned placers, were those in the West Kootenay district, in the vicinity of Rossland. At the present moment the importance of the development accomplished on the refractory, or smelting, gold ores greatly exceeds that on the free-milling variety; therefore, I shall first consider some of the facts in connection with the smelting gold ores.

The gold ore of the Rossland district is a cupriferous magnetic iron pyrite mineralogically known as cupriferous-pyrrhotite. The decomposition of this gives rise to a red soil, so that the mountain in which the largest deposits are found is known as "The Red Mountain." Romance hath it that a Seeress in the south told some prospectors of this mountain, where great riches in gold could be had, and that they found the mountain and found it heavily mineralized, but as they could see no visi-

ble gold, or pan out a long "tail" of it, they returned sorely disappointed. History states that large outcrops of galena were known on Kootenay Lake, but, as they ran low in silver, they lay undeveloped until, in 1887 or 1888, the Hall brothers (who are Half-breeds) ran across the large outcrop of the *Silver King*, a high-grade silver-copper ore. This created an excitement, and prospectors from the south came over the international border-line in considerable numbers.

In 1889, Joseph Bourjouis located the first claim in the Rossland gold district, the *Lily May*. The same man located the *Centre Star* and *War Eagle* on the Red Mountain, while his partner, J. Morris, staked the *Virginia* and *Idaho*. These men allowed Mr. E. E. Topping to stake the *Le Roi*, which they also discovered, on his paying the expense of recording their claims. Thus it may be said that the Mine that up to the present has proved the most valuable lode mine in British Columbia was virtually sold for "a mess of pottage." The man who has had more to do with the preliminary development of the Red Mountain than any other is Mr. Oliver Durant, who first managed the *Le Roi* and subsequently purchased the next Mine, the *Centre Star*, which he is now developing. This group of Mines on the Red Mountain at Rossland are of peculiar interest. There is an amply verified adage that "gold is where you find it," and, like the famous gold-bearing conglomerates of Africa, the Red Mountain gold veins are without a parallel. The ore is virtually identical with the nickel ore found at Sudbury in Ontario, but which carries only a small amount of gold. The form in which the two occur, however, is very different. While both occur in very basic rocks, the Sudbury ore being associated with a diorite and the Red Mountain ore with a gabbro, yet the Sudbury ore occurs in masses and the Red Mountain ore in well-defined strong fissure veins, often with a banded central streak of calcite.

To give an example of the strength of the fissure traversing the *Le Roi*, *Centre Star*, etc., it might be noted that in places in the *Le Roi* Mine the ore body has been extracted across a width as great as 30 feet and that the average width of stoped ore, down to the 600-feet level is 12 feet. At the time of the discovery of the Red Mountain, if one versed in Canadian ore were shown a piece of the pyrrhotite from the outcrop of the *Le Roi*, he would probably have expressed an opinion that it might be worth assaying for nickel but that it would be hopeless to expect to find more than a trace of gold. Yet the smelter returns have given a steady yield of from $20 to $30 per ton in gold for the last couple of years, with from one to three per cent. of copper and a couple of ounces of silver. There is a very small proportion of free gold, the values being entirely extracted by smelting. The only gold smelter at present running in Canada is operated by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company at Trail on the Columbia River, just below the town of Rossland. The product is a gold-copper matte which is exported for the final extraction of the gold, copper and silver, chiefly to Butte, Montana. To the west of Rossland large areas of greenstone rocks contain a large amount of mineralization, especially along the lines of contact with limestone bands. This condition of things is well-developed in the Boundary Creek district and particularly in the vicinity of Greenwood Camp. There is every indication that large bodies of copper-gold ore will be developed, but most of the finds so far are of a low grade and much interest is being taken in the best method for treating the ores to extract the values. The Canadian Pacific Railway is soon to build a branch line from Rossland to Penticton, at the foot of Okanagan, which will pass through the Boundary district.

The free-milling ores of British Columbia have as yet not been developed to any extent. At Camp McKinney, in the southern Okanagan, a fine vein, averaging about four feet in width, has been mined for four years. The present small ten-stamp mill is to be enlarged. The ore runs some $17.00 in gold values, chiefly obtainable on the plates. The Fairview Camp, some twenty-five miles west of the above, has also yielded good free-milling ore. At this place there are several systems of veins, the strongest running in a band of schistose quartzite, for a couple of miles, besides a great granite mass. High-grade ore has also been mined in veins found in the granite. The ore shoots in this camp, while carrying values from $6.00 to $30.00, have so far not been found very liberally distributed, but

mining development on a more extended scale than hitherto attempted will probably open up areas of pay ore which have not yet been discovered. Two stamp mills have so far been erected in this locality, one ten and the other sixteen stamps.

In the West Kootenay district, near Nelson, a vein has been worked at the *Poorman Mine* since 1890; therefore it can claim to be the pioneer free-milling enterprise of southern British Columbia. The value of the ore is said to be some $16.00, and the ore is milled in a ten-stamp mill run by water-power. Some $100,000 has been produced by this small mill. More recently another Mine in the same district has yielded some 7½ dwt. from the plates of its ten-stamp mill, and 1½ dwt. from its concentrates, or a total value of 9 dwt. Also, all reports from a free milling Mine on Toad Mountain are very encouraging, so that it can properly be said that while the developments thus far have not yet yielded such large returns from the free-milling as from the smelting ores of southern British Columbia, yet there is every reason to expect a large and permanent gold-mining industry in many places in the Province.

Silver mining in British Columbia has actually been more remunerative than has gold mining during the past few years. The first Mine which drew attention to the occurrence of high-grade ore in large quantities in the Kootenay was a silver-copper ore on Toad Mountain discovered about the year 1890. In 1885, some high-grade galena was found above Illicillewaet on the C.P.R. in the Selkirks, the northern continuation of the metalliferous belts subsequently located further south. The large mass of galena (the "Blue-bell") on the east side of Kootenay Lake had been known for many years. The high-grade ore on Toad Mountain stimulated prospecting and led to the discovery of the Mines above Ainsworth, which increased in grade as the mountain was ascended and the granite approached. The *Number One* has been the most constant shipper from here. Then going further north the Lardeau Creek was followed up into the mountains and led to important discoveries there, but still further back, when Slocan Lake and vicinity was reached, unusually high-grade galena was discovered which carried as much as 200 and 300 ounces of silver to the ton. The *Payne Group*, the *Noble Five* and a score of other well-known Mines have paid their owners handsomely.

About the same time prospecting began to show rich Minerals in the East Kootenay also, and a high-grade galena has been shipped to Montana smelters, in the face of great transportation difficulties, from the *North Star Mine*. Lead need not be alluded to separately from the silver ores because in most cases there is a close connection, and the bulk of the silver is produced from silver-lead ores. Lead is very abundant and occurs plentifully on both sides of Kootenay Lake and through the Slocan district. There is every prospect of similar veins being opened up to the north of the districts at present exploited, and every indication points to East Kootenay containing almost identical conditions as are found occurring in West Kootenay.

Copper ore will be a very important product of British Columbia. The ore of the *Silver King*, already alluded to, is a silver-copper ore, and it is smelted at Nelson, on an arm of the Kootenay Lake, and averages copper, 4 to 6 per cent. and silver some 25 ounces per ton. The Rossland gold ore, already alluded to, contains about 1.1½ per cent. of copper on the average, and it is smelted at Trail on the Columbia River. West of Rossland immense bodies of low-grade copper-gold ores occur in the neighbourhood of Boundary Creek in the Greenway Camp. Again, further west in the Similkameen and Nicola districts, and in the vicinity of Kamloops Lake, promising finds of copper ore have been made. On Texada Island some important development work has been done on copper-bearing ledges, and at other points on the coast excellent prospects of copper ore have been located.

Mercury ore, or cinnabar, has been developed to some extent on Kamloops Lake near Savonas. The cinnabar occurs scattered through a very extensive belt, and, though it does not appear to have been found as yet in paying quantity, it is a most attractive prospecting development proposition. The Mine at Savonas is said to be the only mercury Mine under the British flag. With regard to other Minerals of economic value, platinum is found in the alluvial gold washings of the Similkameen, and some few years ago supplied

for a short time the largest proportion of the world's platinum. At present a small quantity is still produced by the Chinese. Zinc occurs between Ashcroft and Lillooet. Building stones, granite and limestone, are very abundant. The following summaries of Mineral output in British Columbia will be of interest:

TOTAL PRODUCTION UP TO 1898.

Gold, placer	$59,317,473
Gold, lode	4,300,689
Silver	7,301,060
Lead	2,971,618
Copper	521,000
Coal and coke	36,626,585
Building stone, brick, etc	1,350,000
Other metals	25,000
Total	$112,413,425

VALUE OF MATERIALS PRODUCED 1896 AND 1897.

	1896, Value.	1897, Value.
Gold, placer	$ 544,026	$ 513,520
Gold, lode	1,244,180	2,122,820
Silver	2,100,689	3,272,836
Copper	190,926	266,258
Lead	721,384	1,390,517
Coal, tons 2,240 lbs	2,688,666	2,648,562
Coke	3,075	89,155
Other materials	15,000	151,600
Total	$7,507,946	$10,455,268

The rapid increase during the past seven years is in itself a succinct history of the growth of Provincial Mines. In 1892 the influence of lode Mines first began to be felt, since which the increase has been wholly due to metalliferous Mines, the coal output not increasing:

TEN YEARS' PRODUCTION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Year.	Amount.	Yearly Inc. %
1890	$ 2,608,803	...
1891	3,521,102	.35
1892	2,978,530	...
1893	3,588,413	.21
1894	4,225,717	.18
1895	5,643,042	.33
1896	7,507,956	.34
1897	10,455,268	.40

PRODUCTION OF GOLD BY DISTRICTS.

	1896.	1897.
Cariboo—		
Barkerville	$ 82,900	$ 65,000
Quesnelle Mouth	51,100	35,000
Lightening Creek	53,000	25,000
Keithley Creek	197,050	200,000
Total for Cariboo.	$ 384,050	$ 325,000
Cassiar	21,000	37,060
Kootenay, East	154,427	163,796
West Kootenay—		
Ainsworth	345,626	440,545
Nelson	545,529	789,215
Slocan	1,854,011	3,280,686
Trail Creek	1,243,360	2,097,280
Other parts	14,209	157,977
Total West Kootenay.	$4,002,735	$6,765,703
Lillooet	$ 33,665	$ 39,840
Yale	$ 206,078	$ 226,762
Other Districts	15,000	9,390
Grand total	$4,816,955	$7,567,551

In conclusion, and with regard to the general natural conditions affecting the Mining industry in British Columbia it can be stated most emphatically that they are on the whole remarkably favourable. There is ample timber throughout the whole country. As a rule there is abundance of water, though in some parts of the dry belt in southern British Columbia water is scarce, and in the extreme north the shortness of the summer season makes the supply variable. The climate in the southern part of British Columbia, where the major part of the mining operations are now carried on, is delightful. In the valleys, fruits of nearly every sort can be cultivated profusely, and, even as far north as the Peace River Valley, cereals can be raised in abundance. A more healthy and vigourous class of humanity it would be difficult to find than those who are met with in the country; who have lived there for many years, and who in their own *parlance* are known as "old-timers." The above facts, taken in consideration with the development, which was pointed out in

the first part of this paper to have established the enormous value of these great metalliferous ranges to the south in the United States, lead to the inevitable conclusion that it is merely a question of search, development and railway communication to make the Province of British Columbia and the north-west portion of the North-West Territories of Canada one continuous great mining camp for nearly 1,500 miles in length, and one of the greatest producers of the world's supply of gold, silver, copper, lead and perhaps mercury.

North-West Territories. The Mineral production of the North-West Territories is as yet very small, but since the discovery of rich placer gold in tributary creeks to the Yukon there is every prospect of a rapid increase. Coal has been the most important Mineral product of the Territories up to the present. A five-feet seam of very high grade of lignite has been obtained from the Galt Mine at Lethbridge, a semi-anthracite is worked at Canmore and an anthracite coal mine at Anthracite. The two latter places are in the same coal field yet change their character. The coal seams vary from three to fifteen feet in thickness and nearly a dozen seams occur within a short distance. A number of coal seams occur in the prairie and foot hills, lignitic in character in the plains, as at Medicine Hat, and altering to bituminous coal near the mountains, as at Bow River Mines, at both of which places some coal has been mined. The output of coal for the North-West Territories was 225,000 tons for the year ending July 1st, 1897, as follows:

Coal Mines.	Tons.
Lethbridge	120,000
Canmore	60,000
Anthracite	20,000
Edmonton & Okotoks	4,000
Kneehill	2,000
Souris	9,000
Other points	10,000

The Superintendent of Mines states that the *Canmore* and *Anthracite* increases since July 1st have been very great, the *Canmore* being as high as 250 per cent. larger output.

The Klondike District. The most recent gold field in Western Canada, to which men are rushing in thousands, and coming from almost every part of the world, is that known by the name of Klondike in the Yukon district of the North-West Territories of Canada. This district is tributary to the Great Yukon River and covers in a general way the territory south of the Arctic Ocean and between the Mackenzie River and the boundary between Alaska, in United States territory, and Canada. Gold has been known on the Yukon River since 1864, and has been worked intermittently since 1873. The Klondike is one of the rivers which runs into the upper portion of the Yukon River, and Bonanza, Eldorado and other creeks whose names are becoming familiar to all the world are mountain streams flowing down from golden-ribbed ranges in the Klondike River. These latter were discovered to carry coarse gold in 1886. It has taken a good many years to reach the rich fountain head of all the gold which has been found scattered far down the great Yukon River. The Official Guide prepared by Mr. William Ogilvie for the Dominion Government gives much information relating to discoveries and recent developments on this district which I shall quote from.

In 1847 Fort Yukon was established at the mouth of the Porcupine River (now in Alaska, U.S.A.) and in 1848 Fort Selkirk was founded at the confluence of the Pelly and Lewes Rivers, both by the Hudson's Bay Company. Early in the "seventies" miners found that bars on the Yukon carried gold, and as they worked out the lower bars, carrying fine gold, and ascended the stream, they found coarser gold and richer bars. In 1874, traders began to find their way up the river and establish posts in Alaskan territory, and in 1882 a number of miners entered the country by the Dyea Pass. Previously they had come up the Yukon River from its mouth. The hardships of the pioneer miners were very great. I have met men who had worked on the placers along the Yukon but who had left the country on account of the unbearable cold. Still the miners pushed on up the great river, further on each year, getting heavier gold on the upper bars, until in 1886 coarse gold was found on the Forty-mile River, the first tributary of the Yukon which had been found to yield it The news spread far and wide and from then until the richer Klondike River was struck there has been active prospecting on other tributary rivers and creeks. It is stated

that it is probable that in the Canadian Yukon territory we have not less than 1,400 miles of streams, upon all of which gold can be found. For example, far above the Forty-mile and the Klondike Rivers, between Big Salon River and Teslin Lake, a party of four miners took $6,000 from Cassiar Bar in thirty days in 1886. The mining of the deep ground on Forty-mile River and on the bars of the Yukon and some tributary streams, such as the Stewart River, continued giving very satisfactory yields during the short seasons,

William Ogilvie.

until 1896 when Bonanza and Eldorado Creeks were discovered. A man named George W. Cormack first "struck it rich" on these creeks and they were soon staked off. Last year's yield has made them famous the world over.

Indian Creek, which flows into the Yukon some 25 miles above the Klondike River, has three creeks (Dominion, Sulphur and Quartz), which yield handsomely, as high as $9.00 per pan. They have been staked off and partially prospected. Stewart River is viewed very favourably as a prospecting ground owing to the fact that when first mined on, its bars yielded as high as $30 to $100 per day, worked by a rocker. It is reasonably expected that creeks feeding into it will be found to be rich. Other rivers and creeks give indications which lead Mr. Ogilvie to believe some 125,000 square miles of the country to be gold-bearing. The Klondike deposits are said to be ordinary typical placers. The gold-bearing gravel is from 2½ to 5 feet deep and the gold is found in the bed-rock from 6 to 18 inches. Above the gravel is some 15 feet of mud or muck. In some places the bed-rock is a mica-schist, in others a quartz-schist mixed with slate. No quartz veins of any value have so far been discovered but stringers of quartz-carrying gold have been found in the bed-rock. In 1897, up to December 13th, there were on record 3,800 claims in the office of the Gold Commissioner for the whole Yukon district, 65 of which were quartz claims. The estimated yield of gold from the Klondike district in 1897 was two million of dollars.

No doubt a large number of people will enter into this northern gold-carrying region and it depends altogether upon transportation facilities how large a proportion of the now increasing population remain in the country. Placer Mining must necessarily be limited, and without railway facilities quartz development in such an isolated country is impossible.

Mineral Statistics of the Dominion. In 1884 the writer read a paper on the "Occurrence of Economic Minerals in Canada," more for the purpose of pointing out the desirability of statistics on this subject, and the fact that at that time the topic was not dealt with by any branch of the Government. Through the interest thus aroused a Deputation waited upon the then Minister of Interior, the late Hon. Thomas White, concerning this matter. Amongst the Deputation were mining men and members of Parliament representing every Province in the Dominion in which mining was carried on. The result of the movement was the establishment of the Statistical branch of the Geological Survey by Mr. White in 1886, since which year general Mineral statistics for the Dominion of Canada have been issued. As these are very important in showing the advance of Mining they are here reproduced as a fitting conclusion to this sketch:

Mineral Productions of Canada, Calendar Years 1886 to 1896.

PRODUCTS.	Value, 1886.	Value, 1887.	Value, 1888.	Value, 1889.	Value, 1890.	Value, 1891.	Value, 1892.	Value, 1893.	Value, 1894.	Value, 1895.	Value, 1896.
METALLIC.	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$	$
Antimony ore	31,490	10,860	3,696	1,100	625	60					
Copper (*c*)	385 550	366,798	927,107	936.341	947,153	1 143.598	818.580	871 809	739 659	945,714	1 021 960
Gold (*d*)	1,365,496	1,237,804	1,098,610	1,295,159	1 149,776	930 614	907,601	976 603	1,128 688	1,911 676	2,780,086
Iron ore (*a*)	126,982	146,197	152,088	151 640	155 380	142.005	263,866	299 368	226,611	238 070	191 557
Lead (*e*)		9,216	29,813	6,488	4,704	3,857	33.064	79,636	187,636	531.716	721,159
Mercury										2 343	1,940
Nickel (*f*)				498.286	933,232	2,775,976	1,399 956	2,071,151	1 870,958	1,360,984	1,188.990
Platinum		5,600	6 000	3.500	4.500	10,000	3 500	1,800	950	2 800	750
Silver	209,090	341,645	371,654	358,785	419.118	409,549	272,130	330,128	534,049	1,150,166	2 149,503
Total value	2 118,608	2 118,120	2,588,948	3,251,299	3 614,488	5 421.659	3,698,697	4,630.495	4 688,551	6,153,469	8,055 945
NON-METALLIC.											
Arsenic (white)	(*a*) 5,460	(*a*) 1,200	(*a*) 1,200	(*a*)	(*a*) 1,500	(*a*) 1 000	(*a*)	(*a*)	(*a*) 420	(*a*)	(*a*)
Asbestos	206.251	226,976	253,007	426,554	1,230,240	990,878	390,462	310,156	429,825	368 175	429 856
Chromite	945	570							20,000	41.300	27 004
Coal	3,739,840	4 388 206	4 674,140	4,894,287	5.676,247	7 019,425	6,363 757	7,359 080	7,429,468	6 739,153	7 226 462
Coke (*g*)	101,940	135,951	134.181	155,043	166 298	175 592	169 249	161 790	148,551	143 047	110 257
Felspar					3 500	3 425	525	4.525		(*b*) 2 545	(*a*) 2 583
Fire clay	(*b*)	(*b*)	(*b*)	4 800		750	4.467	700	2,167	3 492	1,805
Graphite	4,000	2 400	1 200	3.160	5,200	1,500	3,763		223	6.150	9 455
Grindstones	46 545	64,098	51,129	30 863	42,310	42.587	51,187	38,379	32,717	31,932	33 310
Gypsum	178,742	157,277	179,393	205,108	194 033	206,251	241 127	196.150	202,031	202 698	178 061
Limestone for flux	(*b*)	17,500	16 533	21 909	18 361	11,547	21,492	27 519	31 347	32,916	36 140
Lithographic stone									30,000	2 000	
Manganese ore	41 499	43 658	47,944	32,737	32.550	6 651	10.250	14,578	4,180	8.464	(*a*) 3 975
Mica	29,008	29,816	30 207	28,713	68,074	71,510	104,745	75,719	45,581	65,000	60 000
Mineral pigments—											
Baryta	19.270	2,400	3 850		7 543		1,260		2 830		715
Ochres	2,350	3,733	7,900	15,286	5 125	17,750	5,800	17 710	8,690	14 600	16,045
Mineral waters	(*b*)	(*b*)	11,456	37,360	66 031	54 268	75,318	108,347	110,040	126,048	111,736
Molybdenite	153										
Moulding sand	(*b*)	800	845	850	1,410	1.000	1,380	9.086	12,428	13.530	11,478
Natural gas							150 000	366,233	313,754	423 032	276.301
Petroleum (*h*)	525,655	556 708	713,695	653,600	902,734	1,010 211	984,438	874,255	835,322	1 086,738	1,155 647
Phosphate (apatite)	304 338	319,815	242 285	316,662	361,045	241 603	157,424	70 942	41,166	9,565	3,420
Precious stones					700	1,000	1,000	1 500	1,500		
Pyrites	193,077	171,104	285,656	307,292	123 067	203,193	179 310	175,626	121 581	102.594	101,155
Quartz					1 000			500			50
Salt	227,195	166,304	185 460	129,547	198.857	161,179	162,041	195 926	170,687	160.455	169,693
Soapstone	400	800	280	1,170	1,239		6,240	1,920	1,610	2,138	1 230
Structural minerals and clay products											
Bricks	873,600	986 689	1,036,746	1,273,884	1 266,982	1,061,536	1,251,935	1 800.000	1,800,000	1 670,000	1 690,000
Building stone	642,509	552 267	641 712	913.691	934,783	708,736	609,827	1,100 000	1 200,000	1,095 000	1 000 000
Cement, natural	(*b*)	81,900	35,593	69,790	92,405	108,561	94.912	130 167	114,637	173 675	60 500
" Portland							52,751	63,848			141,151
Flagstones	7 875	11,600	6.580	1,400	1.643	2 721	1 839	3 487	5 298	6.687	6,710
Granite	63 309	142 506	147,305	79,624	65,985	70 056	89,326	94,393	109,936	81,838	106,709
Lime	283,755	304,859	339,541	362 818	412,308	251,215	411,270	900,000	900,000	700,000	650,000
Marble	9.900	6,224	3,100	980	10,776	1,752	3,600	5 100		2 000	2 405
Miscellaneous clay products (*i*)	112,910	182,150		239,385							
Pottery	(*j*)	(*j*)	27,750	(*j*)	195,242	258,844	265,811	213,186	162,144	151,588	163,427
Roofing cement	(*b*)	(*b*)	(*b*)	(*b*)	6,502	4.810	12,000	5,441	3 978	3 153	430
Sands and gravels (*k*)	24,226	30,307	38 398	52,647	65,518	59,501	85,329	121,795	86 940	118 359	80.110
Sewer pipe	(*j*)	(*j*)	266,320	(*j*)	348,000	227,300	367,460	350,000	250,325	257,045	153.875
Slate	64 675	89,000	90,689	119 160	100,250	65,000	69,070	90.825	75,550	58,900	53.370
Terra-cotta	(*j*)	(*j*)	49,800	(*j*)	90,000	113 103	97,239	55 704	65 600	195.123	83 805
Tiles	142 617	240,068	114,057	134,235	140 877	141,399	190 857	200,000	200,000	210,000	225,000
Tripolite											9,960
Whiting	600	600	240		500				750		
Total structural materials and clay products	2 225.376	2,707,579	2.798,001	3,247,674	3,761,271	3,074 534	3 603 455	5.133,946	5,001 408	4.726 368	4 327.542
All other non-metallic	5,627 271	6,290,006	6,842,601	7,264,940	9,137,594	10 230 423	9 076 265	10,010 641	9,990,898	9,585,482	9.976 338
Total value, non-metallic	7,852,647	8,997.585	9.640,602	10 512,614	12,893,865	13,304 957	12.679.720	15,144 587	14 995 306	14 311 850	14 303 880
" metallic	2 118 608	2,118,120	2,588,948	3,251.299	3,614,488	5,421.659	3,698,697	4,630.495	4,688 551	6 153 469	8,055 945
Estimated value of products unspecified or not reported (*m*)	250,000	250,000	250,000	250 000	250,000	270,000	250,000	250,000	250 000	250 000	250,000
Grand total	10 221,255	11,365,705	12,479 550	14,013,913	16,763,353	18,976,616	16,628,417	20,025,082	19 933 857	20,715 319	22 609,825

(*a*) Value at mine, quarry or works.
(*b*) Not reported.
(*c*) Copper contents of ore, matte, etc., at the average market price for the year.
(*d*) Ounces, fine, calculated at value of $20.67 per oz.
(*e*) Lead contents of ore, matte, etc., at average market price for year.
(*f*) Nickel " " " "
(*g*) Oven coke.
(*i*) Includes (for the years given) terra-cotta, pottery, sewer pipe and earthenware.
(*j*) Included in miscellaneous clay products.
(*k*) Exports only.
(*l*) Railway shipments.
(*m*) Mostly structural materials.

(*h*) Calculated from official inspection returns and computed at average yearly price per barrel of 35 imp. gallons.

THE MINERALS OF NOVA SCOTIA.

BY

E. GILPIN, JR., M A., LL.D , F.R.S C., Provincial Inspector of Mines.

COAL, iron ore and gold are the minerals which have hitherto received attention in Nova Scotia. The list of those as yet neglected is much larger. The Province is occupied almost exclusively by the primary rocks, the carboniferous, excepting an unimportant development of Triassic measures, being the youngest. The Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia proper is occupied by pre-cambrian measures and large tracts of granitic rock. Beyond this come Devonian and silurian rocks and the northern or St. Lawrence side is occupied by carboniferous strata. The island of Cape Breton is composed of Laurentian rocks with fringes of carboniferous and Devonian.

In the productive division of the carboniferous there are three principal coal fields, Sydney, in Cape Breton County; Pictou in the County of the same name; and Springhill in the County of Cumberland. The millstone grit series also holds seams of coal at numerous points. The limestone division of the carboniferous is distinguished by enormous deposits of limestone, gypsum, marl, iron ore, etc.

The Sydney coal field is on the Atlantic coast, on the Eastern shore of Cape Breton, and extends about thirty-two miles along the shore and about six miles inland, being the western rim of a great basin which stretches out under the Atlantic. It has been estimated that there are within easy reach of the shore, under the water, at least 2,000,000,000, tons of available coal.

A section in the centre of the field shows nine seams in all, about 55 feet of coal, from three to twelve feet in thickness. There are also underlying but less well known seams. The coals of this district are bituminous and coking. They yield up to 15,000 cubic feet of from 14 to 16 candle power gas per ton. They give a most excellent coke, and are largely used for steam and domestic purposes. The following average of analyses will serve to show their quality:

Moisture	75
Volatile combustible matter	37.26
Fixed carbon	58.74
Ash	3.25

Mining operations in the Cape Breton County portion of this district are divided between the Dominion Coal Company and the General Mining Association. The former in 1896 produced 1,079,198 tons; the latter 265,142 tons—of 2240 lbs. In the Victoria County section of the coal field a colliery is being opened out by Messrs. Burchell Bros. on a seam of excellent quality. There are also large tracts of coal bearing land at River Inhabitants, Port Hood, Broad Cove, and Margaree, in the island of Cape Breton, but they have as yet received little attention.

The Pictou coal field occupies a long, narrow synclinal, about eleven miles in length, and contains a large number of seams. There are two companies operating here, with a production in 1896 of 395,257 tons. The district, although not large, contains tracts of unopened coal land which will before long be utilized as fuel supplies for the steel and other industries gathered in the vicinity of New Glasgow.

In Cumberland County the coal field, partly covered by measures belonging to the upper division of the carboniferous, is believed to have an area of about 400 square miles. On the Northern outcrop the seams have been followed inland from the shore of Cumberland Basin about eighteen miles. The principal colliery is at the Joggins,

and produced last year 59,125 tons. There are a few small mines worked for local sales during the winter. On the Southern outcrop the Springhill collieries of the Cumberland Railway and Coal Company work three large seams, yielding in 1896 411,320 tons. There are in this section a large number of seams well adapted for steam, domestic, and coking purposes, their general composition being about as follows:

Moisture	1.46
Volatile combustible matter	33 69
Fixed carbon	59 35
Ash	5.50

The following table of the sales of the fiscal year, 1896, will show the markets for Nova Scotia coal:

Nova Scotia	tons	666,403
New Brunswick	"	252,293
Newfoundland	"	94,236
Prince Edward Island	"	63,000
Quebec	"	795,060
West Indies	"	1,222
United States	"	174,919
		2,047,133

There are other points in Nova Scotia proper showing coal, but as yet little attention has been paid to them. The resources of the Province in this respect are capable of yielding a much enlarged output for many years.

The gold fields of Nova Scotia occupy the whole length of the Atlantic coast. They consist of two series of rocks. The upper is nearly all soft black slate overlying the lower which is composed of slate and quartzite. These measures have been thrown into a series of folds running parallel to the line of the coast. Extensive denudation has worn away the summits of the folds and exposed the lower or quartzite series in long narrow anticlinals. In these anticlinals the auriferous quartz veins occur running between the layers of rock.

The veins vary in thickness up to twelve feet, and carry gold free as well as in connection with sulphurets and arsenites of iron, etc. The gold appears, as a rule, to be comparatively concentrated in the worked veins, in what are termed "pay streaks." The forms of these pay streaks and their inclination vary, in horizontal dimensions from 50 to 300 feet, and in their vertical extension have been followed as far as 600 feet. In addition there are beds of low but regular grade of gold contents, as well as beds of slate with veinlets of quartz, all yielding from three to six dwts. For many years attention was paid principally to the smaller and richer veins, but at present the lower grade deposits are being extensively worked.

Gold mining presents few difficulties in Nova Scotia, the deposits being seldom affected by faults, the rock being firm and generally free from water. As yet the ores are treated in stamp mills with amalgamation in the batteries and on aprons, and but one plant has yet been introduced. The fact that comparatively small amounts of ore can be mined and milled in Nova Scotia at the rate of $1.65 per ton shows conclusively that an unusually good opportunity is offered here for cheap and systematic gold mining operations. There are about ten districts producing regularly and the output for 1896 was:

District.	No. of Mines.	Mills.	Tons crushed.	Total yield of gold oz.
Wine Harbor	2	1	913	501
Gold River	2	2	425	432
Fifteen Mile stream	1	1	5508	3151
Renfrew	1	1	557	389
Stormont	7	7	22946	5076
Brookfield	2	2	5353	4683
Caribou & Moose River	4	4	13918	2864
Uniacke	4	4	5092	3732
Sherbrooke	4	5	5945	2796
Waverley	1	1	2560	534
Central Rawdon	1	1	769	531
Cow Bay	1	1	178	240
Tangier	3	2	593	85
Unproclaimed and other Districts	7	8	1056	577
Total	40	40	65873	25591

Some additional returns bring the total amount of gold produced during the year to 26,112 oz. 16 dwts. 22 grs., and tons of quartz to 67,249.

The Nova Scotia iron ore deposits are varied and extensive; but have not as yet received much attention. They comprise magnetite, red hematite, specular, limonite, and carbonate ores. The magnetites occur in enormous deposits at Nictaux, in Annapolis County, and at Whyhogomah, in Inverness County. Specular and red hematite ores are also found at Nictaux, Stewiacke, Pictou, Antigonish, Guysboro, East Bay and many other

points. Limonite is found in Colchester, Pictou and several other counties. Iron ore mining has been carried on at Nictaux, Londonderry, and Bridgeville. Blast furnaces have been in operation for some years at Londonderry, in Colchester County, and at Ferrona in Pictou County, and produce Bessemer as well as forge and foundry pig. Much of the product of the Ferrona furnace is consumed by the Steel works at New Glasgow. There is also a charcoal furnace at Bridgeville, near Ferrona, which will, it is expected, supply a very high grade charcoal pig for export to England. The iron ore deposits of the Province are very extensive, and as a rule in unusually accessible places. The manufacture of gas for heating and lighting purposes at Halifax in retort ovens, with a view to the utilization of the by products, leaves a coke of excellent quality. It is probable that at no distant day the erection of blast furnaces at Halifax with cheap fuel, ore, and flux will form an important item in the development of our resources, and furnish a good and cheap pig iron for export to England and the Continent. The amount of ore extracted in the year 1896 was 56,334 tons.

In the carboniferous limestone there are immense deposits of gypsum or plaster. It occurs as hard and soft gypsum in every variety of form and quality. Owing to facilities for shipment the extraction of the mineral is principally carried on at Windsor and its vicinity on the Bay of Fundy. It is shipped to the United States where it is ground and used largely for agricultural purposes, and a small amount for builders' use. A few deposits are worked at other points, principally for local use, and for shipment up the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The total production varies from 140,000 to 170,000 tons. The gypsum is accompanied by crystals of salt and saline springs, salts of magnesia, sulphur, borates, etc., but none of these minerals have yet received attention.

Antimony.—Some years ago an antimony ore mine was worked at Rawdon in Hants County. Distance from shipping and the low price of the mineral caused the abandonment of the mine. Indications are not wanting of a number of deposits of the mineral in this locality.

Barytes.—This mineral occurs at several points in deposits of fair quality, and has been worked to some extent for local use.

Limestone.—Limestone is very abundant. In the carboniferous strata it is usually compact, often fossiliferous, and laminated. It is quarried for lime, building purposes, and for a flux. The limestone of the Laurentian series, in Cape Breton, is often metamorphosed into marble. The Brass d'Or Marble Company have opened a large deposit yielding many beautiful varieties. To a small extent it is used locally for building purposes, and also for interior work, lime, etc. Large amounts of lime are sent from Nova Scotia to Prince Edward Island. Some of the limestones are magnesian and are used for lining furnaces, cements, etc.

Manganese.—The ores of this metal most frequently met here are pyrolusite, manganite, and wad. Veins and pockets of the first named occur at Tenny Cape in limestone. A small annual shipment—130 tons in 1896—has been maintained for a number of years. The ore is of unusual purity, and freedom from iron, and is used in glass making in the United States. Small amounts of similiar ore are shipped from Truro, Onslow, etc., and the same ores occur at Loch Lomond in Cape Breton. No doubt as the country is opened up fresh deposits will be found.

Lead.—Galena ore is found associated at many places with the carboniferous or mountain limestone, but the low price of lead has deterred development. In some places, as at Smithfield, the amount of lead present would warrant systematic search.

Copper.—Ores of this metal are found at many points in Nova Scotia, but, except at a few places, have received attention only at the hands of local parties. The upper carboniferous extending through Pictou, Cumberland, and Colchester counties shows at many points sandstones containing high grade ores, frequently, however, too irregular for systematic working. In Antigonish county, through Devonian strata associated with diorites, etc., are workable deposits of copper pyrites; and at Coxheath, in Cape Breton county, in felsites of Laurentian age. These two deposits have been shown to be of workable dimensions and grade, and it is expected that they will shortly be developed. The numerous signs of copper

ore in Cape Breton, and its geological affinities with Newfoundland give good basis for the belief that before long it will become a regular and noted contributor to the world's copper output.

Miscellaneous.—There are, in addition, throughout Nova Scotia ores of molybdenum, zinc, nickel and cobalt, pyrites, granite, asbestos, building stone, marble, etc., and the Government of the Province in late Crown Land grants reserves all the minerals. In the earlier grants they reserved iron, coal, gold, silver, tin, lead, copper, and precious stones. Licenses and leases can be obtained on almost nominal terms to search for minerals, subject to royalties of from 10 cents to 12½ cents per ton on coal, 2 per cent. on gold and silver, 5 cents per ton on iron ore, etc. A special department of the Provincial Government is charged with the care of the mineral lands, grants, etc., and at present the annual revenue from royalties, etc., is about $275,000.00.

From these brief remarks it will be seen that a promising development has been made in coal, iron, and gold, enough to show the great extent and value of these three Provincial resources. All other minerals appear to have been practically ignored. This may be due to the lack of men accustomed to seek and utilize them, as well as to the want of interest shown by the inhabitants of the Province who devote their attention to the pursuits most closely connected with farming, lumbering, and fishing. However, it is confidently anticipated that before long its mineral resources will receive attention commensurate with their variety and greatness, and that a development will be effected constituting its mining industry the equal of any pursuit followed in Nova Scotia.

Town of Sudbury, Ontario.

THE GOLD DEPOSITS OF ONTARIO.

BY

PROFESSOR A. P. COLEMAN, M.A., Ph.D., of Trinity University.

IN August, 1866, two prospectors in the township of Madoc found flakes of a yellow metal like copper, which could be beaten out into thin leaves. They were informed by the geologist, Vennor, who was then at work in the region, that the metal was gold. This find was made on what was afterwards named the Richardson mine. Other discoveries followed in the same and neighbouring townships and caused great excitement in the towns to the south; but probably less than $100,000 worth of gold was obtained from the region, while several times as much was sunk in useless expenditures. The failure was due partly to the pockety nature of the ore, partly to its refractory character, some of it being arsenical, but chiefly to the inexperience of the operators and to lack of capital to test the matter thoroughly. The population of Ontario belonged especially to the rich agricultural portion of the Province, where the underlying rocks are of paleozoic age and devoid of ores, so that mining of any description was looked on as a doubtful venture; and this rebuff created a prejudice against eastern Ontario gold mines which has even yet scarcely been removed.

In the meantime persevering prospectors made discoveries of gold in new quarters. In 1871 the McKellars found it in the west of the Province at the Huronian mine in Moss township. Here also, owing to the remoteness of the mine from civilization, which enhanced the cost of working, and to differences of opinion among the partners, success was not attained and the mine was closed. Gold was next found in the vicinity of Rat Portage, on and near the Lake of the Woods, and several mines were commenced, such as the Pine Portage, and Keewatin and Winnipeg Consolidated, but owing to lack of ore, poor management, or deficiency of capital, all had proved failures in 1885; and the same may be said of an ambitious attempt to treat the arsenical ores of Deloro in Marmora township by a chlorination method.

This series of discouragements was sufficient to prevent much further activity in gold mining until 1893, when discoveries on Rainy Lake, north and south of the Minnesota (U.S.) boundary and on the Seine river, began to attract attention, and inaugurated the wide-spread interest in gold mining now so manifest in Ontario. Those who wish to study the somewhat disastrous beginnings of our gold mining will find valuable information on the subject already sketched in the reports of the Geological Survey of Canada, and of the Ontario Bureau of Mines. Vennor describes the earliest finds in Hastings county in the survey reports for 1871-2 and following years; Coste describes the beginnings of gold mining on the Lake of the Woods in the volume for 1882-83-84, and Willimott gives an account of two Hastings county mines in the same volume. Much information of a later date may be found in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Mineral Resources of Ontario and in papers by Mr. Archibald Blue and the present writer in the reports of the Ontario Bureau of Mines, where the recent development of the gold region of Western Ontario is described in detail.

It will be well to preface an account of the present condition and future prospects of gold mining in Ontario by a brief sketch of the geological conditions of our gold region, which are of a quite unique character. The Province may be divided into a small southern portion, consisting of Cambrian, Silurian, and Devonian rocks, generally buried under thick drift deposits, and a much larger northern and northwestern part, mainly Archæan, forming low hills of glacier scoured eruptive and schistose rocks, among the oldest known in the world. The Archæan rocks are

usually subdivided into Laurentian, consisting of reddish or light-coloured granite and gneiss, and Huronian, chiefly greenish eruptive rocks, and hornblende and chlorite schists. As a general rule, the Laurentian forms rounded areas from a half mile to many miles in diameter, while the Huronian tends to form comparatively narrow bands and strips, often enclosing the Laurentian areas in wide meshes.

Eruptive granite, sometimes of the greenish variety called protogine, often bursts through both Laurentian and Huronian. There is good evidence that the Huronian rocks were largely of volcanic origin, and once formed widespread beds of volcanic ash and outflows of diabase and quartz porphyry. Afterwards the Laurentian rocks were pushed up through them as dome-like masses, and both were penetrated by bosses of later granite. These violent operations were accompanied by great fissuring and metamorphic action, giving origin to the veins now filled with auriferous quartz. In succeeding ages, the mountainous masses resulting from the events just referred to were worn down to an approximate plain, the harder portions standing up as low hills, and the softer ones being hollowed out as the beds of lakes. The action of the great glaciers of the Ice Age removed most of the loose materials from the rocky surface and swept them far to the southwest, so that placer mines have never been found on any important scale in Ontario; a fact which has doubtless delayed the development of its gold mines, since in most gold regions the easily worked placers have served as an introduction to the expensive quartz mining.

In general, the gold of Ontario is found in the Huronian schists, sometimes, however, in eruptive granite, usually the protogine variety, and seldom in typical Laurentian rock. No mine of importance has been found more than two or three miles from the contact of granitic or gneissoid rocks with the Huronian, showing that eruptive action has had much to do with the deposit of gold. As to form, the deposits are mainly fissure veins when in granite, and bedded or lenticular veins in the schistose rocks, the latter being the commoner. Auriferous fahlbands (bands of schist impregnated with sulphides) are not infrequent, and dykes of felsite or porphyry are often accompanied by gold bearing quartz; but up to the present the only paying mines are located on veins.

The contents of the gold deposits are of the usual character, quartz, more or less rusty on the surface and charged with iron pyrites and often copper pyrites, galena, and zincblende below the surface. Refractory ores, such as arsenical pyrites, are seldom found in troublesome quantities, except in a long band of gold ores at and near Deloro, in Marmora township. Telluride ores (sylvanite, etc.) have been found at the Huronian mine, but nowhere else in any quantity. A little native copper occurs at a number of the mines. Speaking in a general way, our gold ores are largely free milling, *i.e.*, the gold is not so enclosed in sulphides that most of it cannot be recovered on the amalgamated plates of a stamp mill. Probably the average amount not so recovered, but left in the "concentrates" (the sulphides collected by vanners), is less than twenty-five per cent. This is a point of great importance for the future of the region, since it will permit the profitable working of ores containing only $4.00 or $5.00 worth of gold to the ton, provided they are present in sufficiently large quantities.

Free gold has been found at hundreds of localities along almost the whole length of the Province, the distance from Madoc township in the east, where the earliest gold discoveries were made, to the Manitoba boundary west of the Lake of the Woods, where some of the latest discoveries have occurred, being more than 900 miles. While the metal, of course, will not be found equally distributed over this immense stretch of country, there is a fair probability that it will occur in workable quantities at a large number of points where the geological relationships are favourable. For our present purpose, it will, however, be sufficient to refer particularly to gold discoveries where actual mining is carried on. In the eastern part of the region development is going on chiefly in Hastings County, in the townships of Madoc and Marmora, where mines of free milling ore are being opened up near the villages of Bannockburn and Marmora; and of arsenical ore at Deloro. The latter mines are of special interest from the fact that though quite rich in gold, they have until recently resisted all attempts to work them at a profit. The arsenical pyrites of

these mines contain $15.00 to $20.00 worth of gold per ton, but the gold is finely disseminated, and is not taken up by mercury. Within the last year, however, a strong English company has apparently solved the difficulties of extraction by means of the bromo-cyanide leaching process. The ore is crushed dry and then leached without roasting, the result being that more than three-fourths of the gold contents of the ore are recovered. The success of this process will no doubt attract fresh attention to the region. Two hundred miles northwest of Marmora, gold mines are in operation at Lake Wahnapitai, not far from the town of Sudbury, so celebrated for its nickel mines. As this is a very new region only one location, the Crystal Mine, has a stamp mill ready for operation. Its veins are small but exceedingly rich, so that a five-stamp battery is expected to produce a considerable amount of bullion during the present summer (1897).

Passing over the interesting Vermilion mine west of Sudbury, where gold and platinum ores occur, but are not now worked; the region about Jackfish Bay on the north shore of Lake Superior may be referred to. Here a series of bedded veins of quartz have been traced a number of miles, and one mine, the Empress, has been in operation for more than a year. The country is so hilly that a tunnel driven in at a level above the mill supplies 140 to 200 feet of vein for stoping, so that no outlay is necessary for hoisting or pumping. The ore is low in gold, probably not averaging more than $5.00 to the ton, but the quartz is present in such large quantities—the veins being in all twenty-five or more feet in width—and the other conditions are so favourable, that there should be a good profit in its treatment. The ten-stamp mill is a very complete one and is now producing bullion satisfactorily.

Going still farther west several mines are in operation on the Upper Seine river, the best developed being the Sawbill mine on the Lake of the same name thirty-three miles south of Bonheur station on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Here a shaft has been sunk about two hundred feet and a large amount of drifting done on a true fissure vein in gneissoid rock allied to protogine. The vein is very uniform and well walled, having a width of about six feet in the lower parts of the workings, and the quartz is shown by assay to average about $25 per ton. A stamp mill is now on the ground and is expected to be in operation before long.

Adjoining the Sawbill mine is an extraordinarily wide band of gold bearing rock, spoken of as the Hammond-Folger dike. It is sometimes hundreds of feet across and has been traced for miles, the gold contents being variable. Even with very low average gold contents this should prove an important mine; and it is expected that a mill, now in process of erection, will test its value during the coming year. Thirty miles southwest of the Sawbill region is the Lake Harold mine, partly in protogine granite and partly in schist. This has been operated in a small way for nearly three years, and has produced several thousand dollars worth of gold in the time, but the capital available was too small to develop the property satisfactorily. This has been increased, however, and it is expected that the mine will soon be on a paying basis. Still farther west, where the river Seine expands into Shoal Lake, a number of mines

Professor A. P. Coleman.

have been operated to a greater or less extent and almost the whole adjoining region has been taken up as mining locations. Many well defined fissure veins have been discovered in a mass of protogine granite, six miles long by one or two wide, pushing up through Huronian rocks. Several of these veins have proved gold bearing, and at least one mine is on an assured basis. The Foly mine has a shaft reaching a depth of more than two hundred feet, and drifts running several hundred feet on a vein of great uniformity averaging more than two and a half feet wide; besides several smaller shafts and openings on other veins. A twenty stamp mill has been in operation for some months, the production of gold averaging, it is stated, $10 or $12 per ton. It is expected that the mill when in good running order will produce at least $180,000 per annum from the ore now being treated; and that ore from a richer vein discovered more recently may considerably increase the product.

Some very rich ore has been found a few miles north-west of Shoal Lake in the Little Turtle region, the deposits being bedded veins in Huronian schist; and a mill is under way to treat the ore from the Olive or Preston mine. In the Rainy lake region west of Shoal Lake no work is being done on the Canadian side, but the Little America mine, on a small island just within the boundary of Minnesota, has a mill in operation and has produced a considerable quantity of gold. North of Rainy Lake mines are being developed on Lake Manitou and between it and the Canadian Pacific Railway, at Wabigoon. The ore deposits are of great variety, and some apparently rich, but none of them have yet reached the rank of gold producers. In the neighbourhood of Rat Portage, on the Lake of the Woods, gold mines were operated ten or twelve years ago, but from various causes none proved a financial success until recently, when the Sultana mine, six miles south of the town, has developed into the most prosperous gold mine of Ontario. The Sultana is working on lenses of quartz interbedded in the schistose edge of a small area of Laurentian granite. For several years its plucky owner, Mr. Caldwell, struggled against adverse circumstances; but during the past two years he has been reaping a well earned reward in a mass of gold quartz hundreds of feet in length and at some points more than forty feet wide. How deep it extends is unknown, but the deepest shaft, down about three hundred feet, shows no diminution in width. The gold product probably averages about $15 per ton, most of it being saved on the plates, the portion retained in the sulphides being recovered by the chlorination process. Mine and mill are managed excellently, and it is intended to double the size of the mill, since the body of ore has been proved to be so extensive and easily mined.

A number of other mines are under development near Rat Portage, and several mills have produced more or less gold but thus far none can be said to be dividend producers. An extensive fahlband is being mined at several points east of the town on the Scramble, Princess and other locations and promises well, but no mills are at work upon it up to the present. A custom mill is operated by the Rat Portage Reduction Works close to the town, and some hundreds of tons of ore from various mines on the shores of the Lake of the Woods and its tributary bodies of water have been treated, in some cases with very satisfactory results. A new and very promising gold mine is being opened up on the western Shoal Lake, near the Manitoba Provincial boundary. The Mikado mine is owned by the Mikado Gold Mining Co., Limited, of London, England, Colonel Engledue, President. The vein is partly in protogine granite, partly in Huronian greenstone. It is rich in gold but carries a larger quantity of sulphides than most Ontario gold ores. A few hundred tons of the ore shipped by water to the Rat Portage Reduction Works, thirty miles to the east, have produced gold enough to pay for the property and its development up to the present. The ore is stated to have run over $60 per ton of free milling gold besides half as much more remaining in the concentrates. A mill and bromo-cyanide plant are now being erected at this interesting mine, which will probably soon become an important producer. Another mine of some importance in the Lake of the Woods region is the Regina, about fifty miles south-east of Rat Portage, also owned by an English company. A shaft has been sunk to a depth of two hundred and sixty feet and more than five hundred feet of drifting have been done; the ore being treated in a ten stamp mill which has

been producing bricks of gold for some months.

From this sketch of the Ontario gold field it will be apparent that the Provincial gold mining is yet in its infancy. Of the mines operated at present (1897) scarcely any except the Sultana had been discovered four years ago, and only three have had stamp mills in operation as long as three years. It is evident, therefore, that few statistics can be available to show the advance in this industry in the Province. In a bulletin on the Gold Fields of Western Ontario, published by the Bureau of Mines, in October, 1896, the Director, Mr. Blue, states that "for the year ending 31st October, 1893, the gold product of Ontario Mines was returned as $32,960; for 1894, as $32,766; and for 1895, as $50,281. Returns received from owners of six mines for the period commencing November 1st, 1895, and ending September 20th, 1896, show that the quantity of ore milled was 9,612 short tons, which yielded free gold of the value of $118,468, besides 351 tons of concentrates estimated at $13,337, and a quantity of tailings to be treated by the cyanide process, estimated at $10,800. The total value of ore treated was, therefore, $142,605, or an average of $14.83 per ton, whereof $12.30 or 83 per cent. of the whole was free milling." We may probably put the product of gold for the year 1896 at something over $150,000; but during the present year the number of stamp mills in operation has increased, and several mills expect to add to their number of stamps, so that 1897 may be expected to show a marked advance in output. At present (May, 1897) the number of mills running is six, having ninety stamps, and this number will probably be doubled before the year closes. A conservative estimate puts the probable output for the year at $500,000.

In general, it may be said that the outlook for gold mining in Ontario is most encouraging. The number of points at which gold has been found by prospectors is rapidly increasing, both in the neighbourhood of established mines and at many localities hitherto not supposed to be auriferous. The progress of mining operations is steadily proving that some, at least, of the deposits worked are of great magnitude, and of undiminished richness in depth; and some deposits once too refractory to be worked at a profit are now being treated with success. In comparison with other quartz mining regions Ontario is very favourably placed. Most of its ores are free milling; all of its mines are within easy reach of plentiful and good supplies of wood and water; most of them are within a few miles of railways or steamboats, and none of them are more than sixty miles from such communication. Labour is abundant, efficient, and not too costly; the climate is healthful and exhilerating, if somewhat cold in winter, and life and prosperity are as secure as anywhere in the world. As a result of these advantages, the cost of mining and milling the ore will be reduced to a minimum when mills of sufficient size are used. One manager reports that ores have been treated in his ten stamp mill at an expense of only $1.60 or even $1.45 per ton, permitting very low grade ores to be treated at a profit. The initial capital necessary to open up and test thoroughly a mine in Ontario is, for reasons mentioned above, less than in most other gold mining regions of the world, so that small capitalists are able to take a share in the development of the industry. At present most of the capital invested in the gold mines of Ontario is Canadian, though some mining property is held by Americans, and a few English companies are acquiring properties and working mines in the Province.

The prospects are very favourable for a large development of the gold mining industry of Ontario, and if no unforeseen difficulty arises within the next few years we may expect to see the gold product of the Province become one of its most important sources of income, attracting capital from other countries and furnishing a profitable market for its farmers and fruit growers.

SOME MINOR CANADIAN MINERALS

BY

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GYPSUM is a soft Mineral consisting of sulphate of calcium and water. It is usually white or grey in colour, but may be red, brown, or black, if impure. It occurs at times in distinct plates, clear and transparent; again in fibres with a pearly lustre, giving rise to the name "satin spar"; more usually it is a massive, dull-coloured rock, a fine-grained variety of which is known as alabaster. It often forms extensive beds in stratified rocks, especially in limestones and calcareous shales, and occurs in all formations from the Silurian upwards. In Canada it is found in the Onondaga division of the Upper Silurian in Ontario, and in the Lower Carboniferous of the Maritime Provinces. Large deposits were made in Triassic time in the western United States, and in Eocene time in Europe.

Gypsum occurs in immense beds through the Lower Carboniferous strata of northern Nova Scotia. In Cumberland county it outcrops along a line from Minudie to Wallace, particularly at Napen River and Pugwash. It is much more abundant in Hants and Colchester, particularly the former. Near Windsor there is found a "long range of cliffs of snowy whiteness," which, however, contain much anhydrite as well as gypsum. It is quarried for export at Windsor, Cheverie, Walton, Stewiacke, and other places with shipping facilities. The deposit is inexhaustible; the amount quarried is only limited by the demand. In Pictou a bed of economic value exists on the East River, but too far from navigation. Eastward the beds are found in Antigonish, where a cliff of gypsum, white and red, 200 feet in height, fronts the ocean. At Plaister Cove across the strait an enormous bed is found, two-thirds of which, however, is anhydrite. It is also found in Inverness, Victoria and Cape Breton counties. Nearly the whole product of Nova Scotia is shipped in the crude form to the eastern United States.

Gypsum, according to Sir William Dawson, "is a very abundant Mineral in New Brunswick, the deposits being numerous, large, and in general of great purity. They occur in all parts of the Lower Carboniferous district, in Kings, Albert, Westmoreland and Victoria, especially in the vicinity of Sussex, in Upham, on the North River in Westmoreland, at Martin Head on the Bay shore, on the Tobique River in cliffs over 100 feet high, and about the Albert Mines. At the last-named locality the Mineral has been extensively quarried from beds about sixty feet in thickness, and calcined in large works at Hillsborough." At present the Mineral is shipped from Albert and Victoria counties, most of it going in a crude condition to the United States and selling at about 90 cents a ton.

In the valley of the Grand River from near Cayuga to Paris, Ont., for a distance of forty miles, gypsum frequently outcrops. The beds are lenticular in shape, the greatest diameter being about a quarter of a mile, and the thickness three to seven feet at the maximum, and nothing at the edges of the lenses. The beds are horizontal and are capped by thin bands of limestone and the drift, or by the latter alone, which gives the country a hummocky appearance. Some parts of the gypsum are grey, others white, the latter being purer and usually at the top. A large number of Mines have been opened. Usually a level is run in from the valley of the river and the Mineral brought out on a car. It is ground for land plaster and calcined to make Plaster of

EDITOR'S NOTE. For further particulars of these and the various other Mineral resources of Canada the reader is referred to Professor Willmott's interesting work upon "The Mineral Wealth of Canada," published in 1897, by William Briggs, Toronto.

Paris. The former finds a market in south-western Ontario; the latter, under the trade names of "Adamant Wall Plaster," "Alabastine," "Plastico," is sold throughout the Dominion. These deposits are found in the Onondaga formation of the Upper Silurian, which is also the depository of our salt beds. It outcrops between Lakes Erie and Huron for a distance of 150 miles, and the gypsum-bearing area may yet be considerably extended.

Along the Moose River in northern Ontario for a distance of seven miles banks of gypsum ten to twenty feet high have been found. Apparently these beds are Devonian. The deposit is, of course, too far away to be of any value. Gypsum is so widely distributed on this continent, and in such large amounts, that it cannot be shipped with profit to any long distance. In northern Manitoba two beds, respectively twenty-two and ten feet in thickness, have been reported, and farther to the north-west along the Mackenzie River it has been found. On the Salmon River, British Columbia, it also occurs in economic amounts, but at none of these localities is it mined.

Gypsum has many uses. When ground to a fine powder it is used as a fertilizer. It is also ground and heated, when it loses its water of crystallization and becomes Plaster of Paris. This substance has the valuable property of taking up the water again and hardening, so that it is used to form moulds, models and cornices. Tinted with proper materials it forms a beautiful decorative finish for walls, cheaper forms being even used as common wall plaster. The World's Fair buildings at Chicago owed their beauty to a white coating of stucco made from gypsum. Fine, granular, semi-transparent varieties known as alabaster are carved into ornaments. The statistics for 1895 were as follows:

Production.	Tons.	Value.
Nova Scotia	157,000	$134,000
New Brunswick	67,000	64,000
Ontario	2,400	5,000
Total	226,400	$203,000
Exported	189,000	$193,000
Imports, crude and manufactured	.....	2,700

Barite is connected chemically with gypsum and may be considered here. It is also known as barytes and as "heavy spar." It is a common vein-stone, especially with lead and zinc ores, and in Nova Scotia with iron ores. It also occurs as veins or pockets in limestone and sandstone, and these latter deposits are of greater commercial value since they are purer. It is widely distributed in Canada but only mined in a desultory way. At a number of points in Pictou and Colchester counties, N. S., as Hodson, Brookfield, Five Islands, it has been mined and exported, but the total production has been only a few thousand tons. A vein three feet wide at Hull, Quebec, is the source of a few tons of material used in Toronto. On McKeller's Island, Lake Superior, there is a deposit of quartz, calcite and barite sixty feet in width. It is only mined intermittently, though one of the best deposits ever found. The chief use of barite is as a pigment; for this purpose it is usually mixed with white lead, which it closely resembles in colour and weight. By some it is considered an adulterant, though others claim that it gives greater body to the paint and that the mixture resists the action of the weather better than pure lead. Barite should be free from quartz grains and iron stains, though the latter may be removed by boiling with sulphuric acid.

Natural Gas. Burning springs have been known in many localities in North America from the earliest settlement, but with few exceptions, as at Fredonia, N.Y., no use was made of them. After the discovery of oil, large quantities of gas were frequently found in drilling for the former. For a number of years, however, even these bountiful supplies failed to attract attention. In 1879 gas was introduced into a Pittsburg, U.S., factory, and from that time its economic importance has been fully recognized and deposits of it eagerly sought. Few parts of North America are entirely destitute of reservoirs of gas, but the productive wells are almost entirely in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, in the United States, and Ontario, in Canada. Some gas fields are intimately associated with petroleum deposits, and the gas is doubtless of the same origin. In Ohio the Trenton limestone is the great reservoir, but in Ontario that formation is almost barren. It is in the Medina and Clinton divisions of the Upper

Silurian that the Ontario gas is found. The Pennsylvania gas occurs in a still later formation—that of the Upper Devonian. A small amount of gas is found in the Cretaceous of the North-West.

Gas, like oil, accumulated in porous rocks or under the arch of an anticline, overlaid by an impervious layer of shale or clay. It is the product of the distillation of plants and animals entombed in a sedimentary deposit. The distillation has gone on slowly for ages, the gas accumulating under pressure. On tapping the reservoir pressure is relieved and the gas escapes. Millions of cubic feet have been wasted, people not realizing that it was a store easily exhausted. This is well shown in the case of Pennsylvania, whose production fell from $18,000,000 in 1888 to $8,000,000 in 1891. Natural gas is a mixture of a number of gases, most of which are found in ordinary illuminating gases but in a different proportion. The following analyses from Sexton's "Fuel" will make this relation clear:

		Illuminating Gas.	
	Natural Gas.	Coal Gas.	Water Gas.
Carbon dioxid & nitrogen	1.3	2.1	2.6
Marsh gas CH_4	95.2	51.1	...
Heavy hydrocarbons C_nH_{2n}	0.5	13.1	...
Carbon Monoxid CO.....	1.0	7.8	20.2
Hydrogen	2.0	25.8	77.2

Small quantities of gas from superficial deposits are found in many parts of the Dominion. In the North-West Territories some paying wells have been opened along the Canadian Pacific Railway, and on the Athabasca promising indications are found. The only localities of importance at present are in Ontario near the shore of Lake Erie. The Essex field extends east and west for a distance of twelve miles along the coast and for about two miles back. The wells are a little over 1,000 feet in depth, and yield from nothing up to 10,000,000 cubic feet a day. Two pipe lines carry the gas thirty miles to Windsor and Detroit on the other side of the international line. The other district extends forty-five miles eastward from Cayuga nearly to the Niagara River. The gas is found in Medina sandstone at a depth of 700 to 850 feet, and issues from the wells under a pressure reaching in some cases to 500 pounds to the square inch. Pipe lines are laid through the district, and the wells are connected directly with Buffalo, U.S.A., where most of the gas is consumed. It is also used locally for burning lime and for lighting several towns and villages. Leamington, Ont., is said to have reduced its rate of taxation one-half by means of the revenue derived from supplying the village with gas. In 1895, 123 wells produced in Ontario 3,320,000 M. cubic feet of gas valued at $283,000.

Asphalt, or bitumen, is a mixture of various hydrocarbons, some of which are usually oxidized. It is a black or brown solid with a resinous lustre and bituminous odour, found as a superficial deposit in many parts of the world, but usually associated with bituminous rocks. Commercial asphalt is largely brought from a pitch lake on the Island of Trinidad. Many varieties of asphalt have received distinct mineralogical names; of these, albertite and maltha occur in economic quantities in Canada. All have been formed from petroleum by the vapourization of the more volatile hydrocarbons. Albertite is a pitch-like mineral found in the Lower Carboniferous of King's and Albert counties, New Brunswick. At the Albert mine it occurred in an irregular fissure having a maximum thickness of seventeen feet. The veins are found in or near the Albert shales, a highly bituminous, calcareous clay rock with an abundance of fossil fish, and the mineral has apparently resulted from a distillation of this shale. Its composition, represented by fifty-eight per cent. of volatile matter and forty-two of fixed carbon, made it of great value for gas making, and 200,000 tons were shipped to the eastern United States for that purpose. The locality is now exhausted.

Anthraxolite is a name applied to a black combustible, coal-like substance found in Ontario and Quebec, which resembles anthracite in general characters. In composition it is essentially carbon, with from three to twenty-six per cent. of volatile matter. It never occurs in beds like coal, but in fissures in limestones, shales and sandstones. Dr. Sterry Hunt says: "It can scarcely be doubted that the coaly matters of the Quebec group

have resulted from the slow alteration of liquid bitumen in the fissures of the strata." Some of the numerous occurrences may yield a few tons of fuel for local use. A vein at Sudbury, Ont., is being exploited for this purpose. Bituminous shales are often distilled for oil and gas. Works once existed at Collingwood and Whitby, Ont., for this purpose, but the discovery of petroleum destroyed the industry. Similar rocks were at one time distilled in Albert County, N.B., and in Pictou, N.S. The former yielded 63 gallons of oil and 7,500 feet of gas to the ton. When our petroleum deposits are exhausted these reservoirs of hydrocarbons may once more be of value. Similar rocks supply considerable oil in Scotland, competing successfully with American petroleum.

Sulphur, from a chemical standpoint, is an acidic element, and so in strictness should not be classed amongst the metals. As, however, it is mined in Canada as a constituent of copper ores, this is a convenient place for considering it. Sulphur is found native at only a few places in Canada, and never in economic quantities. It does exist, however, in immense quantities as sulphides of a number of metals. Pyrite (FeS_2), the sulphide of iron, contains 53 per cent. of sulphur. It is a brassy-looking Mineral, hard enough to strike fire with a piece of steel, and is frequently found in cubic crystals. It occurs in rocks of all ages, and as it oxidizes readily it frequently causes undesirable stains on building stones. Chalcopyrite ($CuFeS_2$) is a similar Mineral, but softer and yellower. It contains 35 per cent. each of copper and sulphur. These two Minerals are largely used as sources of sulphur for sulphuric acid. Other sulphides occurring in large quantities in Canada are galena (PbS), the sulphide of lead; blende (ZnS), the sulphide of zinc; pyrrhotite (Fe_7S_8), another sulphide of iron.

Sulphur is required for manufacturing gunpowder, matches and vulcanized rubber: for bleaching straw and woollen goods; for cementing iron and stone; for making sulphuric acid. This last is one of the most important compounds known to chemistry and commerce. It is said that a nation's civilization may be gauged by the amount of sulphuric acid it consumes. Although native sulphur is required for most purposes, pyrite answers equally as well as the element in making sulphuric acid. The pyrites, iron and copper, are consequently slowly driving the native element from the acid factories by reason of their cheapness. Especially is this true of ores like those of Capleton, Quebec, which are valuable for their copper and silver contents, and from which the sulphur must be separated anyway. The pyrites are burned to form sulphur dioxid gas, and the residues are treated with acids to obtain the copper, silver or gold. Thoroughly burned pyrite retains about 1 per cent. of sulphur, and iron containing not more than that can now be used for some purposes. Pyrite suitable for sulphuric acid should have the following characteristics: (1) A high per cent. of sulphur, 35 to 53; (2) freedom from arsenic, antimony and lead; (3) readiness in yielding the sulphur; a granular and porous pyrite is easier to work than a compact one; absence of fluxes is desirable; (4) valuable accessory metals, as silver, copper, gold, are a great advantage.

The Capleton and Eustis Mines in southern Quebec are the only Canadian producers which use the sulphur in their ores. A part is made into sulphuric acid at the works; a much larger portion is smelted at the Mines, the sulphur being wasted and the matte exported. Other sulphuric acid factories at Brockville, and at Smith's Falls, Ontario, have also used pyrites. Immense quantities of sulphur are wasted at Sudbury. Nearly five million pounds of sulphuric acid are used annually in refining Canadian petroleum.

Production.		1890.	1895.
Production of Pyrites..	Tons...	49,000	34,000
	Value..	$123,000	$103,000
Imports (crude) Sulphur.....	Tons...	2,220	2,450
	Value..	$44,000	$57,000

Zinc. The most common zinc Mineral is popularly known as blende or black jack, though Mineralogists call it sphalerite. The first and last names refer to its blinding and deceiving or treacherous character, because, while at times resembling galena, it yields no lead, and because it occurs in all the colours of the rainbow. It has a peculiar resinous lustre, is scratched without difficulty with a knife, and is infusible before a blowpipe. In composition it is zinc sulphide and when pure it contains sixty-seven per cent.

CANADIAN SCENERY—RED SUCKER POINT, LAKE SUPERIOR

of zinc. The carbonate (smithsonite) results from the weathering of the sulphide, and is dirty white or brownish. Calamine, a silicate, is another zinc Mineral often mined. The ores of zinc closely resemble those of lead in their mode of occurrence and in their geological horizons, and often the two are intimately mixed. Blende, like galena, often carries silver, but it is more difficult to part the silver and zinc than the silver and lead. Argentiferous blende occurs in Thunder Bay district of Ontario, and in the Kootenay district of British Columbia, but there is no production. A deposit of blende in Huronian diorite, north of Lake Superior, was exploited for a time, but operations have ceased. Kansas, Wisconsin, Missouri, and New Jersey, U. S. A., are the zinc-producing regions of this continent. Two-thirds of the ore of the world is mined in Germany; Italy is the second producer, followed by the United States and France. All of the Italian ore is exported, and Belgium, using imported ores, ranks second as a producer of metallic zinc, Germany having the first position. The total production of the world for 1894 was 383,225 metric tons, of which Canada took $130,000 worth, mostly manufactured.

Arsenic. This element is little used in the metallic state, and then only as an alloy, the chief of which is with lead. Shot is hardened by the mixture of about forty pounds of arsenic with a ton of lead. Its most important use is in the manufacture of colours, particularly green. Paris Green is a commercial name for several chemical compounds used as colours, and also as insecticides. A small amount of the metal is used in making certain kinds of glass and in fireworks. Arsenic is widely distributed in nature, occurring usually as a double sulphide and arsenide of iron, nickel or copper. Mispickel, or arsenopyrite (FeAsS), the chief Mineral, is hard, brittle, silver-white, and gives a garlic odour when heated. Considerable deposits of it occur in Hastings county, Ontario, where it has been mined for the gold it contains. The output is, however, very irregular, in 1885 the product being valued at over $17,000, and in 1895 at nothing. Commercial arsenic has sold for some years at about four cents a pound, but in 1895 the price advanced to nine cents, and even at that figure it does not pay to produce the metal, except as a by-product. Cornwall and Devon, England, and Freiberg, Germany, supply the market with 7,000 to 9,000 tons a year. Canada imported in 1895 nearly 600 tons, valued at $32,000.

Antimony. This metal frequently occurs as a mineralizing agent with ores of silver. The chief source is, however, the sulphide stibnite ($Sb_2 S_3$), a soft lead-grey easily fusible Mineral. It is recognized by the white fumes and odour of burning sulphur which it gives when heated with a blow-pipe. Stibnite has been mined at Rawdon, in Hants county, N.S., where in a gauge of quartz and calcite it occurs in a vein cutting Cambrian slates. The ore is of good quality, and in places is auriferous. At Prince William, York county, N.S., there are numerous large well-defined veins carrying quartz and stibnite in Cambro-Silurian slates. Several mining companies have operated there, reducing the ore in part and shipping the remainder to Massachusetts, where it was used in the manufacture of rubber. Ores of antimony have also been mined in South Ham, Wolfe county, Quebec. None of these properties are now in operation, litigation and the continually decreasing value of the product having forced them to close. Antimony, which was worth fifteen cents a pound in 1891, was quoted at seven cents in 1895. Antimony ores, probably in economic amounts, are reported from several localities in Ontario and British Columbia. In the latter Province they are frequently argentiferous. France is the largest producer of antimony, and Italy, Japan and New South Wales contend for second place. In 1893 the total production of ore was 15,000 tons, which would yield about 6,000 tons of antimony. In 1885 the Canadian product was 758 tons; in 1895 it was nothing. The imports in 1895 were forty tons, valued at $6,000. The great use of antimony is as an alloy with lead in making type metal.

Salt. Common salt, so important to the welfare of the human race, is widely distributed, few countries being unable to supply themselves in case of need. Not only is the geographical distribution of large extent, but the geological horizons in which it is found are very numerous. Upper Silurian beds are found in Ontario Province and New York State; Devonian ones in

Manitoba and Athabasca; Lower Carboniferous salt springs are found in Cape Breton and New Brunswick, and beds of the same material in Michigan furnish much of the salt of the United States; Permian beds are found in Texas, U.S., and the famous deposit of Stassfurt, Germany, was laid down in the same period; in the Triassic beds are found the deposits of Kansas and Cheshire, England, and some salt springs on Vancouver Island come from the Cretaceous just above; in Tertiary times were deposited the great salt beds at Wieliczka, Austria, and some smaller ones in Lousiana. Even in historic times deposits have been formed in the arid regions of the west of North America.

Salt, known to mineralogists as "halite," occurs in nature either in solid masses, known as rock salt, or in solution in water. The solutions, or brines, are found (1) in oceans or salt lakes; (2) in salt springs; (3) in porous rocks, held in by impervious beds above and below. On drilling a hole through the upper retaining bed, the third class may become the second. Neither the rock salt nor the brines are pure as they occur in nature. The most common impurities are the sulphates of calcium, magnesium and sodium, the chlorides of calcium, magnesium and potassium, and the carbonates of calcium, magnesium and iron; clay, also, is found quite frequently in rock salt. The amount of the impurities is variable, but usually in salts of commercial value it is quite small. The following analyses show the composition of two standard natural salts:

	Goderich, Ont.	Cheshire, Eng.
Sodium chloride or salt...	99.687	96.70
Calcium chloride.....	.032	.68
Magnesium chloride.....	.095	.....
Calcium sulphate.....	.090	.25
Insoluble in water.....	.017	1.74
Moisture.....	.079	.63
	100.000	100.00
Total impurity.....	.234	2.67

A number of salt springs arise from the Lower Carboniferous rocks of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but the proportion of salt is too small to be of economic value. About five hundred bushels are made annually at Sussex, N.B., which is used locally for table and dairy purposes. In a belt country ten to fifteen miles wide, and extending from the Niagara River to Southampton, Ont., rocks of the Onondaga period of the Upper Silurian form the outcrop, and these are overlaid to the south-west by Devonian strata. At numerous wells sunk through these overlying rocks for 1,000 to 2,000 feet, beds of salt have been found. At first the salt was supposed to be confined to a limited area near Lake Huron, but it is now known to extend south through parts of Middlesex, Bruce, Huron and Lambton. At Kincardine, Ont., the salt bed is found 888 feet below the surface; to the south the depth increases, being 1,170 feet at Clinton and 1,620 at Courtright. Farther south, at Windsor, Ont., the upper salt bed rises to 1,272 feet. Salt from the same horizon is found across Lake Huron in the States at St. Clair and Saginaw, but the brines which are evaporated at the latter place come from a higher horizon, that of the Lower Carboniferous.

The quantity of salt in Canada is inexhaustible. At Goderich the six beds aggregate 126 feet of solid salt, to say nothing of the quantity distributed through the marls. At Blyth a bed 80 feet thick is found; at Petrolia, one of 105 feet thick; at Windsor the well is 79 feet into the second bed without piercing it. All the beds are not of equal purity; the second and third at Goderich are among the purest known, yielding on analysis 99.7 per cent. of salt. Numerous salt springs are found in the Devonian area to the west of Lake Winnipegosis, but no beds of rock salt have been discovered. These brines, though weak, have been used in the past as a source of salt. The process of manufacture as carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company was crude in the extreme. A hole five or six feet deep was made in the soil, and from this the water was ladled into kettles near at hand. From these the salt was scooped as it formed, and after draining for a short time was packed in birch bark for shipment. Farther to the north, along the Athabasca, similar springs are found, and have been used by the same Company.

Throughout the Goderich region the water that finds its way downward on the outside of the pipes which are sunk, forms an almost saturated solution, which is pumped to the surface and

evaporated. A saturated brine contains 25.7 per cent. of salt, the brines of Ontario twenty-four per cent., in which respect Canadian manufacturers have a great advantage—those of Syracuse, N.Y., containing only eighteen to twenty per cent. In some cases water is forced between an inner and an outer pipe and drawn up through the inner. Evaporation of the brines is accomplished either by artificial heat, or by solar heat, or by congelation. Solar evaporation of ocean water is also practised in California, Scotland, etc. Congelation is practised in Norway. The ice which forms on a solution of salt consists of nearly pure water, and by repeated removal of the frozen surface a stronger brine is gradually obtained. In Ontario the brine is usually evaporated by artificial heat in iron pans one hundred to two hundred feet long and twenty-five wide.

The chief use of salt is in seasoning and preserving foods, and as this depends on population there can be but a small increase in production in Canada. Moreover, salt for use in the fisheries is imported free of duty, and, since vesselmen carry it westward as ballast for almost nothing, English salt can be sold in Montreal as cheaply as Canadian. Salt is, further, the basis of many important chemical industries — caustic soda, sodium carbonate, hydrochloric acid and bleaching powder being all derived from it. A small amount is used as a fertilizer and in the reduction of ores of silver.

SALT STATISTICS OF CANADA.

	1886	1895
Production (tons)	62,359	52,000
Value	$227,000	$160,000
Exports	17,000	1,000
Imports paying duty (tons)	6,133	4,200
" " " (value)	$29,000	$30,000
Imports duty free (tons)	90,103	101,000
" " " (value)	$255,000	$333,000

Fort Cudahy, and junction of the Yukon and Forty-Mile Rivers.

MINERAL WEALTH OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY

GEORGE M. DAWSON, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C., Director of the Geological Survey of Canada.

FOR twenty years or more I have been engaged in the exploration and geological examination of British Columbia in connection with the Geological Survey of Canada, and have thus enjoyed the opportunity of traversing and inspecting a large part of that Province of Canada. The information gained has been embodied in a series of official reports, published from year to year, and it is only because it may be assumed that such reports are seldom read that I can venture to hope that what I have to say may possess some interest or novelty at the present time. British Columbia is the western Province of the Dominion of Canada with a coast line of 500 miles in length, from south to north, on the Pacific. It is the largest of the Canadian Provinces which has yet been defined, and may be described as possessing truly imperial dimensions. Its length of coast (without counting its extraordinary sinuosities) is nearly equal to the combined length of England and Scotland; while its area of 383,300 square miles is over three times that of the United Kingdom, and greater than that of any country in Europe except Russia. It is in the main a land of mountains, including nearly 1,000 miles in length of that broken western margin of the American Continent, which, in lieu of any better name, is known as the Rocky Mountain region or Cordilleran Belt. Although it possesses valuable fisheries and remarkable resources in its forests, besides important tracts of arable and pasture land, much of its prosperity must depend on the development of its mineral wealth, which is the compensation afforded by nature for the generally rugged character of a large part of its surface.

Less than one hundred years ago this region was wholly unknown. At about that time its coast began to be explored in some detail by Cook, Vancouver, and other navigators, and soon after became the resort of a certain number of trading vessels in search of furs; but none of these adventurers acquired any knowledge of the interior of the country. Almost simultaneously, however, the explorers and traders of the North-West and Hudson's Bay Companies, pushing on and extending their operations from point to point in the interior of the North American continent, began to enter the hitherto mysterious region of the Rocky Mountains from its inland side. Mackenzie was the first to reach the Pacific and following him came Fraser, Thompson, Campbell and others—all Scotchmen in the service of those trading companies—till by degrees several trading posts were established, and "New Caledonia," as the whole region was then named, came to be recognized as an important "fur country." This era of discovery, with its results, constitutes the first chapter in the known history of British Columbia. It is replete with the achievements and adventures of these pioneers of commerce, who with their limited resources, and without knowing that they had achieved fame—often without even placing their journeys on record—extended the operations of their Companies across a continent.*

But this record, though full of interest, is not that with which I am at present concerned. It must suffice to say that what is now British Columbia remained a "fur country," and that alone, for many years. The existence of coal upon its coast was recognized by Dr. Tolmie, an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, as early as 1835; but though small quantities of coal were actually obtained from natural outcrops

EDITOR'S NOTE. See Section I., Volume II., of "Canada: An Encyclopædia of the Country."

from time to time, for the use of blacksmiths at the Company's posts, no importance appears to have been attached to the discovery. The world was at that time very spacious, and the Pacific Ocean was still regarded rather as a field for the exploration of navigators than as a highway of commerce between America and Asia. In 1849 gold was discovered in California, and with the resulting influx of miners and the seizure of that Mexican province by the United States (justified, if justifiable at all, by its subsequent development) all are familiar. Two years later a discovery of gold occurred on the Queen Charlotte Islands, now forming part of British Columbia. This constitutes an interesting episode by itself but, though some attention was drawn to it for a time, no substantial results followed and no alteration in the condition of the country as a whole was brought about. The meaning and the worth of this particular discovery yet remain to be determined.

In 1857, however, four or five French-Canadians and Half-breeds, employés of the ubiquitous Hudson's Bay Company, found gold on the banks of the Thompson, a tributary of the Fraser River, and their discovery becoming known changed the whole fortunes of the country. California was at this time filled with gold miners, and it required only the rumour of a new discovery of gold to create a new "excitement." In the following year, it is estimated that within three months over 20,000 people arrived at the remote trading post which then stood upon the present site of the City of Victoria, while many more made their way over-land to the new El Dorado. The difficulties in the way of these fortune-hunters were great. The country was without roads or other means of communication, save such rough trails and tracks as had served the purposes of the natives and those of the fur traders. The Indians, if not openly hostile, were treacherous, and not a few of the men who actually reached the canons were never again heard of.

The Fraser and Thompson were at this time the objective points, and much of the lengths of these rivers were impracticable torrents. It is not therefore surprising that by far the larger part of those engaged in this sudden migration returned disappointed, many without ever reaching their destination. Some, however, persevered, several thousand miners actually got to work on the auriferous bars of the Fraser, and a new state of affairs was thus fairly inaugurated. To follow the rapid progress of these miners along the Fraser and Thompson and their tributaries would be full of interest, though the records of their work now existing are scanty, but this again would lead me too far afield. The gold found on the lower reaches of the Fraser was what is known to miners as "fine" gold, or gold in very small scales or dust, minutely divided. Further up "coarser" gold was obtained, and the miners very naturally jumped to the conclusion that somewhere still further up the great stream the source of all the gold should be found. Thus, with restless energy, they pushed on till before long the Cariboo country, some 400 miles from the sea, was reached; and here the richest deposits of alluvial or "placer" gold were found, and for a number of years continued to be worked with results which, considering the comparatively small number of men engaged, were most remarkable. Later and more thorough investigations show that the theory so readily adopted by the miners was incorrect; that there is no regular gradation in amount or "coarseness" of gold from the lower part of the Fraser to the head waters in Cariboo, but that the gold found on the bars of the river is of more local origin. Still the theory referred to, as a matter of fact, led the miners to Cariboo, which proved not only to be one of the richest districts so far discovered in British Columbia, but for its area one of the richest placer mining districts ever found.

In this district the valleys of two streams, Lightening and Williams Creeks, have been the most remunerative, and these and their tributaries have actually yielded the greater part of the gold obtained. The work was begun by the washing of the gravels of the streams themselves, but, with the experience already gained in California and in Australia, the miners soon began to search deeper. The valleys through which these streams flowed were found to be filled to a considerable depth by loose material, gravel and boulder-clay, due to the glacial period or to inwash from the sides of the bordering mountain ranges; and

in sinking beneath all this material the channels of older streams, the predecessors of the present, were found, with their rocky beds smoothed and worn and filled with rounded boulders and gravel. These contained vastly richer deposits of gold, because they represented the concentrated accumulations of great periods of continued work by natural forces of denudation and river action. This discovery, once made, led to the initiation of more extended mining operations, which often necessitated large expense in labour and the construction of heavy pumping machinery; but the

Dr. George M. Dawson.

results as a rule repaid the enterprising miners. Thus the old deeply buried channel of Lightening Creek was found to average something like $200 in gold to each running foot of its length, while considerable lengths of Williams Creek yielded as much as $1,000 to the same unit of measurement.

Williams Creek affords some notable instances of the extraordinary concentration of "coarse" gold in limited areas. Thus, from Steel's claim, 80 x 25 feet, over $100,000 worth of gold was obtained. From the Diller Company's claim, it is stated that in one day 200 lb. weight of gold valued at $38,400 was raised; and in 1863 twenty claims were producing from 70 to 400 ounces of gold each per diem. Four hundred miners were at work on Williams Creek in this year, which is still admiringly spoken of as "the golden year." Though, like Williams Creek, discovered in 1861, the deep channel of Lightening Creek was not successfully reached till 1870, but great developments followed. The Butcher claim at one time yielded 350 ounces of gold a day; the Aurora 300 to 600 ounces; and the Caledonia, 300 ounces. It must be remembered that the Cariboo mining district is situated in a high and densely forested mountainous region, which, because of its inaccessible character, had remained almost unknown even to the wandering native hunters. At the time in which these great discoveries in it occurred, it was reached only with extreme difficulty by trails and imperfect tracks over mountains and across unbridged rivers. Every article required by the miner was obtained at an excessive cost, but all these drawbacks did not prevent the rapid growth of typical mining camps in the centre of this remote wilderness, with their accompanying lavish expenditure and costly if rude pleasures. So long as the golden stream continued to flow in undiminished volume, everything that gold alone could buy was to be obtained in Cariboo.

Perhaps more worthy of note is the fact that the development of these mines was carried out entirely by the miners themselves. No outside capital or backing was asked for or obtained. Money made in one venture was freely and at once embarked in another, and the investors were to be found working with pick and shovel in the shaft or drift. But the lengths of the rich old channels on both these famous creeks which could be worked in this way proved to be limited to a few miles. Below a certain point in each case, the "bed-rock" was found to be at so great a depth that it was not possible to reach it through the loose and water-saturated materials filling the old valley. Thus the great yield of placer gold became gradually reduced to comparatively modest proportions, and, at the present time, mining in the Cariboo district is mainly confined to hydraulic workings, by which poor ground is

utilized and a much larger quantity of material requires to be removed to obtain a given amount of gold. But the old valleys of Cariboo have never ceased to produce gold, and in 1897 their product amounted in value to about $325,000.

It has been impossible to follow the fortunes of the Cariboo mining district in any detail, and space can only be afforded to name the other placer mining districts of the Province. The Omenica district was discovered soon after Cariboo, but little was done there till 1867. This district is situated in latitude 56 degrees, in the drainage basin of the Peace River, and, though so remote has produced a considerable quantity of gold. Still further to the north, in latitude 58 degrees, is the Cassiar district, first found to be auriferous in 1872, for some years thereafter resorted to by many miners, and now a mining centre of some importance. This is the northernmost mining region of British Columbia proper, but beyond the 60th parellel (forming the northern boundary of the Province) alluvial gold mining has of late years developed in a most unusual measure in the Yukon district, embracing the numerous upper tributaries of that great river, and extending to the borders of the United States Territory of Alaska.

The story of the discovery and development, the palmy days and the gradual decline in importance of any of these mining regions, rightly told and in sufficient detail, would constitute in itself a subject of interest. But without attempting to do more than name the districts here, it is of importance to note how general, throughout the whole extent of the great area of British Columbia, the occurrence of deposits of alluvial gold has been proved to be. The gold thus found in the gravels and river beds is merely that collected in those places by natural processes of waste, acting on the rocks, and the concentration of their heavy materials during the long course of time. The gold has been collected in those places by the untiring action of the streams and rivers, and it must in all cases be accepted as an indication of the gold-bearing veins which traverse the rocky sub-structure of the country, and which await merely the necessary skill and capital to yield to the miner still more abundantly. Nevertheless, the results of alluvial or placer gold mining alone in British Columbia have not been insignificant, for since the early years of the discovery the Province has contributed gold to the value of some $50,000,000 to the world. One feature in particular requires special mention, and this is a deduction which depends not alone on experience in British Columbia, but which is based as well on that resulting from the study and examination of other regions. The "heavy" or "coarse" gold, meaning by these miner's terms the gold which occurs in pellets or nuggets of some size, never travels far from its place of origin. It is from this point of view that it becomes important to note and record the localities in which rich alluvial deposits have been found, even when the working of these has been abandoned by the placer miner. Their existence points to that of neighbouring deposits in the rock itself, which may confidently be looked for, and which are likely to constitute a greater and more permanent source of wealth than that afforded by their derived gold.

Reverting for a moment to the Cariboo district, where such notably rich deposits of alluvial gold have been found within a limited area, and where, very often, the gold obtained has been actually mingled with the quartz of the parent veins, it cannot be doubted that these veins will before long be drawn upon to produce a second golden harvest. This district has suffered and still suffers from its great distance from efficient means of communication; but, notwithstanding this, praiseworthy efforts have already been made towards the development of "quartz mining," while much also remains to be done in utilizing by operations on a larger scale and with better appliances, the less accessible placer deposits which have so far baffled the efforts of the local miner. It is necessary to bear in mind that alluvial gold mining or placer mining requires but a minimum amount of knowledge on the part of the miner, though it may call for much individual enterprise and effort when a new and difficult region is to be entered. Any man of ordinary intelligence may soon become an expert placer miner. It is after all, in the main, a poor man's method of mining; and, as a rule, the placer miner lacks the knowledge as well as the capital necessary to enable him to undertake regular mining operations on veins and lodes. However promis-

ing the indications may be for such mining, he either does not appreciate them, or passes them over as being beyond his experience or means. He would rather travel hundreds of miles to test a newly reported discovery than spend a summer in endeavouring to trace out a quartz reef, with the uncertain prospect of being able to dispose of it at some later date.

Thus, though the development of placer mining in British Columbia began a new history for that great region, raising it from the status of a "fur country" to that of an independent colony, and subsequently to that of a Province of Canada, there remained a gap to be bridged in order that the Province should begin to realize its proper place among the mining regions of the world. It was necessary that railways should be constructed to convey machinery and carry ores, as well as to bring to the metaliferous districts men who would not face the hardships of pioneer travel in the mountains, but who were in a position to embark the necessary capital in promising enterprises. For a portion of the Province, the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway has afforded these facilities but a large part still awaits railway communication. Had the Canadian Pacific Railway, in accordance with some of the surveys made for it, traversed, for instance, the Cariboo district, there can be no doubt that we should have earlier been able to note great developments there. This railway has, however, been constructed across the southern portion of the Province, and in its vicinity and concurrently with its progress, new mining interests have steadily grown up.

The discovery of coal upon the coast at an early date in the brief history of British Columbia has already been alluded to. Following this discovery the Hudson's Bay Company brought out a few coal miners from Scotland, and proceeded to test and open up some of the deposits. Thus, as early as 1853, about 2,000 tons of coal were actually raised at Nanaimo. San Francisco very soon began to afford a market for this coal, and the amount produced increased from year to year. The principal coal-mining district remained, and still remains, at Nanaimo, on Vancouver Island. California is still the principal place of sale for the coal, which, by reason of its superior quality, practically controls this market and is held in greater estimation than any other fuel produced on the Pacific slope of North America. The local consumption in the Province itself grows annually, and smaller quantities are also exported to the Hawaiian Islands, and to China, Japan and other places. In the various ports of the Pacific Ocean, the coal from British Columbia comes into competition with coal from Puget Sound in the State of Washington, which, because of the high protective duty established by United States, is enabled to achieve a large sale in California notwithstanding its inferior quality. It also has to compete with shipments from Great Britain, brought out practically as ballast, with the coals of Newcastle in New South Wales, with coal from Japan, and, in regard to the Pacific ports of the Russian Empire, with coal raised by convict labour at Duai, on Saghalien Island in Okotsk Sea.

It is sufficient guarantee for the quality of the coal of British Columbia that it is able to hold its own as against all these competitors. Though Nanaimo has been from the first the chief point of production of coal, work has been extended within the last few years to the Comox district, also situated on Vancouver Island; while other promising coal-bearing tracts have been in part explored and examined on this island, and on the Queen Charlotte Islands. These particular coal regions, bordering upon the Pacific Ocean, have naturally been the first to be employed, but they by no means exhaust the resources of the Province in respect to coal. Deposits of good bituminous coal are known also in the inland region, and some of these in the vicinity of the line of railway are being opened up, while others, still far from any practicable means of transport or convenient market, have been discovered, and lie in reserve. One of the most remarkable of these undeveloped fields is that of the Crow's Nest Pass, in the Rocky Mountains, where a large number of superposed beds of exceptional thickness and quality have been defined. Besides the bituminous coals, there are also in the interior of the Province widely extended deposits of lignite coals, of later geological age, which, though inferior as fuel, possess considerable value for local use. In the

Queen Charlotte Islands anthracite coal is found, but has not yet been successfully worked ; and in the Rocky Mountains, on the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, coal of the same kind again occurs, near Banff and Canmore stations. The places last named lie just beyond the eastern border of British Columbia in the adjacent District of Alberta, but require mention in connection with the mineral resources of the Province.

The coals of British Columbia may, in fact, be said to represent, in regard to quality and composition, every stage from hard and smokeless fuels, such as anthracite, to lignites and brown coals like those of Saxony and Bohemia. Many features of interest to the geologist might be mentioned in relation to these coal deposits, but it must not be forgotten to note one principal fact of this kind—the very recent geological age to which all the coals belong. None of the coals of British Columbia are so old as those worked in Great Britain ; they are, in fact, all contained in cretaceous and tertiary rocks. The very general distribution of coals of various kinds in different parts of the Province is of peculiar importance when considered in connection with the building of railways and the mining and smelting of the metalliferous ores. It insures the most favourable conditions for the development of these ores, to some further examination of which I must now return.

It is especially worthy of note, that, wherever in the United States, the Rocky Mountain or Cordilleran region has been traversed by railways, mining, and particularly that of the precious metals, has immediately followed. It appèars to require only facilities of transport and travel to initiate important mining enterprises in any part of this region. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway across the southern part of British Columbia, with the construction of other railway lines in the neighbouring States, near the frontier of the Province, have already begun to bring about the same result in this new region; which, till these railways were completed, had remained almost inaccessible. It had long before been resorted to by a few placer miners in search of alluvial gold, and their efforts were attended with some success. Silver-bearing lead ores were also found to occur there, but under the circumstances existing at the time these actually possessed no economic value. It was impossible to utilize them. In 1886 some prospectors, still in search of placer gold only, happened to camp in a high mountainous region which has since become familiarly known as Toad Mountain, and one of them, in seeking for lost horses, stumbled on an outcrop of ore, of which he brought back a specimen. This specimen was afterwards submitted to assay, and the results were such that the prospectors returned and staked out claims on their discovery. The ore, in fact, proved to contain something like $300 to the ton in silver, with a large percentage of copper and a little gold.

In this manner what is now known as the *Silver King* mine was discovered, and, as a consequence of its discovery, the entire Kootenay district, in which it is situated, began to be overrun with prospectors. Hundreds of these men, with experience gained in the neighbouring States of Montana and Idaho, as well as others from different parts of the world, turned their attention to Kootenay. The result has been that a very great number of metalliferous deposits, chiefly silver ores, had been discovered by 1891, and claims taken out upon them. Several growing mining centres and little towns were established ; roads, trails, and bridges had been made, steamers have been placed on the Kootenay Lake on the Upper Columbia River, and a short line of railway built between the lake and river to connect their navigable waters. The immediate centre of interest in regard to mining development in British Columbia had, in fact, for the time being, almost entirely changed from the principal old placer mining districts to the new discoveries of silver-bearing veins.

I wish here to draw special attention to one or two ruling features of the actual situation which are too important to be left without mention. The Cordilleran Belt, or Rocky Mountain region of North America, forming the wide western rim of the continent has, whenever it has been adequately examined, proved to be rich in the precious metals as well as in other ores. This has been the case in Mexico and in the Western States of the American Union. Though some parts of this ore-bearing region are undoubtedly

richer than others, generally speaking it is throughout a metalliferous country. The mining of placer or alluvial gold deposits has in most cases occurred in advance of railway construction; but this industry has always proved to be more or less transitory in its character, and has almost invariably been an indication of future and more permanent developments of a different kind. Placer gold-mining has, in fact, often been continued for years and then abandoned, long before the gold and silver-bearing veins in the same tract of country have been discovered and opened up. This later and more permanent phase of mining has followed the construction of railways and roads, and the series of conditions thus outlined are repeating themselves in British Columbia to-day.

There is no reason whatever to believe that the particular portions of British Columbia, now so beneficially opened to mining by means of the Canadian Pacific Railway, are richer in ores than other parts of the Province. On the contrary, what has already been said of the Cariboo district affords *prima facie* evidence of an opposite character. The Province of British Columbia alone, from south-east to north-west, includes a length of over 800 miles of the Cordilleran region; and, adding to this the further extension of the same region comprised within the boundaries of the Dominion of Canada as a whole, its entire length in Canada is between 1,200 and 1,300 miles. This is almost identical with the whole length of the same region contained within the United States, from the southern boundary with Mexico to the northern with Canada. Circumstances have favoured the development of the mines of the Western States of the Union, but it is, as nearly as may be, certain, that the northern half of the similar region will eventually prove equal in richness to the southern, and that, when the mines of these Western States may have passed the zenith of productiveness, those of the north will be still increasing in this respect. The explorations of the Geological Survey of Canada have resulted in placing on record the occurrence of rich ores of gold and silver in various places scattered along the entire length of the Cordilleran region in Canada.

No attempt has been made in this brief sketch of the mineral wealth of British Columbia to enumerate the various ores and minerals which have so far been found within the limits of the Province in any systematic manner. Nothing has has been said of the large deposits of iron, from some of which a certain amount of ore has already been produced, and which wait to realize their true importance merely the circumstances which would render their working on a large scale remunerative. Copper ores have also been discovered in many places. Mercury in the form of cinnabar promises to be of value in the near future, and iron pyrites, plumbago, mica, asbestos, and other useful minerals are also known to occur. In late years platinum has been obtained in alluvial mines in British Columbia in such considerable quantity as to exceed the product of this metal from any other part of North America.

The foregoing pages may be accepted as a brief and very general sketch of the beginning and progress, up to about 1893, of mining in British Columbia.* So great an expansion has taken place since then that thousands of mining claims are now held (1898) where before these might have been easily reckoned by scores. It will be possible only to allude to some salient features and to represent the general progress by an appeal to statistics. The West Kootenay district, the first in which important lode mining took place, has continued to hold a foremost position in this respect, but considerable changes have occurred by reason of more recent discoveries. As early as 1889 claims were located in what is now known as the Trail Creek region, to the west of the Columbia River and not far north of the International boundary line. The ore here was of an entirely different class from that previously found, being a mixture of pyrrhotite and copper pyrites holding a variable amount of gold. The nature and apparently uncertain tenure in gold of these ores, resulted for some time in leaving their commercial value in doubt, but, since 1895, when the *War Eagle* mine paid its first dividend, the history of this camp has been one of steady and rapid pro-

* I have to thank the Royal Colonial Institute for permission to use in this article the substance of a lecture delivered before that body in London in March, 1893.

gress. It soon became, in fact, an object of speculative investments everywhere to such an extent that much money was squandered on claims without any real value whatever. Legitimate mining was indeed almost lost sight of for a time in consequence of the "boom" which had been worked up for speculative purposes.

All this led to many disappointments, but it says much for the true value of the deposits when it is stated that even the collapse of the "boom" has not seriously interfered with the steady course of the development of the more important mines. Rossland has become a well-built town of several thousand inhabitants, reached by three railways; modern mining machinery has been installed and a large smelter is in operation at Trail. The product of the mines is a smelting and not a free milling ore. The sulphides are reduced to a rich copper matte, holding gold, and are generally shipped in that condition to be refined elsewhere. The Slocan division has also made wonderful progress. The ores here are richly argentiferous galenas, the average ore for 1897 yielding 108.5 ounces of silver and 45.7 per cent. of lead,* and several of the claims have paid for the cost of their own development from the first. There is no smelter in this division as yet, the rich ores being sent out by the Kaslo and Slocan Railway or by the branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway that connects it with Nakusp on the Upper Arrow Lake. Here again excellent machinery has been installed at several of the mines, roads have been made and towns have been built.

In the Nelson division, the Hall mines, of which the *Silver King* is the best known claim, have retained their position as the most important so far developed. A large and continuous output of ore has been made and an excellent smelter has been established at Nelson for the treatment of this ore, which, like the Rossland ores, is reduced to a rich copper matte, holding, however, more value in silver than in gold. The Ainsworth or Hot Springs division has not been so rapid in its development, but has progressed steadily, even in face of the great depreciation in value of silver, while Lardo, Salmon River and half a dozen other places in the district have come to the front as centres of interest. Taken as a whole there is perhaps no mining district which in so short a time has been provided with such excellent means of transport by railway and steamer, and in which, at the present moment, a more hopeful general outlook exists. To any one visiting the country after an absence of a few years the change in its condition is really marvellous, and much may be anticipated in consequence of the further reduction in the cost of treating the ores, which is sure to follow on the completion of the line now under construction by which a connection is made with the coal-fields of the Crow's Nest Pass. The line of railway just referred to will also result in opening up to profitable exploration many mineral deposits in the East Kootenay district through which it passes. Prospecting and preliminary work has been steadily in progress here for some years and important shipments of argentiferous galena have been made, although under great disadvantages in regard to cost of transport. Ores containing copper and gold are also found here, and there is reason to believe that this district will prove to be not less varied in its resources than that of West Kootenay.

The Boundary Creek District, situated between West Kootenay and the Okanagan River, is another region in which considerable progress has been made in prospecting and opening up gold, silver and copper ores. The shipments have so far been small, but as it appears that many of the deposits are of low grade, although very extensive, easy means of communication by rail, now being provided, are absolutely necessary for any extensive development here. Without endeavouring to characterize or even mention by name the other numerous localities in the interior of the Province which have, within the past few years, attracted attention, it may be stated that every accessible region is now being over-run and searched by active and skilled prospectors, and that many groups of claims, which will become important in the future, have already been discovered. The "Klondike" excitement of 1897 has temporarily withdrawn popular attention from the progress of discovery in the more southern regions, but this has none

*According to Mr. Carlyle, then Provincial Inspector of Mines.

the less been steadily advancing. On the coast of British Columbia the newly awakened search for ores has been scarcely less active, the intricate shore line affording easy means of access to the prospector and offering as well the greatest facilities for the working of mines. No very important shipping mines have so far been developed here, but there is every reason to believe that some of those already known will before long take rank in this respect. No part of British Columbia is now, in fact, so remote that the prospector hesitates to investigate it, and, with the hopeful outlook in regard to means of communication resulting from the well-founded belief that railways will, in a few years, follow their steps, these prospectors, unlike the pioneers of thirty years ago, are devoting attention to veins and lodes rather than to the alluvial gold deposits.

An important feature of the recent awakening of mining interest, followed and sustained by the necessary capital, is the establishment of several large hydraulic mining enterprises. This has been particularly the case in the Cariboo district, where, in all probability, this form of mining will become very important and remunerative in a few years. Hydraulic plants have lately been installed, with good prospects of success, in the more remote Omenica district, where, it would appear, from Mr. McConnell's Report, a great field probably exists for such work. Renewed attention has also been directed to the Cassiar region, in the extreme north of the Province, into which it is now proposed to build a railway from the head of navigation on the Stikine. Heretofore, it has only been possible to work limited portions of rich placer ground along the rivers and streams of this district. Beyond the northern boundary of the Province of British Columbia lies the Yukon district, which, within a year or little more, has by the discoveries in the Klondike region become known throughout the world, and from which, in 1897, about $2,500,000 worth of gold was taken with prospects of a greatly increased yield during the current year. These remarkable discoveries of placer gold are paving the way, by leading to the construction of practicable and easy routes, for the permanent mining development of this vast region, which, in regard to its geological structure, closely corresponds with British Columbia and in which many "quartz mining" camps will undoubtedly before long be established.

Coal mining in British Columbia has been continued during the past few years without marked change in regard to the amount produced, but a considerable proportion of this amount has of late been supplied by the newly opened mines of Comox, on Vancouver Island. The Crow's Nest coal field, already noticed in connection with the Kootenay ores, will soon be largely drawn upon by means of the railway line striking through it and connecting it with smelting and mining centres. This field comprises a remarkable number of fine seams of coal, varying considerably in character, but often yielding a good coke. Some general statistics may in conclusion be quoted from recent Reports by Mr. W. A. Carlyle, late Provincial Mineralogist, in proof of the actual progress of mining in British Columbia. The value of ores resulting from lode mining in 1892 was about $100,000 only. This, in 1897, had increased to $7,000,000, a figure 65 per cent. greater than the output of the same mines in 1896. The results already known for the current year indicate a further substantial increase. Including all mineral products, the output of British Columbia in 1897 amounted in value to $10,455,268, an advance of 40 per cent. on the total for the previous year. It would thus appear that British Columbia, after a long period of decline in yield of placer gold and slow development of other and more permanent forms of mining, has at last attained the acknowledged position as a mining country which those who had knowledge of its conditions had long anticipated. Relatively to other Provinces of the Dominion, it is certain to maintain the premier position in this respect which it already holds, and within a very short time it is likely to produce annually a greater value in minerals than the aggregate amount contributed from all other sources.

THE MINING LAWS OF CANADA AND ITS PROVINCES

BY

GEORGE JOHNSON, F.S.S., Dominion Statistician.

PROVINCE of Nova Scotia. The Province grants all its minerals with the land, except gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, iron, coal and precious stones. These latter are leased under rental and royalty for revenue purposes. The gold and silver leases are for terms of forty years. Other minerals are leased for eighty years in four renewable terms of twenty years each. The gold and silver areas are 250 by 150 feet, laid off with the shorter side running east and west. Any number of these areas up to 100 can be secured under a license to prospect for twelve months on payment of fifty cents an area. During this period any number of the areas can be taken under lease, or the areas can be directly applied for under lease. The price of an area under lease is $2, and thereafter an annual rental of fifty cents per area secures it from forfeiture for non-working. If an amount of work equivalent to forty days per annum per area is performed on the lease the rental for that year is refunded. A royalty is payable on all gold at the rate of two per cent., the gold being valued at $19.00 an ounce smelted, and $18.00 an ounce unsmelted, and at the rate of two per cent. on the silver valued at $1.00 per ounce. In the case of the other minerals the payment of $30.00 secures a license to search for eighteen months over a tract of land five square miles in extent, and not exceeding two and a half miles in length. All ores and minerals, other than gold or gold and silver, mined, are subject to the following royalties:

Coal. Ten cents per ton of 2,240 pounds of coal sold or removed from the mine or used in the manufacture of coke—royalty not demanded on coal used by the workmen or in any mining operations in and around the mine.

Copper. Four cents upon every unit, *i.e.*, upon every one per cent. of copper contained in each and every ton of 2,352 pounds of copper ore sold or smelted.

Lead. Two cents upon every unit.

Iron. Five cents on every ton of 2,240 pounds of ore sold or smelted.

Tin and precious stones and any other minerals that may be reserved, five per cent. on their values.

The Governor-in-Council has power to lower the rates of royalty above stated on iron, copper, lead, tin and precious stones, on being satisfied that the owners of such leased minerals have commenced effective mining operations. The leases of coal mines contain a proviso that royalties on coal may be increased, diminished or otherwise changed by the Legislature.

Province of Quebec. The mining laws of the Province of Quebec provide that mining rights are property separate from the soil covering mines and minerals, unless the proprietor of the surface has purchased from the Crown, as a mining concession or otherwise, the underground properties. Mining concessions are divided into three classes:

1. In unsurveyed territory (*a*) the first class contains 400 acres, (*b*) the second 200 acres, and (*c*) the third 100 acres.

2. In surveyed townships the three classes respectively comprise one, two and four lots.

All lands supposed to contain mines or ores belonging to the Crown may be acquired from the Commissioner of Colonization and Mines (*a*) as a mining concession by purchase, or (*b*) be occupied and worked under a mining license.

No sale of mining concessions containing more than 400 acres in superficies can be made by the Commissioner to the same person. The Governor-in-Council may, however, grant a larger extent of territory up to 1,000 acres under special circumstances.

. The rates charged and to be paid in full at the time of the purchase are $5 and $10 per acre for mining lands containing the superior metals*; the first-named price being for lands situated more than twelve miles and the last-named for lands situated less than twelve miles from the railway. If containing the inferior metals, $2 and $4, according to distance from railway.

Unless stipulated to the contrary in the letters-patent in concessions for the mining of superior metals, the purchaser has the right to mine for all metals found therein; in concessions for the mining of the inferior metals, those only may be mined for.

Mining lands are sold on the express condition that the purchaser shall commence *bona fide* to mine within two years from the date of purchase, and shall spend not less than $500 if mining for the superior metals; and not less than $200, if for inferior metals. In default, cancellation of sale of the mining land.

Licenses may be obtained from the Commissioner on the following terms: Application for an exploration and prospecting license, if the mine is on private land, $2 for every 100 acres or fraction of 100; if the mine is on Crown Lands (1) in surveyed territory, $5 for every 100 acres, and (2) in unsurveyed territory, $5 for each square mile, the license to be valid for three months and renewable. The holder of such license may afterwards purchase the mine, paying the prices mentioned.

Licenses for mining are of two kinds. Private lands' licenses, where the mining rights belong to the Crown, and Public lands' licenses. These licenses are granted on payment of a fee of $5 and an annual rental of $1 per acre. Each license is granted for 200 acres or less, but not for more; is valid for one year and is renewable on the same terms as those on which it was originally granted. The Governor-in-Council may at any time require the payment of the royalty in lieu of fees for a mining license and the annual rental—such royalties, unless otherwise determined by letters-patent or other title from the Crown, being fixed at a rate not to exceed three per cent. of the value at the mine of the mineral extracted after deducting the cost of mining it.

*The superior metals include the ores of gold, silver, lead, copper, nickel, graphite, asbestos, mica and phosphate of lime. The words, inferior metals, include all other minerals and ores.

Province of Ontario. The Mines Act of Ontario provides for the abolition of all royalties imposed upon ores or minerals within the Province prior to the 4th day of May, 1891. Reservations of gold and silver mines contained in any patent issued prior to the above date are made void, and all such mines, in and upon such lands are deemed to have been granted in fee simple and to have passed with the lands, excepting as to lands patented under the Free Grants and Homestead Act, Revised Statutes, Ontario, 1897. All ores and minerals mined on lands located, sold, granted or leased by the Crown from the 4th day of May, 1891, to the 1st day of January, 1900, are subject to a royalty to the Crown. The royalties on ores of silver, nickel and copper and iron are at the rate of two per cent., and on all other ores such royalty as shall be from time to time imposed by Order-in-Council, not exceeding two per cent.; such royalties to be calculated upon the value at the mine after deducting the cost of labour, explosives, raising the ore to the surface, and subsequent treatment thereof for the market. Royalties are not to be imposed or collected until after seven years from the date of the patent or lease.

Any person may explore for mines and minerals on any Crown land not staked out or occupied and not withdrawn from sale by Order-in-Council as being valuable for pine timber or other reason. Crown lands supposed to contain ores or minerals may be sold as mining lands called mining locations, or may, when situated within a mining division, be staked out and worked as mining claims under miner's license. Mining locations in the territory north of Lake Superior and Lake Huron and of French River and the River Mattawa are required to be of rectangular shape, containing not less than forty acres, and are sold as follows: If in a surveyed township and within six miles of a railway, $3.00 per acre; if beyond six miles, $2.50; if in unsurveyed, $2.50 and $2.00, according to distance from railway. When in any other region the price is $2.00 and $1.50 according to distance from railway. All these mining locations revert to the Crown in default of the expenditure in actual mining operations of $1.00 per acre during the first two years and of $1.00 per acre in each year of the next five years.

In addition to granting mining lands in fee

simple the Province also grants leases of such lands for a term of ten years, renewable for a second like term. The rental is $1.00 per acre for the first year and 25 cents per acre per annum for subsequent years in the lands situated in the districts north of the French and Mattawa Rivers and Lake Nipissing; and 60 cents the first year and thereafter 15 cents per annum for lands situated elsewhere. These leases are all renewable after the second term by further terms of twenty years. Miners' licenses in territories which may be set apart as mining divisions are granted for one year on payment of $10.00, renewable for another year on payment of a like fee. The holder of a license may stake out a claim of 15 chains square, or 22½ acres, or 20 chains square, 40 acres, and he can hold it as long as mining operations are carried on, upon a scale of one man's labour for five months or its equivalent if two or more men are employed during each calendar year. When the licensee desires to procure a patent or lease of a claim he may do so by completing the working conditions at a rate of ten months of one man's labour on a claim of 22½ acres or of 15 months on a claim of 40 acres. But he is required to procure a survey of the land and to pay in the purchase money or first year's rental. The Legislature of Ontario created a Bureau of Mines in 1891. Mr. Archibald Blue was made Director, and he has issued several valuable Reports.

Province of British Columbia. The mining laws of British Columbia provide, with respect to coal mining, that a prospector for coal or petroleum on leased Crown Lands in which the minerals are reserved, before obtaining a license, shall place a post at one angle of the land with his name and the initials of the angle, and shall post a notice of his application on the land and on the Government office of the district for thirty days, and shall advertise it in the British Columbia *Gazette* and some local newspaper for thirty days. Security for damages must be given if the Crown Lands in question have been leased or are covered by a timber license. After the expiration of the thirty days, and within two months from the application in the *Gazette*, an application in duplicate (with a plan and a fee of $50 for each and every licensee) must be sent to the Assistant Commissioner of Land and Works for a prospecting license for not more than one year, when the Chief Commissioner may grant the license. Such lands must be in one rectangular block with sides running north, south, east and west, and of area not exceeding 640 acres. The license shall cease at its expiration, and a new license may be granted to a new applicant. On proving that he has *bona fide* explored for coal during the year he shall be entitled to an extension for a second year on payment of $50, and a further extension for a third year may be granted. License holders of adjoining lands, not exceeding ten, may work in partnership, when they need not prospect separately, providing the Chief Commissioner is satisfied with the prospecting done on the land of one of them.

The licensee may use the timber and stone on the land for the purpose of buildings on the land. Dispute as to right of title shall be decided in the County Court. No transfer for a prospecting license may be made without written notice to the Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may grant to a prospecting licensee a lease for five years at a rent of ten cents on proof that he has discovered coal on the land; and, if during this term, or three months thereafter, he can show that he has continuously and vigourously carried on coal-mining he shall be entitled to purchase the land at $5 an acre, in one payment, at time of sale. Before the lease is issued a survey must have been made by the applicant. Besides the ten cents rent a royalty of five cents a ton on coal and one cent a barrel on petroleum must be paid. The lessee must carry on coal-mining continuously. Any number of persons, not exceeding ten, may work in partnership on adjoining lands, when it shall not be necessary to work each leasehold separately, provided work on one is done to the satisfaction of the Chief Commissioner. (Cons. Act, 1888, Chap. 83, and amending Acts; 1890, Chap. 32; 1892, Chap. 31, and 1895, Chap. 37.)

Proprietors of coal mines may acquire such portion of any Crown Lands, or lands held under pre-emption or Crown grants or lease or license, as may be necessary for a right of way to the sea shore, a river or public highway, together with a

block not exceeding five acres on the shore, river or highway. Minerals are not to be conferred by the conveyance without the consent of the grantor. Compensation shall be paid by agreement or arbitration. (Cons. Acts, 1888, Chap. 83, and amending Act; 1890, Chap. 32, and Chap. 137, Acts of 1897.) No boy under twelve, no woman or girl of any age and no Chinaman shall be employed under ground in coal mines. Boys from thirteen to fourteen shall only be employed under ground in exceptional circumstances to be allowed by the Minister of Mines. No wages shall be paid to employés of a coal mine in a public house or contiguous office or place. Coal getters must be paid by weight, unless exception is allowed by the Minister of Mines; and a check weigher may be appointed by them. There are a number of regulations to secure safety. (Cons. Acts, 1888, Chap. 84; amending Acts, 1890, Chap. 33; 1894, Chap. 5; 1895, Chap. 38, and 1897, Chap. 138.) Persons over eighteen years of age, and joint stock companies, may become "Free Miners" on taking out certificates (which are not transferable) for one year in case of joint stock companies, and for one or more years in case of individual miners. Every person or joint stock company mining (except for coal) must take out a free miner's certificate, under penalty of $25. Owners and contractors shall pay the free miners' fees of their employés, deducting amount from them and giving a list to the Mining Recorder, under penalty of $100. No person, unless he has an unexpired free miner's certificate, can hold any mineral claim, minerals or mining property. Free miners may prospect and mine (except for coal) upon any Crown Lands or lands where minerals are reserved to the Crown, provided they may not locate or mine on land uncovered by hydraulic mining works for six months, and provided they must give security for damages to any occupier.

Fees in British Columbia. For every free miner's certificate issued to an individual the fee is $5.00. For every free miner's certificate issued to a joint stock company—(*a*) Having a nominal capital of $100,000 or less, $50.00. (*b*) Having a nominal capital exceeding $100,000, $100.00. Free miners may cut timber necessary for their mining upon Crown Lands, even if covered by timber, lease or reserved, and they may kill game for their own use at any time. A free miner may locate a mineral claim measuring 1,500 feet square as nearly rectangular as possible, marking it by two posts, 1 and 2, on the line of the vein not more than 1,500 feet apart. A fractional mineral claim can also be marked out. On No. 1 post of a mineral claim shall be written the names of the locator and the claim, the date, the compass bearing of No. 2 post and the number of feet (of the 1,500) lying to the right and left respectively of this line; these particulars are to be furnished also to the Mining Recorder. He must mark the line by blazing trees or post-planting, and place a post where he found rock "in place," and as near as possible to the four corners of the claim. He is entitled to all minerals within the claim. The claim is not to be recorded without an affidavit that mineral has been found "in place" on the claim, that the legal notes and posts have been put up, that ground is unoccupied, &c. A location made on Sunday or a holiday is not invalid. Where from the nature of the ground the location cannot be thus marked, posts may be set as near as possible and the direction and distance recorded. The free miner shall record his claim with the Mining Recorder within fifteen days, if his office is within ten miles, with an additional day for every additional ten miles. A claim recorded by error in the wrong district may be recorded anew in the right district with the original date. If left in the Recorder's absence the applicant is entitled to a record of that date. The claim may be held from year to year on a certificate by the Commissioner, or Gold Mining Recorder, that work has been done on it to the value of $100, assessment work to be counted in certificate. A free miner or partners having adjoining claims may work them together, and may obtain certificates for all the claims for sufficient work done on one. A free miner may, in lieu of work, pay $100 to the Mining Recorder. Disputes as to titles are determined by priority.

No free miner can hold (except by purchase) more than one claim on the same vein or lode, but he may hold by location a claim on any separate vein or lode. He may abandon his claim by notice in writing to the Recorder and may remove his machinery and extracted ore; he cannot re-

locate the same claim (or one which he has not recorded in time) without written permission from the Gold Commissioner. Lodes discovered in a tunnel to develop a lode may be marked out as a mineral claim and recorded by the owner. The interest of a free miner in his claim is deemed a chattel interest. The lawful owner of a mineral claim is entitled to a Crown grant on payment of $500 to the Government in lieu of expenditure (Assessment work to be considered a part of $500), and after having obtained a certificate of improvements from the Gold Commissioner. With a certificate of improvement the owner need not take out a free miner's certificate, or work on the claim to hold it. With a certificate of improvement the owner of a claim outside the railway belt is entitled to a Crown grant, and inside the railway belt on payment of $5 an acre to the Mining Recorder. The claim for the grant must be made within three months. The issue of the grant does not invalidate any previous lien. The grant covers all minerals except coal. Conveyances, mortgages, etc., of mineral claims shall be recorded or shall not be good against third parties, and transfers must be in writing. A free miner's claim shall not be open for location during his last illness, nor for twelve months after his death. The Gold Commissioner and official administrator administer miners' estates.

A mill site may be located by a free miner, not over five acres in extent, on unoccupied and unreserved Crown Lands not known to contain minerals. He may obtain a lease for one year, during its continuance, on proof of having expended $500 on machinery, and shall be entitled to a Crown grant for $5 an acre. This applies to former leases also. Minerals are not included in the grant. Tunnels or drains may be run by a free miner to work his claim under license from the Gold Commissioner. Water rights may be granted to him by the Gold Commissioner, and must be recorded, rights of miners working on the streams being safe. He may not sell the water, and the grant shall cease when the mine is no longer worked. Work must be begun within 60 days; and there must be no waste of water, and an outlet must be provided for superfluous water. Mining partnerships and limited liability companies are regulated by a number of clauses. The duties of Mining Recorders and Gold Commissioners are fully laid down. Free miners may elect by a two-thirds vote a Recorder, where there is none. County Courts have mining jurisdiction which is fully provided for. Any person contravening the Act or refusing to obey the lawful order of a Gold Commissioner or Judge is liable to a fine of $250 or three months' imprisonment. An annual tax of 25 cents an acre is payable on every claim held under Crown grant. This tax shall be remitted on proof that the sum of $200 has been expended on the claim within the year. Mines and moneys invested in them are not exempt from Provincial taxation. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may make orders to carry out the Act. (Cons. Act 1888, Chap. 82, and amending Acts, 1889, Chap. 16 (repealed); 1890, Chap. 31 (repealed); 1891, Chap. 25; 1892, Chap. 32; 1893, Chap. 29; 1894, Chap. 32, and 1895, Chap. 39.; 1896, Chap. 34, 1897, Chap. 45, and Acts of 1898.)

Placer Mining Act in B.C. Every free miner holding a certificate may mine for gold or other precious metals on any land except Government reserves for town sites, lands occupied by buildings, curtilages and orchards, or for placer mining or Indian reserves. He must give security for damages. He may locate a placer claim on each separate creek, ravine or hill, but not more than two in the same locality, and only one a creek claim, but he may hold any number for purchase. A creek claim shall be 100 feet long, and in width, from base to base of the hills; a bar-diggings claim shall be a strip 100 feet long, and in width, from high-water mark to the lowest water level; a dry-diggings claim shall be 100 feet square, and the same for bench diggings and hill diggings. Discoverers of new mines shall be allowed: If one, a claim of 300 feet long; if a party of two, 600 feet; if three, 800 feet; if four, 1,000 feet; if more than four, ordinary claims. Placer claims shall be as nearly rectangular as possible. Posts shall be placed at the corners, and the initial post shall bear names and description. Locations on Sundays and holidays shall not be invalid. Placer claims must be recorded with the Mining Recorder. The removal of posts entails forfeiture. Records of placer claims may be renewed on payment of the fees, $2.50 a year. A placer claim gives no right to a vein or lode

unless the ground is located and recorded as a mineral claim. A placer claim must be worked continuously by the holder or his employé, and shall be held abandoned and forfeited if unworked for seventy-two hours, except for reasonable cause, satisfying the Gold Commissioner. A year's leave of absence may be given if the sum of $1,000 has been expended without reasonable return, or if all holders of the set of claims sign the application.

Provisions as to the tunnels and drains, water rights (*see* 1879, cap. 45), partnerships, Mining Recorders, Gold Commissioners, County Courts, penalties, paying free miners' fees for employés, are much the same as those regarding mineral claims. Provisions are made for "bed-rock flumes." Free miners may obtain a lease of placer-mining ground for twenty years as follows: Before application for lease, legal posts to be placed with names and descriptions, and plans, &c., to be deposited with Mining Recorder; creek diggings, or abandoned or unworked creeks half a mile in length; any other placer-mining grounds, eighty acres; precious stone diggings, ten acres. The lease may be renewed. The ground must be already occupied (without consent of occupiers) nor immediately available for agricultural purposes; and only placer-mining must be carried on. Consolidation of holdings into one not to exceed 640 acres is provided for by Act of 1898 amending the Placer-Mines Act (1891.) Water may be granted by the Gold Commissioner for hydraulic workings on bench lands. Leases may be granted for twenty years of the bed of the river for dredging for a distance not over five miles. (Act 1891, Chap. 26, and amending Acts, 1894, Chap. 33, and 1895, Chap. 40; 1896, Chap. 35; 1897, Chap. 29; 1897, Chap. 45.) A Bill intituled "An Act to repeal An 'Act to aid the Development of Quartz Mines,' and amending Act," has been passed (1896, Chap 36). An Act to amend the Placer-Mines Act (1891) was passed in the session of 1898. Counting the consolidated Acts of 1888 and subsequent amending Acts to 1898 there have been twenty-four British Columbia Acts relating to mining, without reckoning several special Acts concerning hydraulic mining companies. The Mineral Act, 1896, Chap. 34, as amended by 1897, Chap. 29, has been consolidated for convenience only. The Placer-Mining Acts have also been consolidated. A Bureau of Mines was established in 1895, under the Minister of Mines, with a Provincial Mineralogist, whose duty it is to collect information relating to the mining industry, and publish it. Besides a museum there are to be lecture rooms, an assay office and laboratory, where assays and tests may be made according to a schedule of fees. Arrangements may be made for giving instructions to prospectors and others, and societies of arts and other societies may affiliate with the Mining Bureau for the instruction and examination of students. A Bill intituled the "Inspection of Metalliferous Mines Act, 1897," provided for the appointment of an Inspector, and contained rules and regulations for the safe working of mines other than coal.

Dominion Regulations. The Dominion Government has provided regulations for the disposal of coal lands the property of the Dominion in Manitoba, the North-West Territories and British Columbia. Lands containing anthracite coal may be sold at an upset price of $20.00 an acre, cash, and coal other than anthracite at an upset price of $10 per acre, cash. Not more than 320 acres can be sold to any one applicant. The Minister of the Interior has power to grant an applicant upon receipt of the fee of $10 permission to prospect for coal over an area of 320 acres for a period of sixty days. The regulations governing the disposal of mineral lands other than coal apply to Dominion Lands in Manitoba, and the North-West Territories, including the Provisional District of Yukon, and relate to lands containing gold, silver, platinum, iridium or any of the platinum group of metals, mercury, lead, copper, iron, tin, zinc, nickel, aluminum, antimony, arsenic, barium, bismuth, boron, bromine, cadmium, chromium, cobalt, iodine, magnesium, manganese, molybdemium, phosphorus, plumbago, potassium, sodium, strontium, sulphur, asbestos, emery, mica and mineral pigments.

A location for mining, except for iron and mica on veins, or lodes of quartz or other rock in place, must not be of larger dimensions than 1,500 feet in length and 1,500 feet in breadth. Every person eighteen years of age and over, and every joint stock company, may secure a non-transferable

free miner's certificate by paying, in the case of an individual, a fee of $10.00; in the case of a joint stock company with a nominal capital of $100,000, a fee of $50, and $100 where the nominal capital exceeds $100,000. This certificate runs for one year. It grants to the holder the right to search for minerals, etc., the privilege of fishing and shooting, and of cutting timber for actual necessities. It is renewable on production of the certificate or (in case of loss) of a substituted certificate. During its continuance it gives the holder the right personally to enter, locate, prospect and mine upon any vacant Dominion lands, except Dominion lands in British Columbia, and upon all lands the minerals in which have been reserved by the Crown. The free miner locating his mineral claim under his certificate must stake it out and record the same with the Mining Recorder, having fifteen days to do so if within ten miles of the Recorder's office, an additional day being allowed for each additional ten miles. On expiry of the certificate, the non-certificated person is not entitled to mining property except in cases where a Crown grant has been issued.

Having duly located and recorded a mineral claim, the free miner is entitled to hold it as long as he pleases on condition that each year he does work on the claim (or in direct proximity and having relation to it) to the value of $100, or pays that sum to the Mining Recorder. A lawful holder is entitled to a Crown grant by payment to the Dominion Government of $500 in lieu of expenditure on the claim, and $5 per acre, cash, if the mining location is on vacant lands of the Crown, and $2 per acre, cash, if on other lands of which the surface rights are not available for sale. The lawful holder is entitled to receive from the Mining Recorder a certificate of improvements if he has complied with the requirements: (a) done work on the claim in actual development to the value of $500; (b) found a vein or lode on the claim; (c) had the claim surveyed at his own expense; (d) posted on the land and in the Recorder's Office the name of the lawful holder and his intention to apply for such certificate at the end of sixty days. Within three months after obtaining the certificate of improvements the holder must make application to the Minister of the Interior for a Crown grant, enclosing the certificate, the Mining Recorder's receipts for payment of purchase money at the rate of $5 per acre (or $2 if the mining right only is being obtained) and Crown grant fee of five dollars.

Rossland, British Columbia, in 1898.

MINES AND MINERALS OF CANADA—EDITOR'S NOTES.

References Regarding Mining Laws. Since the article upon Canadian Mining Laws was written the draft consolidation referred to therein has become law. Under the provisions of the Ontario Mines Act the Michipicoten Mining Division has also been set apart by Order-in-Council, 9th September, 1897. Lands within the Mining Division so set apart are dealt with as "mining claims" under the Regulations for Mining Divisions and not as "mining locations" under Part II. of the Mines Act. It may be also stated here that a very learned and elaborate history of the Quebec Mining Law, written by Prof. F. P. Walton, Dean of the Faculty of Law in McGill University, Montreal, is to be found in McPherson & Clark's "Law of Mines in Canada." Prof. Walton shows therein that the sources of the present law are to be found in the Roman Law and in the old French Law, which a recent decision of the Quebec Courts has shown to be of the utmost practical importance. The work here referred to by Mr. Wm. David McPherson and Mr. John Murray Clark, M.A., LL.B., is one which may justly be termed a standard authority upon Canadian Mining Law*. It covers the whole ground of accurate and complete information regarding the history, scope and functions of Dominion and Provincial Mining legislation. From this volume the following summary of the laws or regulations relating to mines and minerals in lands belonging to, or administered by, the Dominion of Canada, and including Indian lands, is taken:

As to Minerals other than Coal.

I. Pursuant to "The Dominion Lands Act," Revised Statutes of Canada (1886) cap. 54.

Regulations thereunder:

(1) For the Disposal of Quartz Mining Claims 11th March, 1898).

(2) Governing Placer Mining in the Yukon District (18th January, 1898).

(3) Governing Placer Mining along the North Saskatchewan River (17th April, 1897).

(4) "The Dominion Mining Regulations" (9th November, 1889) superseded (11th March, 1898) as to Quartz Mining Claims.

(5) Governing the issue of Leases to Dredge for Minerals in beds of rivers in Yukon District (18th January, 1898).

(6) Respecting issue of Leases to Dredge for Minerals in submerged beds of rivers in Manitoba and the North-West Territories (21st July, 1897, as amended 29th July, 1897, 18th January, 1898, 28th February, 1898).

(7) For disposal of Dominion Lands within 40-mile Railway Belt in Province of British Columbia (17th September, 1889, as amended 13th November, 1890, 12th December, 1891, 21st March, 1892, 10th November, 1893).

(8) For disposal of Dominion Lands within 40-mile Railway Belt in Province of British Columbia (11th July, 1895).

II. Pursuant to "The Indian Act" (R. S. C., 1886), cap. 43.

Regulations thereunder:

Indian Lands Consolidated Mining Regulations (15th September, 1888, as amended 2nd December, 1889, 15th June, 1893).

As to Coal Lands.

I. Pursuant to "The Dominion Lands Act."

Regulations thereunder:

(1) For the disposal of Coal Lands, the property of the Dominion, in Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and British Columbia (17th September, 1889, 19th July, 1892, 11th November, 1895).

(2) For the issue of permits to mine Coal on Dominion Lands for domestic purposes only (9th February, 1897).

II. Pursuant to "The Indian Act."

Regulations thereunder:

(1) Respecting Coal Lands within the Indian Reserves in Manitoba and the North-West Territories (15th September, 1888).

The Discovery of Canadian Nickel. Mr. S. J. Ritchie, of Akron, Ohio, has done much to make known the nickel resources and wealth of Canada and his account of the discovery of this important mineral at Sudbury, as given

*The Carswell Company, Toronto, August, 1898.

in the *Toronto Globe* of June 1st, 1897, is both interesting and historical :

"The growing importance of this alloy for use in armour plates," said Mr. Ritchie to the interviewer, "and in all forms of war implements where a metal of superior excellence is indispensable; as well as its use in the arts of peace where a like quality of metal is required, and the further fact that Canada has the only known deposits of any commercial value upon this hemisphere, makes the policy of Canada with regard to these nickel deposits one of great interest to our people. England has the greatest navy of the world; Canada is the greatest colony of the Empire. In this year of Jubilee, of intensified loyalty, of preferential trade with the Mother Country, of the growth of sentiment tending to bind closer together the outlying portions of the great Empire, it would be strange if matters should permanently so shape themselves that Canada should practically have no benefit from these great nickel and copper deposits; that the navies of other countries than England should be the sole beneficiaries of the efficiency and invulnerable character which Canadian nickel can give to them. This is exactly what the history of these deposits has thus far been, and, if negotiations now in progress by those at present in control of these properties are successful, this is the condition in which they will permanently continue.

From Nova Scotia to Alaska the mineral interests of Canada are assuming immense importance. In no other country in the world are so important discoveries so rapidly being made as is now the case in Canada. There is a tide in the affairs of nations, as well as in the affairs of men, 'which taken at the flood leads on to fortune,' and the Government will, I think, miss a golden opportunity if it fails to adopt a mineral policy broad and comprehensive enough to deal with and protect the country's new and great interests. As you know, when these great deposits (at Sudbury) were first discovered, and until a considerable quantity of the ore was shipped to the Orford Copper Company of New York, they were supposed to contain only copper. Nothing whatever was known of their carrying nickel. When the Orford Company put these ores into their furnaces their behaviour was so peculiar that the men in charge of the furnace were quite unable to account for it. Mr. Robert M. Thompson, the President of the Company, was equally unable to account for the strange appearance of the product coming from the furnace, so he directed his Chemist to make a complete analysis of the ore. I happened to be in the laboratory when that analysis of the ore was completed and handed to Mr. Thompson. I very well recollect the surprise. Without showing me at the moment what the result of the analysis was, he began to badger me by telling me that 'before doing anything further with these ores I had better see what was in them, and determine whether they were worth working or not, and when I had fully examined them I would probably be very much disappointed about them, as he certainly was.'

I supposed that he referred to arsenic, and assured him that they did not contain any arsenic, that I had already had them examined by the Chemist of the Toronto University, by the Chemists of the Dominion Geological Survey at Ottawa, by the Sheffield School of Science of Yale College, and by the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, as well as by the laboratory of Carnegie Bros. & Company, and many other chemists. But he insisted that all their analyses were useless, as well as those formerly made by himself, and that I would find it so when I came to make a complete instead of a partial examination of them. After gratifying himself at the expense of my curiosity for some time he finally showed me the chemist's report. The fact was that he was himself unable longer to restrain his own wonder about the matter, and told me so great was this discovery that the importance of these deposits as copper mines, although they were doubtless the greatest copper deposits of the world, would be completely lost sight of by this discovery of nickel. This was, I think, in July, 1887. This discovery raised the question what to do with the vast amount of nickel which these analyses showed was contained in these great deposits of ore. * * * After Secretary Tracy (of the U.S. Naval Department) had fully satisfied himself of the great superiority of nickel steel, after Congress had voted him a million dollars for the purchase of nickel matte, he was even

then afraid to change the whole policy of the navy by the adoption of nickel steel alone until he had assured himself of the sufficiency of the supply of nickel; so he said to me that he wanted to send a Commission of his own to examine the property, and to make a report to him, and he wished to have me go with them and show them all over the property, as well as all the processes through which the material was put from the time it was dug out of the ground until it was converted into matte. To this I agreed. Accordingly Commodore Folger and Lieut. B. H. Buckingham were selected by the Secretary.

They came here (Sudbury) and, after spending four or five days going all over it, they made the report to the Secretary which you have seen. They reported that there were six hundred and fifty millions of tons of ore in sight. You probably do not take in the full meaning of these tremendous figures, and you cannot in any other way than by comparison. They mean a tonnage more than five times as great as all the iron ore which has ever been shipped out of the whole Lake Superior region, including the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, from the time the first ton was mined up to this day. It is a strange fact that every great improvement in metallurgy from the time of the Damascus and Toledo blades until the present day has been first utilized for war purposes, and nickel steel is no exception."

Canadian Iron Resources and Production. The iron ores of the Dominion have a wide geographical and geological range. From Vancouver Island in the west to Cape Breton Island in the east they occur at varied intervals. Sir William Fairbairn, in "Iron, its History, Properties and Process of Manufacture," says, "In the Mineral and Geological Department of the Exhibition of 1862 were exhibited striking specimens of iron ore from the Colonies, among which was the remarkable collection from Canada, consisting of oxide, red hematite and bog ores. The thickness of some of the beds from which the specimens were taken is worthy of notice. In Nova Scotia some of the richest ores yet discovered occur in boundless abundance. The iron manufactured from the ore is of the very best quality, and is equal to the finest Swedish metal." In the same Province of Nova Scotia the iron ore, the coal and the flux lie in close contiguity to each other, and are within a comparatively short distance from the fine ship harbours, making that Province one of the best regions in the world for the seat of iron and steel ship-building on a large scale.

Magnetic ores occur abundantly throughout several counties in Ontario. According to Mr. George Johnson, Dominion Statistician, in the Year Book for 1896, an important deposit in the Township of South Crosby has been worked for years. A very fine and valuable ore exists as a large deposit in North Crosby. The contiguous townships of Madoc, Marmora, Belmont and Seymour contain several beds of magnetic iron ore. In the Province of Quebec there are large and valuable deposits of magnetic ore. In the County of Beauce a bed of granular iron ore, about two-thirds magnetic, with a vein of forty-five feet wide, occurs in serpentine. Hematite iron ores are found in all parts of Canada. One of the most valuable deposits in Quebec Province is near Hull —opposite Ottawa—a specular ore, assaying from 64 to 68 per cent. of metallic iron. In New Brunswick large deposits of hematite ore are found near Woodstock. Limonite and bog ores are widely distributed. During the year 1895 large deposits of chromic iron were found in Coleraine, Province of Quebec. The ore averaged over 50 per cent. of metal, is easily mined and finds ready market in the Unitd States. In 1896 there were six blast furnaces in operation in Canada—three in Nova Scotia, two in Quebec and one in Ontario.

The Dominion Parliament, in 1883, authorized the payment of a bounty of $1.50 a ton upon all pig-iron manufactured in Canada. This bounty was continued until the 1st of July, 1889, when the rate was made $1 per ton. A further change was made on 1st July, 1892, when the rate was increased to $2 a ton until 1st July, 1897. In 1897 Parliament passed an Act authorizing the Governor-in-Council to give (1) a bounty of $3 per ton on steel ingots manufactured from ingredients of which not less than 50 per cent. of their weight consists of pig-iron made in Canada; (2) a bounty of $3 per ton on puddled iron bars made

from Canadian-made pig iron; (3) a bounty on pig-iron manufactured from ore of $3 per ton on the proportion produced from Canadian ore and $2 on proportion produced from foreign ores. Bounties to cease on 23rd April, 1902. In the Session of 1894 an Act was passed providing that the Governor-in-Council may authorize the payment of a bounty of $2 per ton on all pig-iron made in Canada from Canadian ore, a bounty of $2 per ton on all puddled bars made in Canada from Canadian pig-iron made from Canadian ore, and a bounty of $2 per ton on all steel billets manufactured in Canada from Canadian pig-iron, and such other ingredients as are necessary and usual in the manufacture of steel billets. These bounties were applicable till 26th March, 1899, in the case of furnaces in operation on the 27th March, 1894, and in the case of furnaces commencing operations subsequently to that date, but before 27th March, 1899, for five years from the date of commencing.

The Legislature of Ontario passed an Act in the Session of 1894 appropriating the sum of $125,000 to be known as the Iron Mining Fund. Out of this fund the Treasurer is authorized to pay $1 per ton of pig-metal product of iron ores raised or mined and smelted in the Province of Ontario, the amount so paid not to exceed in any one year $25,000. None of the other Provinces have done anything for the encouragement of their iron industry. Under the operation of the bounty given by the Federal Parliament the production of pig-iron has increased from 29,593 tons in 1884 to 53,948 tons in 1896. The following table gives, 1st, the production in Canada of pig-iron; 2nd, the importation of pig-iron, iron kentledge and cast scrap-iron for home consumption—the two columns making up the total consumption; and 3rd, the percentage of home-manufactured pig to the total consumption:

Year ended 30th June.	Production.	Imports.	Total Consumption.	Per cent. of Home-produced to Total Consumed.
	Tons	Tons	Tons	
1884	29,593	52,184	81,777	36.2
1885	25,770	43,398	69,168	37.2
1886	26,180	45,648	71,828	36.4
1887	39,717	50,214	89,931	44.2
1888	22,209	48,973	71,182	31.2
1889	24,823	72,115	96,938	25.6
1890	25,697	87,613	113,310	22.7
1891	20,153	81,317	101,470	19.8
1892	30,294	68,918	99,212	30.5
1893	46,948	63,522	*110,470	42.5
1894	62,522	45,790	108,312	57.7
1895	31,692	35,060	66,752	47.5
1896	53,948	37,141	91,089	59.2

Mineral Exports of Canada. The value of the principal articles of mineral production exported by the Dominion of Canada in the six years, from 1891 to 1896, inclusive, was, according to the Trade and Navigation Returns, as follows:

Articles.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
Asbestos	$ 513 909	$ 514,412	$ 396,718	$ 339,756	$ 493,075	$ 482 679
Coal	2,916,465	3,195 467	3,114,558	3,321 565	3,578 195	3,249,069
Copper	505,196	216,603	395,819	88,352	222,657	194,771
Gold	554,126	316,177	247,868	318 258	612,729	1,099,053
Gypsum	184.977	194,304	178,979	160,082	155,897	205,611
Iron Ore	32,582	36,935	26,114	9,026	43,088	39,999
Iron and Steel	257,471	243,857	316,454	295,924	30-,711	506 946
Mica	22,312	68,466	95 900	26 553	47,469	55,627
Nickel	240,499	617,639	427 557	808,799	599,568	486 651
Phosphates	422,200	380,462	132,475	40 400	33,810	5,280
Silver	238,367	193,441	65,406	423,707	651,737	1,595,548
Stone & M'rble	68,308	60,209	49 308	46 883	60,405	49,669
Other Articles.	348,558	303 391	432,868	441,456	663,244	679,493
Total	6,304,970	6,341,363	5,881,024	6,320,761	7,471,585	8,670,396

The principal countries to which these products were shipped during the same period may be seen from the following official table:

Countries.	1891.	1892.	1893.	1894.	1895.	1896.
United States	$4,895,913	$5 045,694	$5,034,429	$5,261,568	$6,514,476	$7,671,574
Great Britain	959,199	806,055	367,141	356,008	506,300	371,806
British Possessions	246,218	319,593	312 515	393,132	284,736	287,786
Germany	23,516	30,320	39,156	29,307	58,752	171,730
Japan	4,964	4,596	12,564			11
St. Pierre	20,010	35,673	23,751	23,751	19,550	17,765
Mexico	18,818	3,175	1,115	11,485	11	6,023
Other countries.	135,332	96 257	90,353	245,510	87,760	123 741
Total	$6,304,970	$6,341 363	$5,881,024	$6,320,761	$7,471 585	$8,650,436

George Mercer Dawson, C.M.G., L.L.D., F.R.S., eldest son of Sir J. W. Dawson, was born in Pictou, N. S., August 1st, 1849. He received his early education at Montreal, where he was for some time a student in McGill University. At twenty years of age he went to London, England, and entered upon a three years' course in the Royal School of Mines, passing first in his class and taking scholarship, prize and medal. The first year after his return to Canada was spent in making mining surveys in Nova Scotia and in delivering lectures at Morrin College, Quebec.

In 1873 Her Majesty's North American Boundary Commission was engaged in deciding the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and Mr. Dawson was appointed to accompany it as botanist and geologist. He continued in this connection for two years, at the end of which time he prepared a most extensive and valuable report, accompanied with maps and plates, showing the resources and geology of the country in the neighbourhood of the 49th parallel. Concurrently with this work he prepared some highly interesting papers and reports on the "Lignite Tertiary Formation"; "The Superficial Deposits of the Great Interior Plains of America"; "The Locust Visitation"; "Fresh Water Sponges of Canada" and the "Fluctuations of the Great American Lakes." His labours on the boundary survey terminated in 1875, and in July of that year he was placed upon the staff of the Dominion Geological Survey. In 1883 he became Assistant Director, and on January 1st, 1895, Director and Deputy Head of the Department.

While studying in the School of Mines under Huxley, Etheridge and Ramsay, he gave special attention to Palæontology and Geology, and in the laboratories of Percy and Frankland became proficient in Metallurgy and Chemistry. During his geological survey in British Columbia and the North-West Territories one of his exploring journeys extended 1,300 miles by boat, from the basin of the Sinard River to that of the Yukon. He rendered one of his most important public services in connection with the Behring's Sea Arbitration, when in order that he might do full justice to the complexities of the question he spent a good part of 1892 in the region of Behring's Sea, acquainting himself thoroughly with the conditions of seal life. Upon the report prepared from the information thus obtained the Imperial Government rested its case (on this particular phase of the subject), and found the information of very great value. For this distinguished service Dr. Dawson received the thanks of the Governor-in-Council and was made a C.M.G. by Her Majesty. Outside of his Official Reports he has produced numerous papers on Geology, Geography, Ethnology, etc. Queen's University honoured him with the degree of LL.D. in 1890, and McGill University followed suit in 1891. In the latter year his services to the science of Geology were rewarded by the Bigsby Gold Medal from the London Geological Society, and he also became a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1893 Dr. Dawson was President of the Royal Society of Canada; in 1894 he was elected a corresponding member of the London Zoological Society; in 1895 a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; in 1896 he was appointed by the Council of the British Association President of the Geological Section for the Toronto Meeting of the Association; and in 1897 he received from the Royal Geographical Society its Gold Medal for the great importance of his work as a whole.

An English View of Canadian Minerals. It is a truism to say that Canada's progress in a material sense has always depended to an important degree upon British knowledge and interest in her resources. Hence the historical value of the following extract from the *London Mining Journal* of September 4th, 1897, as showing the manner in which her minerals had then begun to interest the British investor:

"Canada looms large in the mind of the mining and investing markets. While the main reason of the fresh attention which Canada is receiving is the valuable new deposits of the precious metals in British Columbia, there are ample reasons on other grounds for the kindly expectant eye which is being cast just now towards this one of the British dominions by those desirous of making money. No possession of Great Britain has made more rapid progress of late years in wealth, trade and general development than British North America. The population—though of course not large in any portion of the country—has increased very rapidly, at the present time standing at something over 5,000,000. The greatest strides during the past decade or so have been made at Winnipeg, where there is now a growing population of 30,000 or 40,000. The growth of the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, however, during the same period has been even more rapid, for ten years ago it hardly had an existence. The general rate of increase of population throughout the Dominion in the last decade was close upon twelve per cent. The gold-bearing region

of the country, which covers a total territory nearly as large as Europe, estimated to contain over 3,315,000 square miles, is found chiefly in the southern and western portions. And, besides gold, Canada is rich in other minerals—notably copper, lead, iron ore, tin and coal.

In Ontario and Quebec, the Provinces which do perhaps more than 80 per cent. of all the manufacturing of the Dominion, and which contain the chief manufacturing centres—including, of course, Montreal and Toronto—the mineral resources are scarcely yet developed, but important deposits are known to exist, such as iron, lead, zinc, copper and nickel. In one of the districts of Ontario nickel is found over an area of about 3,000 square miles, and there mining and smelting operations are actively carried on. In Nova Scotia the coal deposits have the reputation of being extensive and of good quality, and in 1885 the output reached nearly 2,100,000 tons. Iron ore is also plentiful, and up to a recent date the gold mines were estimated to have produced precious metal of the value of £2,282,509. The North-West Territories, which comprise nearly the whole of British North America from the boundary of the United States to the most northerly parts of the continent and over an area estimated at close upon 2,500,000 square miles, contain, it is quite safe to say, immense mineral resources, though their extent has not up to the present been by any means correctly ascertained. Iron, coal and gold have been found, and will doubtless by-and-by be developed on an enormous scale, when the returns from this vast portion of the Crown's dependencies will be certain to figure exceedingly large and add millions sterling to the wealth of the Empire annually.

Already, in the District of Alberta and some of the adjoining sections of the country, the coal mines are being worked, and are connected by branch lines with the Canadian Pacific Railway, a fairly good indication that further development will be rapidly pushed forward. As to British Columbia, which, at the moment, is attracting most attention, we do not desire to go into the details of the new gold fields which will be in everyone's knowledge. It may be well to point out that prior to the new finds the districts in which the search for the yellow metal was being prosecuted with most vigour were Trail, Slocan and Toad Mountain in Kootenay, Boundary in Yale, and Alberni on Vancouver Island. Some old placer diggings in Cariboo are being mined by improved hydraulic processes on an extensive scale. Coal is distributed over a wide area of British Columbia, the present supply averaging about 1,000,000 tons per annum—being obtained from Vancouver Island. The other principal deposits, so far as known, are in the Queen Charlotte group of islands on the north-west coast, and in the south-eastern parts of Kootenay district near the Crow's Nest Pass, through which a railway is projected to enter the mineral belt, now being vigourously exploited."

A practical side of the case thus presented is the question of how much English capital was really invested at this time in the new gold fields. The following table was compiled by the *Westminster Gazette* and copied in the *Canadian Gazette* (London) of September 16th, 1897. It refers to Klondike and British Columbia Companies floated in the Imperial metropolis and will give at least some indication of the amount invested at that time—a sum afterwards largely increased:

Company.	Nominal Capital.	Offered.
Yukon Goldfields	£100,000	£ 55,000
Klondike Mining, Trading and Transport	250 000	200,000
Exploiters and Investors' Trust	25,000	17,500
Klondike Yukon Exploration	25,000	18,000
Klondike Pioneer	25,000	11,000
Klondike and Columbian Goldfields	100,000	95,000
British Columbia and New Find	500,000	100,000
British Empire Finance	57,583	7,198
British Columbian Exploitation	200,000	200,000
New Golden Twins	90,000	59,993
British Dominion Exploration	250,000	100,000
Klondike Gold Reefs Exploration	100,000	55,000
C.E. Exploration Syndicate	100,000	100,000
Klondike, Yukon and Stewart Pioneers	206,000	101,000
New Klondike Goldfinders	18,000	18,000
	£2,046,583	£1,137,691

It may be added that according to the list of Gold Mining Companies given in the Canadian *Mining Annual* for 1897, they had then an authorized (not paid-up) capital of over $600,000,000.

Gold Production of three Provinces. The value of the gold production in the Provinces of Quebec, British Columbia and Nova Scotia since 1862

is shown in the following table compiled from various Geological Reports:

Calendar Year.	Quebec.	British Columbia.	Nova Scotia.	Total.
1862	.....	4,246,266	141,871	4,660,585
1863	.....	.....	272,448	.....
1864	.....	3,735,850	390,349	4,126,199
1865	.....	3,491,205	496,357	3,987,562
1866	.....	2,662,106	491,491	3,153,597
1867	.....	2,480,868	532,563	3,013,431
1868	.....	2,372,972	400,555	2,773,527
1869	.....	1,774,978	348,427	2,123,405
1870	.....	1,336,956	387,392	1,724,348
1871	.....	1,799,440	374,972	2,174,412
1872	.....	1,610,972	255,349	1,866,321
1873	.....	1,305,749	231,122	1,536,871
1874	.....	1,844,618	178,244	2,022,862
1875	.....	2,474,904	218,629	2,693,533
1876	.....	1,786,648	233,585	2,020,233
1877	12,057	1,608,182	329,205	1,949,444
1878	17,937	1,275,204	245,253	1,538,394
1879	23,972	1,290,058	268,328	1,582,358
1880	33,174	1,013,827	257,823	1,304,824
1881	56,661	1,046,737	209,755	1,913,153
1882	17,093	954,085	275,090	1,246,268
1883	17,787	794,252	301,207	1,113,246
1884	8,720	736,165	313,554	1,058,439
1885	2,120	713,738	432,971	1,148,829
1886	3,981	903,651	455,564	1,363,196
1887	1,604	904,559	413,631	1,109,794
1888	3,563	616,731	436,939	1,057,233
1889	1,207	588,923	510,022	1,100,152
1890	1,350	494,436	474,990	970,776
1891	1,800	429,811	451,511	883,122
1892	12,987	399,525	389,965	802,477
1893	15,606	379,535	367,556	762,787
1894	29,196	456,066	377,169	862,431
1895	1,281	1,290,531	406,770	1,698,582
1896	.....	1,788,206	499,122	2,287,328
Total	262,186	50,397,754	12,369,779	63,029,719

Mining in the Kootenay, B.C. In a Report addressed to the Minister of Mines of British Columbia, on August 8th, 1896, Mr. W. A. Carlyle, Provincial Mineralogist, gives an historical sketch of mining in the now famous Kootenay district, and from this the following facts are taken. It seems that early in the sixties the placer mines on Wild Horse, Findlay, and other Creeks in the East Kootenay were discovered, and resulted in a rush of miners and a sudden demand for supplies which could not be obtained except through the United States, with vexatious delays at the Customs. Mr. E. Dewdney, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, was therefore instructed by the Dominion Government to survey and construct a trail entirely within British territory, and through the southern part of the Province. In 1865, this trail, since known as the Dewdney Trail, was finished, and in its course it passed about one mile south of the present town of Rossland, on its way down Trail Creek to the Columbia Kiver. Hence a means of ingress was given to this region, and indications show that early prospectors were attracted to the iron-stained cappings that have now attained such importance and value, as a five-foot hole on the *Le Roi* and other openings testify. But the low grade surface rock discouraged them, while the means of getting such ore to smelting centres seemed quite out of reach.

However, in 1889, Joseph Bourjouis located the first claim, the *Lily May*, near the Dewdney Trail, which in 1890 was recorded by J. Bordau. In this year Bourjouis located the *Centre Star* and the *War Eagle*, while the *Virginia* and *Idaho* were staked by J. Morris, his partner. They also discovered the *Le Roi* but, being forbidden by law to take more than one claim on the same vein, this piece of ground became the property of Mr. E. S. Topping by his simply paying the expense of recording. In November, 1890, Mr. Topping met at Colville two Spokane (Washington, U.S.) attorneys, Mr. George Foster and Col. William Redpath, showed them samples of the *Le Roi* and offered one-half interest in the claim for $30,000. These gentlemen became interested in the property, went to Mr. Oliver Durant, a gentleman of long mining experience in the west, in whose judgment they had full confidence, and he, also impressed with the ore, finally secured a working bond of 16/30 of the property for six months, with the proviso that during that time he should spend $3,000 on the claim. Although he knew good mining men had condemned the ore deposits of this region as of altogether too

low a grade, Mr. Durant came up at once, examined the claim, taking from a shallow cut sixteen feet long across solid sulphides, careful samples that had returned as high as $60 in gold—at the same time visiting the *Enterprise*, *Centre Star*, *Idaho*, *Virginia*, *War Eagle* and *Josie*.

Satisfied with the showings, E. J. Kelly was left in charge of the sinking of a shaft, from which, during the winter, weekly samples were forwarded with great difficulty to Marcus, Washington, by trail down Trail Creek and the Columbia, and were found to contain traces of gold up to $472. In the spring of 1891, after many vicissitudes, 10 tons of picked, pure sulphide ore from the bottom of the 35-foot shaft, where the vein was fully 9 feet wide, were packed out to the Columbia and shipped to the Colorado smelting works at Butte (Montana, U.S.), when the excellent return of $84.40 per ton was given as the value of the ore, or 3 ounces of silver per ton, 5.21 per cent. copper, and about 4 ounces of gold. The bond was then taken up, and in the course of time the remaining 14/30 were sold by Mr. Topping to some of the present owners. The Le Roi Gold Mining Company was then formed, and about 70,000 shares of the treasury stock sold at a small figure. For over a year Mr. Durant had charge of the work, contending with many obstacles, insisting on the continuance of development, as he pertinaciously believed in the ultimate conversion of this prospect into a valuable mine. But finally he decided to sell out his interest to the others, and with Mr. A. Tarbet bought the *Centre Star* and *Idaho*, upon which 900 feet of work had been done at a cost of $25,000—work that was the main support of this little camp. But the need of roads was pressing, no advance could opportunely be made, and again, through the efforts of Mr. Durant, a trail and then a road was built up the east fork of Sheep Creek from Northport by the business people of that place. Captain Fitzstubbs, Gold Commissioner for West Kootenay, also ordered the construction of a road up Trail Creek from the Columbia and the conditions of the camp at once became more favourable. With the coming of the United States financial crisis in 1893, Mr. Durant, whose unceasing and determined efforts had overcome many difficulties and disappointments, and demonstrated that the properties he had so faithfully worked at were good, was forced to suspend operations until 1895, when he resumed work on the *Centre Star* now organized into a stock company. In the winter of 1893-94 the *Le Roi* was able to ship by sleighs over the Trail Creek road the ore which had accumulated upon tbe dump, and, this netting a good profit, active mining operations were begun, and the fast increasing ore shipments soon brought handsome returns to those who had so pluckily stuck to this claim. In the meanwhile Mr. J. A. Finch and Mr. P. Clark had been attracted to the camp. Mr. Finch got a bond on the *War Eagle*, which he relinquished after spending several thousands of dollars prospecting, and Mr. Clark, who had meantime thrown up his bond on the *Josie*, obtained one on the *War Eagle*. In the work hitherto done on this latter property Mr. Carlyle states that "a large shute of low grade pyrrhotite, averaging $14 to $16 in gold to the ton, had been more or less explored, but on going further west a few hundred feet, by trenching, the top of a splendid body of good ore, averaging 2¼ ounces in gold, nearly 100 feet long and 8 to 12 feet wide, was uncovered, and this mine took its place among the best in the camp, paying shortly afterwards its first dividend, (February 1st, 1892) of $32,500."

Another strong factor in the rapid progress of the camp at this period was the connection with it of Mr. Heinze and of Mr. D. C. Corbin, President of the Spokane Falls and Northern Railroad. Mr. Heinze, the head of some smelting works in Butte, Montana, sent in two men to go over the ground with the result, after much negotiating, that he made a contract with the management of the *Le Roi* that they should supply him with 37,500 tons of ore on the dump, which he would pay for after the shipment and sampling of each lot, deducting $11 per ton for freight and treatment charges; and also 37,500 tons on which the charges should be at the lowest rates obtainable in the open market. With this amount of ore contracted for, a land grant from the Provincial Government and a bonus of $1 per ton smelted, from the Dominion Government, Mr. Heinze erected the Trail Smelter and built a tramway from the smelter to the mine. Mr. Corbin extended his road

from Northport in Washington to Nelson, B.C., and was supplied also with a Provincial charter and land grant. He has since pushed the railway up Sheep Creek from the south to Rossland. It may be added that since these facts were collected by Mr. Carlyle the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has started building the Crow's Nest Pass Railway, which will ultimately give transportation right through to the Okanagan district, and has acquired possession of Mr. Corbin's Line and Mr. Heinze's Smelter. The *Le Roi* in 1898 was still controlled by an American Company with an authorized capital of $2,500,000, and the *War Eagle* is practically in the hands of Mr. George Gooderham, of Toronto, who is stated to control about two-thirds of its shares. The Directors of this latter Company in 1897 were Mr. George Gooderham, Mr. T. G. Blackstock, and the Hon. George A. Cox—all of Toronto.

Canada and the Yukon Mining Trade. The following official letter, signed by Mr. F. Elworthy, Secretary of the British Columbia Board of Trade, and dated September 11th, 1897, was issued to the various Boards of Trade in the Dominion, and illustrates the difficulties which international competition for the Yukon mining trade early brought the people of that Province:

"The British Columbia Board of Trade is of opinion that the Boards of Trade throughout the Dominion should take immediate steps for securing to Canada the immense trade which has resulted from the rush to the Klondike gold fields. This trade is at present almost entirely in the hands of United States merchants on the Pacific coast, and is estimated by the press to have amounted to at least three million dollars during the past few months. The merchants of British Columbia have made strenuous efforts to divert it into Canadian channels. Direct lines of steamships have been established between the coast cities and the Lynn Canal and Stikine River, and large sums of money have been expended in advertising that the Klondike gold fields are in Canada, and that goods therefor if purchased in the United States are dutiable.

In the meantime some of the United States newspapers have, and are still, grossly misrepresenting facts, and have succeeded in almost nullifying these efforts of British Columbia merchants. Much disappointment is felt here that so many of the eastern Canadian newspapers continue to refer to Klondike as being in Alaska, and also frequently mention Seattle or San Francisco as the outfitting and starting point. As mineral supplies are manufactured in Canada, it is obviously to the advantage of the whole Dominion that the outfitting should be done in British Columbia. Eastern manufacturers, transportation companies, and western retailers would all benefit by the diversion of the Klondike outfitting trade from its present channels. I am, therefore, instructed to ask your Board to unite with this Board, and the other Boards of Trade throughout Canada, in capturing it before the spring rush commences. To this end will you kindly make as widely known as possible:

1st. That the Klondike gold fields are in Canada.

2nd. That steamers leave the principal cities of British Columbia for Lynn Canal and the Stikine River every few days.

3rd. That outfits of every description, put up by merchants experienced in the outfitting trade—from knowledge acquired in Cariboo in early days, in many cases—can be purchased in British Columbia on the shortest notice and at lower prices than on the United States side of the line.

4th. That such goods can be used in the Klondike gold fields free of duty; and that all goods from the United States and other foreign countries are dutiable."

The response to this appeal was in most cases very cordial, and in the succeeding six months under improved Dominion regulations and greater popular knowledge a fair, though not full, share of this trade was captured by the Canadian cities on the Pacific Coast.

Gold Mining in the Canadian Yukon. Some of the earliest efforts at mining in the British Yukon were made by British Columbia miners who endeavoured to reach the southern part of the Yukon watershed from the Cassiar district of the Pacific Province. These efforts were, however, not very successful from a miner's point of view, according

to Mr. William Ogilvie, in his "Klondike Official Guide." It appears from this well-known work (1898) that Arthur Harper, Frederick Hart, Samuel Wilkinson, George W. Finch and Andrew Kanseller left British Columbia in 1873 to prospect the Liard, Mackenzie, Porcupine and Yukon Rivers. They made their way from Peace River, in the vicinity of Fort St. John, to the head waters of a stream known as the Nelson, and to a point where they considered it suitable for canoe navigation. As soon as the river opened they started in their dug-out canoes, prospecting as they went, the result of Harper's work being, as he summed it up afterwards to Mr. Ogilvie, "nothing on the Nelson, prospects on the Liard, nothing on the Mackenzie, good prospects on the Peel, some on the Porcupine, and prospects everywhere on the Yukon." In the autumn these men made their way from Fort Yukon, at the mouth of the Porcupine, up to White River (about 400 miles). At this latter point they remained during the winter prospecting, but finding nothing sufficient to pay them for their trouble, and the provisions being very scarce, they in the spring returned down the river, making their way to St. Michael's, where some of them entered the service of the Alaska Commercial Company, then trading in the Yukon Valley.

In the autumn of 1874 Fort Reliance was erected by LeRoy Napoleon McQuesten, and, during the summer of 1875, Harper joined him in partnership and they continued to trade together until 1889. Through Harper's correspondence some British Columbia miners came into the country prospecting. In the early eighties the work began in earnest and in the last half of that decade a fair amount of success was achieved, especially on the Stewart River. The gold found upon these rivers is fine gold and requires the use of mercury for its separation from the sand, and although it was found in paying quantities—as high as $100 per day being made in some instances—fine gold never satisfied the old miners and prospectors. This caused a continuous search for coarse gold, and it was found in 1886 on the Forty-Mile River about twenty-three and a-half miles above the mouth, or a few hundred yards above the International boundary line. This directed the attention of the miners in the district to Forty-Mile, and it continued to be the field of prospecting and exploration until 1891, when coarse gold was found at the head of Birch Creek, below the International boundary line.

These points divided between them the attention of all the miners in the country until 1896, when the discovery of Bonanza and Eldorado Creeks was made by George W. Carmack through the advice of Robert Henderson, an old miner who had been prospecting on the Indian River and Gold Bottom Creek Valleys, and finding Carmack fishing at the mouth of the Klondike described to him the riches of Gold Bottom and advised him to try it. Carmack did so but was not satisfied, and on his return trip tried the creek since known to fame as the "Bonanza Creek." On this he found good prospects, and staked claims for himself and his Indian associates which led to the speedy staking of the whole creek and its branches and gulches. As soon as the season permitted these two creeks were thoroughly prospected and developed, and found to be so rich that the term applied to that district, "Klondike," became known over the whole world. After referring briefly to Indian Creek, Stewart Creek, Miller Creek, Teslin Creek and other rivers in which gold had been discovered or where its existence was probable, Mr. Ogilvie continues:

"Thus we may conclude, with reason, that all that portion of the North-West Territory westward, from the easterly limit of the Yukon water system to the 141st meridian, will prove more or less gold-bearing . . . . an area of about 125,000 square miles, over which gold is scattered more or less profusely. At many of the points mentioned it will pay well for working even under present conditions, and at many others it will pay well when we have such facilities as we expect to have during the next year for entering and developing that region. Attention may be directed to the fact that the whole of that vast district owes its now world-wide reputation to the richness of 140 claims in the Klondike division. One hundred of these are on Bonanza Creek, and about forty on Eldorado. To use a mining term, many of those claims are 'world beaters,' and if the indications now known are worth anything at all they are worth from sixty to seventy millions of dollars in those two creeks. Taking this division as a whole, including the three creeks affluent to Indian Creek, a district some thirty-five miles in length and twenty-five or more miles in width (if the indica-

tions can be relied on), there are one hundred million dollars in sight in that area. No one can guarantee this amount, but the prospects so far developed point to that sum pretty conclusively. This district is exceptionally rich. Nothing has ever been found like it heretofore in that country, in fact, in very few countries has anything been found like it, and, while we cannot confidently assert that other finds as valuable as it will be made, it is altogether improbable that gold is scattered over such a vast extent, and only rich at a point which is less than the 140th part of the total area. If we add to this part of the northern area of British Columbia we increase it nearly two-fold, and the comparative area of the Klondike district is much lessened."

Miscellaneous Minerals in the Yukon. According to Mr. Ogilvie pieces of native copper have from time to time been brought in from the White River region by Indians. It was asserted by them that they found the copper on the stream. He adds, however, that copper is being found at the head of Copper River in that vicinity, and as these two streams commence in the same area it is probable that the Indians are correct. Mineral-bearing lodes found in the vicinity of the mouth of the Klondike also show traces of copper. On the Forty-Mile River, a few miles above the mouth, there are some seams of lead ore or galena containing silver; and as high as 36½ ounces to the ton of 2,000 pounds has been assayed from it. Low-grade specimens of asbestos have been found in the vicinity of Cudahy in an exposure of serpentine rock there. Commercially it is worth nothing, but shows that the mineral exists in the country and may yet be found of commercial value. "Coal abounds in the country. A short distance above the Five Finger Rapids several small coal seams crop out. They are close together, and, although the seams are thin individually, collectively they may yet be worked with profit." Specimens of this coal were assayed in Ottawa by the Chemist of the Geological Survey Branch of the Department, with the following results:

Hygroscopic water	6.03
Volatile combustible matter	36.92
Fixed Carbon	49.03
Ash	8.02

On Coal Creek which joins the Yukon about four miles below Cudahy, extensive coal seams have been found and located. On a small stream named Cliff Creek, which joins some five or six miles below this, another extensive seam has been found and located. Coal is found in the drift in the streams between these and another creek known as Flat Creek, below Cliff Creek. On Twelve Mile and Fifteen Mile Creeks—so named because they were supposed to be that distance below Fort Reliance—coal is also found, some six or eight miles from the Yukon River. Coal was reported at the head of the Klondike, and the report was accompanied by specimens of the mineral. "I have heard it stated" says Mr. Ogilvie, "that coal is also seen in the drift of some of the upper streams of the Stewart River, the inference being that there is a continuous coal-bearing strata running from the Yukon River in the vicinity of the Boundary Line south-eastwards through British Columbia, and possiby through that Province into the North West Territories." Specimens of the coal from Coal Creek and Cliff Creek were sent out for assay, and the Geological Survey Chemist reported that "The material at the time of its receipt was found to be completely disintegrated. It had evidently lost a certain proportion of the hygroscopic water originally contained in it; hence the following analysis must be considered as more nearly representing the composition of the fuel in the air-dried condition than as it occurs in its native state:

Hygroscopic water	7.24
Volatile combustible matter	41.75
Fixed carbon	48.91
Ash (brownish yellow)	2.40

It yielded by slow coking a non-coherent coke, by fast coking, a slightly fritted coke. The results of the examination of the fuel led to the inference that the materials of the seam in question represented a lignite of superior quality." These coals are all of the same quality, and approximate tests made with some of the surface coal from Coal Creek determined a ton of it (2,000 pounds) to be equal to about 2½ cords of the spruce wood generally used as fuel in that region. According to the explorer a good sample of this coal would probably be equal to 3 cords, while for steamboat use it possessed a tremendous advantage both in space and weight over the available wood. Silver is

said to exist on the upper stretches of the Lewis and its affluents, while, if lime should be required in the reduction of ores or for building purposes, it can be obtained in abundance on Coal Creek, quite convenient to the Yukon River.

British Columbia Mineral Production. The following tables of production in British Columbia are taken from the Report of the Provincial Minister of Mines for 1896:

Total Production for all Years.

Gold, placer	$57,704,855
Gold, lode	2,177,869
Silver	4,028,224
Lead	1,606,427
Copper	254,802
Coal and Coke	33,934,427
Building stone, bricks, etc	1,200,000
Other metals	25,000
	$100,931,604

Production for Each Year from 1890 to 1896:

Year.	Amount.
1890	$2,608,608
1891	3,546,702
1892	3,017,971
1893	3,588,413
1894	4,225,717
1895	5,655,302
1896	7,146,425

With 1890 practically begins the new era of mining in the Province, and future comparisons will naturally be based on the output of that year. The Report adds: "The increase for 1891 over 1890 was due to the larger export of coal, the output of which for that year, of 1,000,000 tons, was the largest ever reached by our colleries. In the year 1892 the influence of the production of the lode mines began to be felt, and since then the very marked increase in production has been carried on by the quickly growing value of the gold, silver, lead and copper produced."

William Ogilvie, the celebrated explorer and mineral expert, was born at Ottawa, Ontario, April 7th, 1844. After leaving the schools of his native city he began to study land surveying, and when twenty-five years of age, in 1869, was admitted to practise that profession. In a few years his ability and industry became so well known that in 1875 he received an appointment to do important work for the Government such as helping to define the boundary between Canada and Alaska, between Ontario and Quebec, and between the North-West Territories and British Columbia. In 1887 he was commissioned to determine the 141st meridian line which according to Treaty was the boundary between British territory and Alaska. This he undertook and in that year went into the Yukon over the Chilkoot Pass, and defined the position of the meridian line. In June, 1895, he again left home for the Canadian Yukon and did not return until December, 1897. During his stay in what is now called the Klondike he surveyed the site of Dawson City, and did much good service in the way of settling mining disputes which were referred to him for adjustment. He also surveyed mining claims which had been taken up in the Klondike country, and became known as a sort of honourary referee whose decisions settled many controversies which would have otherwise caused trouble.

During this period of exploration and work Mr. Ogilvie covered at least 2,700 miles and acquired a vast amount of knowledge regarding the products and physical features of the country. While on this tour, he and his party traversed ground upon which no white man had ever trod, and for fifteen months were beyond the reach of civilization and the general necessaries of human existence, and without the slightest news from home. In recognition of the great services rendered by this remarkable two years' exploring trip Mr. Ogilvie was awarded the Murchison Medal by the Royal Geographical Society of which he had been elected a Fellow in 1891. To get even a reasonably clear idea of his explorations it is necessary to read his official reports and his valuable contributions to the *Canadian Magazine*, or to have heard or read his public lectures. Among the striking peculiarities of Mr. Ogilvie's nature, his reticence and strong sense of personal honour are prominent. The fact that he should have been so long in the golden Yukon without having staked out a single claim or made a dollar for himself has been a matter of much

popular comment. As a matter of fact Mr. Ogilvie came out of the country as poor as when he went into it. The only gold he had to show was in the shape of a few nuggets which were given him as souvenirs by men whom he had aided in locating rich deposits. He took the view that he was not in the Klondike to enrich himself, but, as a servant of the Government to make surveys, obtain information and assist prospectors as far as his mission permitted. This course he religiously followed, and obstinately refused to accept an interest in any claim, no matter how productive, which he had pointed out to others. Shortly after his return in 1897 he began to write "The Klondike Official Guide," which has been since published by the authority of the Minister of the Interior, and has had an immense circulation. At this date (July, 1898) he has just been appointed Commissioner of the Yukon by the Dominion Government, with very full powers of administration over that vast and important territory.

The Asbestos Industry in Canada. None of the smaller mining interests of Canada showed more marked progress up to 1891 than that of asbestos. In the *Mining Iron and Steel Manual* for 1895, edited by Mr. B. T. A. Bell, there is an interesting sketch of this industry. Although of comparatively recent date, the many uses to which the manufacture of asbestos has been applied is stated to have increased so rapidly that it was with difficulty the production could keep pace with the demand, although the output from the Canadian mines increased one hundred fold in the decade between 1880 and 1890. "The word is derived from the Greek, and signifies inconsumable or unquenchable, and this property was known to the ancients many hundred years ago. The term asbestos is at the present day applied to minerals which differ very considerably in their mode of occurrence and composition. That which was first known as the asbestos of the ancients is a variety of the hornblende family, and allied to tremolite, actinolite, etc. It consists of fine, somewhat elastic fibres, varying in colour from almost pure white to greyish and greenish tints, and in length at times nearly or quite two feet, with a soft silky aspect, looking very much, in fine specimens, like floss silk itself. In the flame of the blow-pipe, the mineral is but little acted upon, although after being exposed for some time to long continued heat the fibre loses tenacity, and becomes brittle or even sandy to the touch.

It can be spun like cotton and woven into cloth, and can be manufactured into a great variety of substances, such as fire-proof curtains, wall paper, suits of clothing, mill-board, rope and steam packing of various kinds. It is of special value for the last purpose, owing to its entire non-conductivity of heat and indestructibility, when in the case of the severe work it has to stand in connection with marine and other engines it is exposed to long and constant wear —in this respect far exceeding any material heretofore employed for this purpose. It has, however, been found of almost too slight consistency to possess great value for textile purposes by itself, but this has been overcome by combining the spun fibres of the mineral with threads of cotton and flax, and, in the museum of the School of Mining at Kingston, can now be seen a complete suit of clothing, from helmet to shoes, such as is supplied to the firemen of Paris and other cities on the continent, dressed with which a man can walk with almost absolute impunity into the hottest flames. The face in this case is protected by a very fine wire gauze which enables the wearer to see dimly, and to respire as well as the dense atmosphere which he has to penetrate will permit. Besides the true asbestos of commerce, other varieties—known as mountain cork, mountain leather and mountain wood—are met with, but these have not yet been found adapted for use in the arts or manufactures, or at least not to any very great extent.

The mineral which is produced in Canada at the present day under the head of asbestos, is in reality not asbestos proper, but a form of serpentine called chrysolite. This occurs in veins in certain portions of the great belt of serpentine rocks of the Eastern Townships of Quebec, though in the serpentines of the Laurentian also this mineral is found in small veins, but not as yet in a quantity to be economically available,

though subsequent exploration in this direction may disclose workable deposits there as well. In the Laurentian rocks of certain areas, however, the variety, actinolite, sometimes forms hilly masses of considerable size which have been mined for several years, and, while not as yet found to be suited for the manufacture of mill-board and the finer qualities of steam packing, answers admirably for cements, paints, etc., in the same way as the tremolite of the State of New York. These deposits of actinolite are therefore highly important and will without doubt increase rapidly in value.

Although of such recent date, the Eastern Townships' asbestos, for the name may as well be retained, has now a world-wide reputation and is shipped in large quantities to the various countries in Europe, England, Italy, Germany and Belgium, and to the United States also, and, of the many firms now engaged in its manufacture, the greater portion draw the bulk of their raw material from a small area in Eastern Quebec—the Italian mines from which the asbestos was formerly obtained being worked with far greater difficulty than those in Canada, while the supply of the mineral is much more uncertain, and, although for certain special lines the Italian may be more valuable than the Canadian, the latter has been found of sufficient value for most purposes, so as to almost entirely supplant the former, even with those firms who control the output of the Italian mineral—a fact evidenced by the purchase of a Canadian property by the United Asbestos Co. of London, England. Although asbestos was known at many points in Eastern Quebec more than thirty years ago and was exhibited at the International Exhibition in London, in 1862, no attempt was made to work the mineral for some years. The credit of the discovery of the Thetfort area is probably due to a French-Canadian named Fecteau, and following up his discovery certain areas were secured from the Government by private parties. The true value of the mineral was not at first recognized, and in the first year of mining operations (1878) only fifty tons were taken out, for which a ready sale was not at first obtained. The importance of the discovery was, however, speedily ascertained, and new companies obtained tracts of rocky land in the townships of Thetford and Coleraine, and began the work of exploration and mining.

Had the Government of Quebec at that day been in possession of the requisite information regarding its mineral lands, it is very probable that the thousands of acres which rapidly changed hands in that section of the Province would have brought in much greater returns than the usual Government rate. Curiously enough, however, though the areas of the serpentine in the townships of Thetford, Coleraine, Ireland and Wolfestown are very extensive, the portions in which the mineral asbestos is found are comparatively rare and the mining, though now prosecuted for nearly a dozen years, is practically confined to two small sections about four miles apart. The first, and as yet the most important of these, is a small mound near the Thetford Station on the Quebec Central Railway, which rises about 80 or 90 feet above the track; the other, the bold ridge of brownish-looking rock to the south-east of Black Lake Station, which assumes much greater prominence and probably has an elevation of 650 to 700 feet above the railway at this point. It must, however, be said in regard to some of the areas of serpentine that lack of sufficient exposures, owing to soil and forest growth, prevents in many cases a careful search, but in other portions where the bare rock is well exposed, as on the great ridge of Ireland and Wolfestown, as well as much of that towards Lakes Caribou and Little St. Francis, much of the rock has a hard reddish-brown weathered surface which does not promise favourable results to the prospector, who from a comparatively brief experience can very generally decide, with a fair amount of assurance, whether certain areas are likely to prove of value or not as a source of supply for asbestos."

Since 1890 the production has gone down from $1,260,000 in that year to $429,000 in 1896, but there were still sixteen companies at work in the Eastern Townships and Ottawa County.

Canadian Coal Resources and Production. The coal areas of Canada are estimated at 97,200 square miles, not including areas known but as yet undeveloped in the far north. These include, first, the coal-fields of Nova Scotia and

New Brunswick; second, those of the North-West Territories; third, those of the Rocky Mountains; and fourth, those of British Columbia. The coal areas of Nova Scotia cover about 635 square miles. They are divided into Cape Breton and the Pictou and Cumberland Basins, all in Nova Scotia. New Brunswick contains, so far as known, no resources of sufficient magnitude to be worked successfully in competition with the mines of the sister Province. According to the Government Year Book of 1896 the workable thickness of this coal is very great—having in Cape Breton a total of twenty-five to sixty feet, in Pictou at least seventy feet, and in Cumberland at least thirty feet. "If the workable area is reduced one quarter, say from 406,400 acres to 300,000 acres, and the average thickness of the workable area put at twenty-five feet, on the basis of 1,000 tons of coal an acre for every foot of coal, the amount of coal in the measures of Nova Scotia is 7,000,000,000 tons." The following average analysis, from a paper on Canadian coals by Mr. H. A. Budden, of Montreal, read at the Montreal meeting of the British Association in 1884, will give a fair idea of the coals from the three districts:

	Cape Br't'n.	Pictou.	Cumberl'd
Moisture	0.75	1.19	1.46
Volatile combustible	37.26	29.10	33.69
Fixed Carbon	58.74	60.63	59.35
Ash	3.25	9.34	5.50

There are no coal measures, so far as is known, from New Brunswick westward until the Province of Manitoba is reached. The coal areas of Manitoba are roughly estimated at 15,000 square miles. They yield lignites only, often of a very good quality. Analyses are stated to give the following result:

Water	15.40
Volatile combustion	37.97
Fixed Carbon	41.21
Ash	5.36

Analyses of the coal found in the area (50,000 square miles) extending along the base of the Rocky Mountains, from the International boundary to the vicinity of the Peace River—a distance of 500 miles—give the following result:

	Belly River.	Bow River.	Peace River.
Water	6.52	12.37	2.10
Volatile combustible	31.03	32.33	21.54
Fixed Carbon	56.54	46.39	71.63
Ash	5.91	8.91	4.73

The third coal area is that in the Rocky Mountains. Though small, as measured by miles, it contains much coal of the best kind, and several seams of anthracite of excellent quality have been found. The fourth area is that of the Pacific coast. Dr. George M. Dawson has given the following estimates of its extent:

Location.	Square Miles.
Nanaimo coal basin, approximately correct	200
Comox coal basin, rough approximation	700
Queen Charlotte Island, very rough approximation	800
Tertiary lignite-bearing rocks in different parts of British Columbia south of the 54th parallel of la itude, very rough approximation	12,000

The character of this coal is evidenced by the following analysis:

	Slow Coking.	Fast Coking
Water	1.47	1.47
Volatile combustible	28.19	32.69
Fixed Carbon	64.05	59.55
Ash	6.29	6.29

Anthracite in three feet and six-feet seams, comparing favourably with that from Pennsylvania, has been found in Queen Charlotte Island. Of this all-important Canadian product Dr. George R. Parkin, C.M.G., wrote as follows in 1895, in his volume entitled "The Great Dominion":

"These supplies are, of course, as useful for inland traffic as for ocean service. Nova Scotian coal finds its way in large quantities several hundred miles westward from the Atlantic coast, and supplies the Provinces of New Brunswick and Quebec with the greater part of what they consume. During the summer it has a water route up the St. Lawrence, and it is also carried by the Intercolonial Railway at exceptionally low rates, in accordance with the Government policy of giving all possible encouragement to interprovincial trade. The consumption of Nova Scotian coal in Quebec, which in 1877 amounted to 95,000 tons, had risen in 1891 to 775,000 tons. The whole of the Dominion Government railways, of which 1,397 miles are in operation, are worked with Nova Scotian coal. Most of the other railways of the lower provinces, including the Atlantic connection of the Canadian Pacific, as far west as Montreal, draw their supplies from the same source. New Brunswick also has bituminous coal, but the only seam yet discovered of sufficient

thickness to work is one at Grand Lake, which gives a supply for local consumption, but does not add greatly to the product of the country. An attempt is now being made to enlarge the output, and to use the coal for smelting purposes. In Albert County a large quantity of a peculiar and exceedingly valuable coal, known to science as albertite, has been mined in past years. The known deposits have been worked out with great profit to their owners, but there are many indications that other mines remain to be discovered. Cannel coal of great richness is also found in abundance in this county, and awaits development.

When we cross the continent to the Pacific coast we find, in connection with the coal of British Columbia, a group of facts scarcely less striking than those to which reference has already been made. Along the whole Pacific coast of South America no coal is found suitable for steaming purposes. There is none along the coast of North America until we come to Puget Sound. At different points on the Sound mines are being worked on American territory, but the coal is all of a distinctly inferior quality. It is only when we cross the boundary line into Canadian territory that in Vancouver Island, the site of Britain's only naval station on the western coast of America, we meet with large deposits of good steaming coal. The superiority of this coal is proved beyond question by the published tables of the War Department of the United States, in which are given the comparative values for steam-raising purposes of the various fuels found on the Pacific coast. In this statement—certainly not a partial one—the Nanaimo coal is rated far above any found in Washington, Oregon, or California. The annual output of the mines at Nanaimo and Wellington has now risen beyond a million tons. At Nanaimo the principal mine is directly upon the shore, and the galleries are being run out far under the arm of the sea which divides Vancouver Island from the mainland, so that here, as at Cape Breton, ships of heavy tonnage take in coal while moored immediately over the place from which it is obtained. In either case the facility for easy and rapid coaling could not well be excelled.

The Vancouver mines furnish the Canadian Pacific Company with fuel for their fast steamship service to China and Japan and for their railway service to the summit of the Rockies. Without these mines the Transcontinental Railway and its ocean connections—in other words, the new postal, commercial, and military route to the East—would scarcely be an accomplished fact. In the West, then, as well as the East, on the Pacific as on the Atlantic, Canada's coal measures are so placed as to give the greatest possible advantage for external and internal communication; for the prosecution of commerce in times of peace and for its defence in time of war. And surely vast coal measures lying behind defended or defensible ports must be of more permanent worth than mere coaling stations which have to draw all their supplies across wide seas!

An important coal area has lately been opened up in the Rocky Mountain district. A few miles from Banff, and scarcely a hundred yards from the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, a mine of anthracite coal is being worked. Many outcrops of the same deposit are found northward and southward along the line of the Rockies in British Columbia. It represents, I believe, the only true anthracite coal which has yet been found, or, at any rate, worked, in America westward of Pennsylvania. It contains a larger amount of fixed carbon than the Pennsylvanian coal, burns rather more rapidly, and gives out a greater heat. On account of the peculiar excellence of the coal the development of this mine has been watched with much interest. The chief difficulty has arisen from the lack of a sufficient market within a reasonable distance. The coal is used exclusively by the Canadian Pacific Railway in heating its cars as far eastward as Lake Superior. For domestic purposes it is sold as far eastward as Winnipeg, taking the place of Pennsylvania coal brought up the Lakes, and westward as far as Vancouver. It would be much more extensively used but for the fact that stoves and furnaces generally throughout the country are adapted to the use of soft bituminous coal, and the class of people willing to change their appliances and pay a higher price for a superior coal is limited. There has hitherto been little sale for the refuse coal or slack, which, in the neighbourhood of large manufacturing centres in England or Pennsylvania, adds so much to the profits of the mine-owner. Use is now being found for it in

working electrical machinery, and this field is enlarging in the West.

In a country mainly treeless, and with a cold winter season, the existence of coal decides the question of settlement, or at least of dense settlement. This consideration for some time seemed to hold the destiny of the Canadian North-West in the balance. Along the river beds and in the rougher undulating country there was wood sufficient for the purposes of the early settlers, but it was evident that any increase of population on the plains would soon exhaust these limited supplies. In many districts it has already done so. Coal, therefore, has always been essential to the permanent success of the North-West. Fortunately, vast beds have been discovered, equal apparently to any necessities of future population. It is of varying quality. The Galt mines at Lethbridge are the most important of those yet opened. The product is a good bituminous coal, excellent for railway use, and giving the farmer a not too expensive fuel.

The seam now being worked is between 5 feet and 6 feet thick, and is only 30 feet or 40 feet beneath the surface of the prairie. The coal bed has already been traced to the west and northwest for many miles, and the Company knows that it has a practically unlimited supply to draw upon. The present output of 800 or 900 tons a day could therefore be readily increased to meet any demand. In spite of the duty of 75 cents per ton, a considerable quantity of this coal was sent across the American border, as none equally good is easily obtainable from American sources. Should the duty be removed, the Lethbridge coal would find a large American market in the mining country to the south, while supplying all the needs of the surrounding prairie regions. The Lethbridge coal is used all along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway as far as Winnipeg, and even beyond to Port Arthur, where it begins to meet the competition of Pennsylvania coal brought up the lakes.

Shipping Coal at Cape Breton, N.S.

Eastward from Lethbridge, and reaching along the American boundary to the borders of Manitoba, are coal measures which have been estimated by Dr. Dawson to cover 15,000 square miles. The coal hitherto obtained is not of the best quality, and many of the seams consist mainly of lignite. They lie quite near the surface and are easily worked. In special localities the quality

may improve. I visited the newly-opened mines at Estevan, about 325 miles from Winnipeg. The early product of the mines was not very satisfactory, as the coal, which looked well when it came out of the mine, crumbled after exposure to the air. Deeper mining is expected to produce better results. At the worst, however, Southern Manitoba and Assinboia are assured of an abundance of cheap fuel which will meet the necessities of the farming population. Outcrops are met with in many places, and as railways are pushed forward new mines will be opened.

When we go northward to the Saskatchewan a striking illustration of the abundance of coal in this district is furnished by the thick seams which are visible all along the banks of that river in the vicinity of Edmonton. A serviceable domestic coal is delivered in Edmonton and at most points in the country round for about 10s. per ton. A combine of the mines about the time I was there to raise the price to 13s. or 14s. per ton was met by a threat on the part of the consumers to mine their own coal, as numbers of the farmers could easily do on their own land. At this town, which seems from the distance of England to be on the very frontiers of civilization, it was interesting to observe that not only the streets, but the shops and private houses, were brilliantly illuminated by the electric light cheaply obtained by the use of coal which can be mined almost at the door of the engine-room. The coal-beds of the Saskatchewan extend far down that river, and will in due time be reached by the railway, which is already extended to Prince Albert. We may, therefore, say that the whole great central prairie region of Northwestern Canada is encompassed by accessible deposits of fairly good coal. Still further northwards they have been explored far into the valley of the Peace River, where they await and make possible the advance of settlement. It seems scarcely necessary to draw the conclusions suggested by this statement of Canada's supplies of coal, and especially of those on the eastern and western coasts, directly connected with the maritime position of the Empire.

When we estimate the commercial stake which British people have upon the North Atlantic and upon the Pacific, and when we consider that the power of the strongest ship of war to defend commerce is strictly limited by its coal endurance, it would seem probable that the Dominion may yet come to be regarded as almost the keystone of the (British) nation's naval position."

The production of coal in Canada by Provinces has in recent years been (tons of 2,000 lbs.) as follows:

Provinces	1892	1894	1896
Nova Scotia.....	2,175,913	2,464,262	2,503,728
British Columbia	925,495	1,134,507	1,002,268
Manitoba and N.W. Territories	191,139	268,000	237,238
Total	3,292,547	3,666,769	3,743,234

Mineral Waters in Canada. Large quantities of domestic and natural mineral waters have been annually aerated, bottled and put upon the market in Canada under the various names of *St. Leon, Eüdo, Obico, Havelock, Spa, Caledonia,* and others too numerous to mention. There were large producers of this valuable article in 1893 at many places in the Dominion—notably Middleton, in Nova Scotia; Petitcodiac and St. John, in New Brunswick; St. Leon Springs and Montreal, in Quebec; Caledonia Springs, Ottawa, Treadwell, Eastman Springs, Toronto, Southampton, Smith's Falls and Preston, in Ontario. Natural mineral water has also been produced at Harrison Hot Springs and other places in British Columbia. The industry as a whole has assumed considerable proportions in Canada. Its production during the year 1893 amounted to 725,096 gallons, valued at $108,347, and showing an increase compared with 1892, of 84,716 gallons, and in value of $32,999. The production by Provinces in 1893 was as follows:

Ontario, 421,136 gallons, valued at $24,458.
Quebec, 251,660 " " 57,839.
New Brunswick, 32,250 gallons, valued at . . . . 14,800.
Nova Scotia, 13,050 gallons, value, 7,250.

The production in 1888 was 124,850 gallons, valued at $11,456; in 1891, 427,485 gallons, valued at $54,268; and in 1894, 767,460 gallons, valued at $110,040.

Nickel Mining in Canada. According to figures prepared by Mr. E. D. Ingall, Mining Engineer

to the Geological Survey, the production of nickel during 1890-93 was as follows:

Year.	Pounds of Nickel in Matte.				Total Value.
1890	1,435,742	valued at	65c.	per lb.	$ 933,232
1891	4,626,627	"	60c.	"	2,755,976
1892	2,413,717	"	58c.	"	1,399,956
1893	3,982,982	"	52c.	"	2,071,151

These figures showed an increase in 1893 over the production for 1892 of about 65 per cent. in the total quantity but, owing to a drop in price, of only 48 per cent. in the gross value. The matte, etc., as shipped from the Sudbury mines must be valued at a much lower rate for the contained metals, so that the spot value of the product for 1893 was about as follows:

Nickel contents of matte, etc., 3,982,982 lbs. at 13c. per pound $518,567.66

Copper contents of matte, etc., 3,647,197 lbs. at 6c. per lb. 218,831.82

Value of matte as shipped..... $737,399.48

The average contents of the shipment as above give 21 per cent. of nickel and 19 per cent. of copper. Although some of the shipments ranged as low as 11 per cent. of nickel and 16 per cent. of copper, much of the matte ran as high as 40 per cent., or thereabouts, for each metal. The production of nickel during 1894, as per returns received, was 4,907,430 pounds, valued at $1,870,958. In 1896 it was valued at $1,188,000. Since its first discovery in a small hill near Sudbury some twenty promising deposits of nickel have been found in the District of Algoma, north of Lake Superior, in Province of Ontario. Operations in 1896 were carried on chiefly by four large companies—the Canadian Copper Company, the Dominion Mineral Company, H. H. Vivian & Co. and the Drury Nickel Company. The ore, which is stated to average 2.25 per cent. of nickel, is roasted and smelted into a copper-nickel matte, the usual composition of which is about as follows: Copper, 26.91; nickel, 14.14; iron, 31.335; sulphur, 26.95, and cobalt, .935. The world's annual consumption at present is estimated at about 800 tons, and prior to the discoveries in the neighbourhood of Sudbury had been almost altogether obtained from the French Island of New Caledonia.

The Peat Resources of Canada. The possible value of the peat deposits which are found in nearly all the Provinces of Canada has long been recognized and a number of attempts have been made from time to time to turn them to profitable account. Some of these efforts have for a brief period given fairly satisfactory results, but all, owing to various causes, have gradually been abandoned. Dr. R. W. Ellis, of the Geological Survey of Canada, in an article published in the Ontario Bureau of Mines Report of 1892 goes into the subject at length, and expresses a profound belief in the importance of developing this industry, especially in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. He points out that, while the inhabitants are there largely engaged in manufacturing pursuits requiring a plentiful supply of fuel, it has long been a settled matter that in neither of the Provinces can any natural supply of coal be expected. In Ontario this lack of coal for fuel may be to a certain extent met by the use of crude petroleum burned in properly constructed grates, and the experiments already instituted in that direction have shown that for heating and the generation of steam this substance possesses very many admirable qualities. In Quebec, however, this source of supply appears to be unavailable, in so far at least as the researches in the Gaspè district, which may be regarded as its only oil field, have proceeded. Natural gas has also of late years entered the field as a possible competitor in the matter of fuel, more particularly in the Province of Ontario, though wells giving a limited flow of gas have also been bored at different points in the St. Lawrence area east and north of Montreal. This source of supply, however, does not meet the requirements of the case as satisfactorily as could be desired, owing doubtless to some extent to uncertainty as to its persistence, and also to the fact that it is unsuited to many purposes requiring a solid fuel. The fact also that the nearest available sources of coal fuel in Eastern Canada are situated in the Province of Nova Scotia, the nearest of which to Montreal is about 700 miles by rail, while the great areas of Pictou and Cape Breton are still more remote, must also be carefully considered in the discussion of such a question as the utilization of the local peat deposits.

Dr. Ellis points out that the adjacent Province of New Brunswick has a very considerable development of carboniferous rocks, and has been quoted by many as a great source of future supply of mineral fuel; but he goes on to say that "From a careful examination of that country it must be remarked that owing to the thinness of the coal seams, rarely more than twenty to twenty-two inches, and the peculiar soft character of the coal itself which unfits it for much handling, as also for other purposes for which a good coal is now required, the utilization of this fuel must be to a very large extent merely local. The other remaining sources of supply, more especially for Quebec, are the distant coal fields of the British Islands, from which, during a certain portion of the year, fuel can be cheaply bought at a low rate of freight, so cheaply in fact as to enter into close competition with the output of the Nova Scotia mines; and the deposits in the United States from which, owing also to canal transportation, fuel can be laid down at certain seasons almost as cheaply as from the Lower Province. Still the fact remains that freight rates, both from Nova Scotia and the Pennsylvania fields, are such as to make the price of coal fuel laid down in the manufacturing cities of Ontario and Quebec so high that many of the manufacturing and mining industries in both these Provinces are seriously hampered owing to the comparatively great expense involved in keeping our steam engines in motion and in producing the power necessary to successfully and cheaply carry on the various industries of the country.

The value of the peat deposits must, however, after all be merely a comparative one. If it can be conclusively shown that a peat fuel can be produced possessing let us say 100 heat units, and placed in the markets of Ontario and Quebec at a well-defined less rate as regards cost than 100 heat units of coal, taking the coals of Nova Scotia and the United States in ordinary use as the standard, then it should be apparent that our peat deposits are worthy of attention as an important factor among the manufacturing or power-producing agents of the day. To do this, however, we must first of all consider several very important features of the industry, such as the extent of our peat deposits, the calorific power of well-prepared peat fuel, the convenience of handling and the advantage it possesses, if any, over the fuel at present at our disposal, and in addition to this, and this is an especially important item, the cost of its manufacture. In the utilization of our peat bogs we must bear in mind the fact that other phases of the question possess an equal if not even a greater present economic value than that of fuel supply. For instance the question of the application of peat to sanitary purposes for the reception and economic disposition of the sewage of our large cities is now being largely considered, and it has been ascertained that in this respect no substance yet known possesses presumably greater or more valuable properties than the produce of our peat bogs, so long regarded as practically valueless. Further, a comparatively new industry has come into prominence in connection with these deposits, which in Holland and elsewhere has already reached a very extensive development, and which should also permit handsome returns on capital in this country, viz., the manufacture of moss litter. This material, from its great absorbent properties, has been found to surpass all other substances in the utilization of stable waste, and for promoting the comfort and cleanliness, and as a consequence, the health, of all animals there kept. So great is the importance of this industry, as yet comparatively unknown in Canada, that the peat bogs of Holland are now supplying the markets of London and New York with this prepared moss litter, with a demand apparently unlimited and at a price quoted in the London market of 21 to 26 shillings per ton according to quality, which should furnish highly remunerative results."

In the Report of the Geological Survey for 1845-46 attention was directed to the Canadian peat deposits, and the results of the investigation on this subject by Dr. T. Sterry Hunt appeared in subsequent Reports. Amongst those of special importance were the articles on the Geology of Canada, 1863, and in the Report of 1866. In the pamphlet prepared for the Paris Exhibition, 1878, further information was presented, more particularly relating to the trials carried on with the deposits east of St. John's in connection with the Hodges process, and at St. Hubert in the County of Chambly, at which places very extensive bogs

of excellent peat occur. A very considerable quantity of prepared fuel was produced at these places, aggregating in 1875 about 13,000 tons in all, a small amount being used for domestic purposes, while the rest was employed by the Grand Trunk Railway for their locomotives. Changes in the Company, however, appear to have acted unfavourably upon the continuance of the industry, and since that date but little has been done in this direction. A small quantity of prepared peat was also produced about the same time near Point Lewis, in the County of Huntingdon, as well as at Newtonville, near Port Hope, in Ontario. Unfortunately no reliable data as to the cost of manufacture at either of these places is at hand, and no subsequent development appears to have taken place.

While the peat deposits of Quebec and Ontario are known to be very extensive, the greater part of them have hitherto remained untried. "Among the best known," says Dr. Ellis, "may be mentioned for the latter Province the vicinity of the Caledonia Springs, lying to the south of the Ottawa in the township of Caledonia, County of Prescott, and certain bogs in Clarence, Cumberland and Gloucester, the latter in the County of Carleton. Of these the nearest the city of Ottawa is the Mer Belue, which consists of two long peat bogs, separated by a narrow ridge of higher land and comprising in the two an area of not far from 5,000 acres. These bogs were sounded by Mr. James Richardson of the Geological Survey staff and shown to have a depth in places of over twenty feet, the depth elsewhere ranging from five to fifteen feet. Further south in the direction of Cornwall, bogs are found in Osnabruck, Roxburgh and Finch, so that it is easily seen that a practically inexhaustible supply of material is found in the almost immediate vicinity of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence and in close proximity to the leading manufacturing centres. In Western Ontario, also, peat bogs have been noted at many points, as in the vicinity of the Welland Canal and near Lake St. Clair, as also in the counties of Simcoe and York, and farther west along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway north of Lake Superior, as well as on the route between that lake and Winnipeg.

Inexhaustible supplies also occur in the Province of Quebec, as in Chambly, St. Hubert and St. Brigide, where works have already been in operation. On the line of railway from Arthabaska to the St. Lawrence, opposite Three Rivers at Bulstrode, a bog was also formerly worked quite extensively, the product, as air-dried peat, being used on the Grand Trunk Railway; as also in Huntingdon, Champlain, Lacolle and Sherrington, where a very thick deposit of excellent peat particularly worthy of notice is found. East of Valleyfield also and in St. Dominique extensive deposits occur; while on the north side of the St. Lawrence they are known in the townships of Grenville, Harrington, Mille Isles, St. Anne de Plaines, St. Sulpice, Lavaltrie and St. Maurice. On the lower St. Lawrence peat bogs are found at River Ouelle, Isle Verte, Daquam, Matane, Macnider and other places; while on the Island of Anticosti an immense bog estimated at nearly 200 square miles in extent occurs on the southwest coast, much of which is reported of excellent quality. From this brief enumeration of a few localities it is easily seen that the quantity of this possible fuel in Quebec is practically unlimited."

The Canadian Lake Shore Mining Region. In the "Report of Progress," Geological Survey, Volume III., Part II., 1887-88, Mr. Elfric Drew Ingall, A.R.S.M., Mining Geologist to the Geological Survey, gives a valuable history of the Canadian shores of Lakes Superior and Huron as a mining region. He says that the record in this connection may be said to have commenced about 1846, when the first mineral locations were taken up. It is divisible into three periods separated by periods of inactivity, the first commencing in 1846, the second in 1863, and the third in 1882, with the discovery of rich ore at Rabbit Mountain. Attention was first directed to this part of the country by the discoveries which were being made and had been made for some years previously in the copper-bearing rocks of the south (U.S.) shore of Lake Superior. The following reference was made to them by Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Logan in his "Report of Progress of the Geological Survey for 1843," as follows: "It is in the peninsula lying between Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, in a great range of trap interposed between the transition series and a metamorphic

group which rests on the granite, that Mr. Douglas Houghton, the State Geologist of Michigan, has made the discovery of an important collection of copper ore veins which are likely to become of considerable economic value, and it remains to be ascertained whether an analogous condition of circumstances may not extend to Canada."

The Government of the Canadas finally gave Mr. Logan instructions to investigate this region, and he started work in May, 1846, spending the whole of that summer voyaging round the Canadian shores of Lake Superior. In this voyage he was accompanied by a properly authorized land surveyor who determined the position and limits of numerous tracts of mineral land which were required by sundry capitalists who had applied for them. These grants of land, to the number of twenty-seven, comprised about ten square miles each, having a width of about two miles, and running back from the coast about five, and were granted by the Government evidently upon the supposition that *bona fide* work on them was intended, and that the country would thus get the benefit of the tests there made of the value of the mineral deposits of the region. Mr. Logan, in his Report, urged that, in order "to secure a *bona fide* intention of working the minerals and to avoid the encouragement of mere stock-jobbing speculation, there should be some stipulation on the part of the Government that a certain number of miners should be employed on each location." He further on points out that "In such sales of location, it must be recollected that all control over the working and proving of the mines would be relinquished by the Government, and the private interests of parties might in some cases carry them no further than the establishment of a company for the purpose of traffic in shares; whilst in others, persons of a less sanguine temperament than their neighbours might patiently wait to observe the success or failure of the more adventurous."

In this same year the Bruce Mines copper ore veins were discovered on the north shore of Lake Huron, east of Sault Ste. Marie, besides some other discoveries in that section of less importance of similar veins. The development of the Bruce Mines veins was carried on by the Montreal Mining Company from this date until they were taken in hand by the West Canada Mining Company of London, England, which had commenced working similar veins in its immediate vicinity in 1855 under the name of the Wellington Copper Mine Company. From this time on this Company continued to operate all this group of mines until about 1875, when work was discontinued, chiefly owing to the price of copper having for some years previously been so low as to leave no margin of profit on the working of the mines. The operation of these mines has been the most extensive and successful mining venture of the whole region here dealt with, continuing as it did over a period of more than thirty years, and for the greater part of that period yielding handsome profits. They employed directly and indirectly a large number of people, and were the cause of directing considerable attention to the district and of forming quite a settlement around, and to this day a large proportion of the present inhabitants now engaged in farming, etc., are old Bruce Mines employés, or their descendants. So much for the indirect benefits accruing to a district from the development of its mineral resources.

"For sixteen years following Mr. Logan's visit to the region," says Mr. Ingall, "and the acquirement of the before-mentioned mineral locations, little attention was paid to the mineral resources of the western end of the Lake, beyond a few spasmodic efforts at exploration and testing of some of the silver properties of the Thunder Bay district, for a year or two after their acquirement in 1845-6. From time to time, however, the more easterly portion of the region received a little attention. The search for copper seems to have first occupied attention, and discoveries were made at intervals of veins carrying sulphuretted copper ores, more especially in the Huronian and Laurentian rocks on Lake Superior. Amongst these were the Wallace and Emerald Mines, and some other places on Lake Huron, and the discoveries at the Begley, Palmer, and Point aux Mines properties on Lake Superior, at which latter place work was carried on in 1856. The continued success attending the exploration of the native copper-bearing rocks of the south shore, now called Keweenian series, directed attention to similar areas on the north shore, and from time to time, during the period under con-

sideration, slight efforts were made to discover the native copper deposits of this formation. The exploration of the St. Ignace Island properties in 1846 came first, but a great deal does not seem to have been done there. Following this, in 1853, came the commencement of work at the east end of Michipicoten Island by the Quebec and Lake Superior Mining Association at the native copper-bearing beds there, and later, a little testing work was done on similar beds on the north shore of the same Island at a place known as the Bonner Mine, where some interesting nickel and silver minerals were associated with the copper. At Mamainse Point also, about this time, some work was done on native copper-bearing fissure veins in this formation on a location known as the Meredith location, belonging to the Montreal Mining Company. At none of these places, however, were the developments very extensive.

This brings us to the second period in the history of the region which began about 1863, when an era of much greater activity was inaugurated. This was more especially the case in the silver district of the western portion about Thunder Bay. The eastern end of the Lake did not benefit so much by this increase of interest in mining matters. Another effort was made in 1863 to place the Quebec Mine on Michipicoten Island on a working footing, and it was operated for about a year, after which this mine received no attention until 1881, when an English company acquired the property and did considerable work. With an interval of idleness, during a change of ownership, this has been continued, and mining was still progressing at this spot in February, 1887. Another English company, the Lake Superior Native Copper Company, in 1881 acquired the old McDonnell location at Mamainse from the Quebec & Lake Superior Mining Association, and expended some $400,000 in testing various veins which had been discovered there in 1880, and in erecting machinery, etc. The Silver Islet Company, also, about this time had a force at work, and did a considerable amount of exploring and testing, both on the old Meredith location, which is adjacent to the last-mentioned, and on the adjoining one to the south. Work was suspended, however, at all these places and, excepting at Michipicoten Island, nothing was being done in 1886.

Evidences of the possible future of the region in the direction of iron production first came to hand about 1863, in the discovery of hematite and magnetite deposits at various places along the shore of the Lake between Port Arthur and Sault Ste. Marie, but beyond an insignificant amount of testing work there is nothing to record, so that the possibilities of the region in this respect still remain an unsolved problem. This subject is, however, now beginning to occupy a good deal of attention, and fresh zest has been given to the search for ores of this metal in the Thunder Bay district by the great success attending the opening up of the deposits at Vermilion Lake in Minnesota, just across the International boundary from Port Arthur. It is argued that, as these are within a measurable distance of Canadian territory and there is good reason to believe that the areas of similar rocks found a little way across the line in Canada are the continuation of the Vermilion Lake rocks, there is therefore very good reason to predict the discovery of equally good and extensive iron ore deposits in our own territory. In fact, the veteran explorers of the district, the Messrs. McKellar Brothers, have recently announced (1887) such a discovery in the Lake Shebandowan section.

The year 1870 saw the first discovery of gold-bearing ores at what is now known as the Huronian Mine at Jackfish Lake, near Lake Shebandowan, about seventy miles in the direction of a little N. of W. from Port Arthur, where the precious metal occurs in the native state as well as combined in sylvanite and pyritous ores. From that day to the present a few more gold-bearing veins have been discovered from time to time at various places both in the above-mentioned district and on the shores of Lake Superior between Port Arthur and Sault Ste. Marie. The metal in all these is mostly carried by the sulphurets. The work done on these gold-bearing veins has not been great, considering the lapse of time since their discovery, and what has been accomplished in this way has been almost altogether on two of them, viz., at the Huronian Mine, which

has been worked at intervals since its discovery with more or less vigour, but is now closed, and at the Huron Bay Mine, which was discovered in 1872, and then worked for a short time, and also about two years later for a short period. In the Black Bay section of the Thunder Bay district several lodes carrying galena were found in 1863 and 1865, which seems to have been the first time anybody turned their attention to this mineral. Amongst these are the Cariboo and Enterprise veins, at which latter place some test work was done in 1872, and in the same section similar work was in progress at the Arctic Mine in 1884. The only other localities of this mineral of any importance are at McKellar's Harbour on the north shore of Lake Superior near Middleton on the C.P.R., where an eighty-feet shaft was sunk in 1878; and at the Victoria and Cascade Mines at Garden River near Sault Ste. Marie, at both of which latter places considerable underground work has been done and stamp mills have been erected. The work at the latter mine was prosecuted during the years 1880 to 1885, whilst the former was worked during the greater part of this period, but had ceased operations in 1884. None of these galena veins were being worked at the end of 1886.

The history of the mineral development of the eastern end of the Lake would be incomplete without a reference to the Zenith Mine, about eight miles north of the mouth of Steel River on the north shore of Lake Superior about six miles east from Rossport on the C. P. R., where a deposit of zinc blend was found in 1884, and some test pits sunk on it. To complete this chronological review of the chief mining events of this region a few words must be said on the subject of the discovery of the silver veins proper of the Animikie rocks of the Thunder Bay division. Although a number of these veins had been located along the coast and islands south-west from Fort William during the before-mentioned trip of Mr. Logan in 1846, and although some pockets of rich silver ore were found in them, the only ones on which much test work was done, viz., those of Spar Island and the Prince Mines, seem to have been regarded more as copper than as silver veins. Veins had been located in 1863, in this formation at the Wallbridge Mine and at Lot 11 in Paipoonge township, and the former had had a shaft sunk upon it, but they also seem to have been looked upon as bearers of copper sulphurets and galena ores rather than as silver veins proper. Thus the discovery of the Thunder Bay vein in 1866 by Mr. Peter McKellar inaugurated the era of mining of the higher grade silver ores, which has been continued with varying success up to the present. The next year the Shuniah or Duncan vein was located, and in the summer of 1868 a Mr. Morgan, who was employed on the exploring party which, in charge of Mr. Thomas Macfarlane, was examining the locations held by the Montreal Mining Company, found rich silver ores in the now famous Silver Islet vein, which resulted in sixteen years of successful development in a mine which has been the great mining feature of this end of the Lake.

For the seven following years exploration and development work was actively prosecuted in the district surrounding the Thunder Bay Mine, chiefly on the vein mentioned, and at the Beck or Silver Harbour and Cornish Mines. Some discoveries were also made of veins along the west coast of Thunder Bay, and on the Islands in that vicinity, and work done to test them, notably at Pic, Jarvis', Thompson's, McKellar's and Monk Islands, and at Stewart's location near Pigeon River, Sturgeon Bay, etc. By the year 1875, most of these enterprises had ceased working and a period of quiet intervened, for though the Chuniah Mine did not finally cease operations until 1881, and the Silver Islet until the spring of 1884, the former had little success and the latter had passed the zenith of its prosperity. Following this period of quiescence came a renewal of activity, which, commencing with the discovery of remarkably rich ores of silver at Rabbit Mountain in 1882, has been continued with increasing vigour until the present. Discoveries at numerous other places around this point have quickly followed, notably of the Beaver, Porcupine, Silver Creek, Little Pig, Big Bear, etc., veins, the first of which has of late become especially famous by reason of the recent find of large quantities of rich ore. To this third period also belong the discoveries near Whitefish Lake, to which district attention was first directed by

the discovery of the Silver Mountain vein carrying rich silver ores. This discovery has been followed by the location of numerous veins in this formation both in its immediate vicinity and for some distance westward around Whitfish Lake."

The Silver Islet Mine, Lake Superior. This famous Canadian silver mine has had quite an interesting history. It was dealt with at considerable length in the Geological Survey Reports for 1888 by Mr. Elfric Drew Ingall in a document dated July 7th of that year. According to this official account the Silver Islet vein was discovered in the summer of 1868, during the exploration of the lands of the Montreal Mining Company, by a party under the direction of Mr. T. Macfarlane. On leaving in the autumn, after a summer's exploration of this and other properties, the party brought away with them specimens of silver valued at $1,200, taken from the outcrop of the Silver Islet lode. During the summer of 1869 Mr. Macfarlane continued his work of surveying and exploring Wood's location, of which the Islet forms a part, and, notwithstanding a stormy season which rendered work on the Islet difficult, some 9,455 pounds of ore were produced and shipped to Montreal, valued by assay at $6,751.67. In August of that year the same party began to sink a shaft on the Islet on the east branch of the vein, intending to cross-cut to the western or river branch, and a party of twelve men with a horse were left to continue this work during the winter of 1869-70.

The winter was favourable, the ice having formed quietly and remained for two months, so that the efforts of the party were successful, and by spring they had, by subaqueous blasting and fishing up the product with tongs, etc., enough rock to yield by sorting 17,669 lbs. of ore, whose total value by assay was $18,291.39. This ore was shipped to Montreal in the spring of 1870. The shaft, however, had to be discontinued on account of water. After some negotiations, the whole of the Montreal Mining Company's property passed into the hands of New York and Detroit capitalists in September, 1870, and on the 31st of August Captain Frue arrived and commenced work with a party of about thirty men and two horses, accompanied by the necessary provisions, etc. Despite the severe weather extensive breakwaters were built, part of the vein enclosed by a coffer-dam, the area within the latter pumped dry, a considerable amount of mining was done, and about 77 tons of ore shipped before the close of navigation. The time devoted to mining was about four weeks. About $80,000 were expended in these operations and in making provision for wintering. The total value of the ore in this parcel was $92,153.23. The winter of 1870-71 was taken up by Mr. Frue and his party in enclosing the Islet with cribbing, so as to establish a permanent mine there. The difficulties experienced from the storminess of the season and trouble with ice were very great, both in placing the cribbing and in keeping it in place, and gales took away most of it, which had to be replaced.

By the 1st of May, 1871, an excavation had been made on the rich part of the vein enclosed by the coffer-dam, having a length of 65 feet, a depth of 33 feet and an average width of 8 feet. By the close of navigation in November this working had attained a depth of 90 feet, and had produced from the same time in 1870 about 485 tons of ore and had thus, in the year dating from November 1870 to November 1871, produced ore carrying silver worth by assay $642,932.01, and also one lot of five tons, worth $5,200, which was lost in transit on the Propeller *Coburn*. Mining was continued with varying success after the close of navigation in 1871. The vein was found to be subject to frequent and sudden changes, both as regards size and richness. In the autumn of 1871 it narrowed down to six inches in width at some points, with scarcely any first quality ore in sight. During the winter it gradually widened and became very productive. In Mr. Frue's reports many such alternations are recorded. He stated in the summer of 1872 that "the lode became broken up, being thoroughly mixed with diorite and wedges of plumbago, and in the autumn the mine assumed anything but a flattering appearance. In the following winter it suddenly changed in character and produced up to May 1st, 1873, 250 tons of rich packing ore worth about $1,500 to the ton. During May, and the early summer, the vein disappeared almost en-

tirely, being broken up into strings and feeders. Later, however, there was a decided improvement which was again overshadowded by a passing cloud, and, although in extending the drift north a very promising show of silver had been opened, I had often seen the mine clothed in richer apparel than it appeared at the close of navigation."

During the winter of 1873-74 severe storms did considerable damage to the cribwork protecting the Islet, amounting to over $11,000, besides carrying away the upper portion of the main breakwater and doing other damage. The unfavourable changes which occurred in the autumn of 1873, continued up to the close of 1876. The new levels which had been opened up, the 8th and 9th, proved wholly unproductive, although no difficulty was experienced in following and working on the vein. A vast amount of exploratory work, by means of the diamond drill, also failed to discover any deposits of rich ore. The consequence was, of course, great financial embarrassment and an almost entire cessation of work during the summer of 1877. In August of that year work was resumed, and up to December 23,850 ounces of silver obtained by stoping in the upper part of the mine. It was even proposed to remove the rich ground lying betwixt the mine and the lake, substituting for it an artificial arch, but fortunately in the summer of 1878 a bunch of rich ore was struck beneath the 4th level south of the shaft which in a few months yielded 721,632 oz. of silver, a quantity amply sufficient to rescue the mine from all its embarrassments and provide a reserve or working capital of $300,000. Mr. Ingall quotes from an account of the mine by Mr. Macfarlane as follows:

"I have not found it possible to ascertain the amount of the product year by year subsequent to 1875, but according to information received from C. A. Trowbridge, Esq., Secretary of the Silver Islet Company, there have been extracted since the commencement of operations in September, 1870, and up to the close of navigation in 1878, 2,174,499½ ounces refined silver, with a value of $2,921,727.24. If to this we add the value of the ore obtained immediately after the discovery by the Montreal Mining Company we have a total yield of $2,948,019.81." He further states that he had since learned from Mr. Trowbridge that the precise yield (up to the end of 1879) was $3,039,557.49, and continues:

"When visiting the mine in July, 1877, the vein appeared perfectly well-defined on the 9th level, but nothing in the shape of ore was to be seen. The vein was said to possess the same character in the inclined shaft sunk 100 feet deeper than the level, and to a point about 640 feet from the surface. This shaft was filled with water at the time of my visit. The vein below this point has been tested by a drill hole 296 feet deep, in which traces of silver ore were detected. Even if we suppose this trace is the clue to another bonanza, the fact still remains that from the 6th level to the deepest working, a distance of 300 feet, the vein has been found to be unworthy of excavation, and this too in spite of the presence of diorite on both walls, a condition which, when the mine was first opened, was supposed to ensure a remunerative vein."

From 1878 to December, 1882, the mine passed through its second period of adversity, although in that time silver had been found in various parts of the mine below the 9th level. The only important deposit met with was on the 13th level south. This was also accompanied with a graphite impregnation, but from its irregular and detached condition it did not augur well for a large deposit. It yielded about $30,000. Gas and water were also struck in considerable volume. A new inclined shaft was run down nearly 1,200 feet, with a strong, highly mineralized vein in the bottom of nine feet in width. Captain R. Tretheway, who was interested in the working, stated to Mr. Ingall that the total yield of the mine from its commencement to its close in 1884, had been about $3,250,000. His figures were as follows:

	Weight in Pounds.	Value per Ton.	Total Value.
Under Montreal Mining Co.....	27,073⅜	$1,646.80	$23,115.35
Under New Proprietors, 1870..	155.543	1,175.80	92,153.23
Under Proprietors, 1871 (Newark)	183,453	1,507.64	138,291.88
Under Proprietors, 1871 (Wyandotte)	778,468½	1,296.48	504,640.13
Lost on Propeller *Coburn*.....	10,000	1,040.00	5,200 00
	1,154,537⅞	$6,666.72	$763,400.59

Production, Season of 1872.....	310,744.02 ozs.		
" " 1873	289,763.77 "		
" " 1874.....	250,021.75 "		
" " 1875.....	145.902.50 "		
	996.432.04		$1.195,718.45
Total			$1 959 119.04

Produced by stamp mill, December, 1875, to Nov., 1876, (concentrates)	136,529.00 ozs.	$163,835.00
Produced by stoping in upper part of the mine, 1877	23,850.00 ozs.	28,620.00
Produced from second bonanza, 1878	721,632.00 ozs.	865,958.00
Produced from deposit at 960 feet level, about 1882		30,000.00
Total of amounts mentioned in various accounts of the mine as above		$3,047,532.04
Amount unaccounted for above		202,467.96
Total value of silver produced from the commencement to the close of operations, according to Mr. Richard Tretheway		$3,250,000.00

Dr. Selwyn on the Minerals of Ontario. In the Report of the Royal Commission of investigation into the mineral resources of Ontario (1890) will be found a lengthy summary of the situation, from a geological standpoint, by Dr. A. R. C. Selwyn, C.M.G., F.R.S., F.G.S., then Director of the Geological Survey of Canada. After stating that he had held this position since 1869 and had travelled over and explored much of the western and northern portion of the Province—North Shore, Lake of the Woods and Algoma—Dr. Selwyn proceeded as follows: "Wherever the Huronian rocks occur you are likely to find gold-bearing veins, and also other mineral deposits. Some of the iron ores occur in the Laurentian. Gold especially is associated with what we call the Huronian rocks. When we get into the typical Laurentians, where there is no interlamination of Huronian rocks, we find that they are very barren of economic minerals. One of the best proofs of this is that in the great breadth crossed by the Canadian Pacific Railway on that formation there is almost an entire absence of mineral veins of any importance. The largest band of the Huronian is the one north of the Georgian Bay. It commences near Killarney, strikes north-east and crosses the Canadian Pacific Railway. The diorites are almost invariably associated with gold-bearing quartz veins. As far as I know the western limit of this Huronian area is on the upper branches of the Vermilion and Spanish Rivers. Another area occurs in the valley of the Michipicoten. Between Lake Superior on the east and Lake of the Woods on the west several belts of the Huronian occur, running north, east and south-west. In the Lake of the Woods the Huronian occurs very largely developed, and all the recent discoveries of gold in that district are in that formation. Everywhere I know of in Eastern Ontario gold is associated with the Huronian rocks. It occurs in rocks that have been called Laurentian, as at Madoc and Marmora, but that they are so is doubtful; they are more like Huronian rocks. The principal gold finds as far as I know in Lake of the Woods district occur in the Huronian rocks, as does also the Huronian Mine farther east, and others in the vicinity of Lac des Mille Lacs. The next and perhaps the most important gold district is in the vicinity of Sudbury. They are now finding gold-bearing veins down the Thessalon and all through that region from the north shore of the Georgian Bay to north of Sudbury.

I have been examining the veins of Lake of the Woods, Sudbury and Thessalon during the last three weeks, and my opinion of them is much the same as I expressed of the Marmora and Madoc gold mines. I considered the veins were not sufficiently large or constant to prove very profitable: that, while at times they are very rich, only very exceptionally will they prove to be permanently profitable. With few exceptions, as far as I have seen, they are not what I consider to be real fissure veins—they are gash veins more or less lenticular. I have come to the conclusion that if you cannot examine the outcrop of a vein on its strike or horizontal extension you have good evidence of how it will behave on its vertical extension. This lenticular character of many of the veins is characteristic of the Huronian gold veins. The best veins in Australia are in soft slaty rocks, not at all like the Huronian gold rocks. I consider that diorite and hornblendic rocks are of igneous origin. The vein matter differs, but is mostly quartz: gold has been found in a great variety of rocks, and it has been stated that traces of it can be found in almost every metallic mineral.

Near the surface gold is almost always in the metallic state, but as you get down it passes into sulphurets: that change occurs about the line of permanent saturation. I have not seen much mispickel in the Lake of the Woods and Sudbury districts; magnetic pyrites containing nickel and

other sulphurets of iron and copper are the prevailing ores. I do not know whether any of the Lake of the Woods ore has been assayed for nickel. I never saw mispickel elsewhere in such quantity as at the Marmora mines. At Sudbury I did not see any mispickel. In Nova Scotia the richest specimens of free gold were found near the surface. As they got deeper in most cases the vein appeared to get poorer, that is, the yield was less: but it was not so in reality, much of the gold being lost with the pyrites in the tailings. Dr. Hunt made several analyses of Nova Scotia tailings and found nearly as much gold remaining as had been taken out. All through the Sudbury district there are numerous veins, and any of them may turn out auriferous. I do not think that there is any doubt but that there are a great many veins that have not been discovered. There is an immense area that has not been prospected at all. I have never found gold in alluvial soil in Ontario, but I have been told that it occurs at Rat Portage, and that wherever these rich veins are you can scrape the soil and wash out gold. I have never seen it washed out as they do it on the Saskatchewan, but I think in some of the valleys there should be alluvial gold.

The silver-bearing rocks are altogether different and distinct from the gold-bearing. They are in the Animikie series. That series extends westward from about the east end of the Nipigon Bay. It crosses the Canada boundary on Pigeon River, and I think extends to near Duluth. It occupies several townships west of Port Arthur. The Kakabeka Falls are near its northern boundary. The rocks composing the Animikie series are very fine cherts, argillites—or, as most people call them, slates—and dolomites, trap-layers and dykes. I have examined a number of the silver veins in that district. The veins are of different widths—I have seen some very good ones five or six feet wide. They are almost all in the argillites: the only exception that I know of, and it is hardly an exception, is Silver Islet: and of that the productive part occurred in a dyke that cut the argillites. In the neighbourhood of the Rabbit and Beaver Mines there is a dyke cutting the veins. I understand they struck a dyke in the Beaver. As a rule the silver-bearing veins are calcareous. A great deal of the matrix is calcite, and there is only a limited amount of quartz. In the gold veins calcite is almost absent. In the rich bearing gold veins the matrix is quartzose, but there are exceptions. In Nova Scotia there was a vein of pure pink crystalline calcite that gave a good yield of gold. I think very highly of the silver-bearing veins: most of them are true fissure veins. The general width of the silver veins varies much, but I would say that three or four feet would be about the average. I am not aware of the occurrence of silver or native silver in any place else in Canada, but it occurs with galena and gold elsewhere. I cannot say whether it occurs with galena in paying quantities. Some assays of samples from the Garden River Mine gave 800 ounces to the ton. I am told that mine is closed on account of litigation: it is in the Huronian formation. The Temiscaming galena gave a considerable amount of silver. If a vein is very large a small amount of silver will make it pay. When it occurs with galena it is not difficult to extract; it has to be smelted of course. I have heard of it in the neighbourhood of Alumette island in the Ottawa.

Sir William Logan pointed out two copper-bearing series around Lake Superior; the lower is the Huronian, and the upper is the Keweenawan, which lies over the silver-bearing Animikie, and corresponds as far as I know with the copper-bearing rocks in Michigan. The Keweenawan series has been traced out; the rocks of that formation occur in the Nipigon basin around Nipigon Bay, and are found as far east as Gros Cap. Michipicoten Island is entirely composed of them. They occur at intervals along the north shore of Lake Superior, but they do not appear extensively till you get to St. Ignace, Simpson and other islands which form the southern shores of Nipigon Bay. They extend a little way inland on the north shore, but not far, and I do not know that they have been found to be copper-bearing there. The greatest exposure and thickness of them occurs on Simpson and St. Ignace Islands. At Michipicoten Island and at Mamainse Point sulphurets as well as native copper were found. I do not know that the sulphurets were found in sufficient quantities to pay; the mining there was for native copper. I saw nothing at Michipicoten that I could call veins; there are beds impreg-

nated with copper not unlike those of the celebrated Calumet and Hecla mines. Similar beds occur at Mamainse, and there are some sulphurets. There is no exposure of copper at Gros Cap that I know of, though the cupriferous amygdaloids occur there. At St. Ignace mines were opened forty years ago and nothing has been done since, but I understand work has been done there lately. At Silver Islet the sinking over 1,000 feet did not reach the bottom of the Animikie series. In the Shuniah Mine they penetrated to the granite; I am not certain whether the vein continued in the granite.

Sir William E. Logan.

Nearly all the copper in the Huronian is in quartzose veins in the character of yellow sulphurets; in the other formation native copper predominates. In the Province of Quebec there are mines in the Huronian or Pre-Cambrian rocks, and there is another set in which native copper occurs belonging to a higher series and holding the same relation to the Huronian that the Keweenawan does on Lake Superior. The Wallace Mine is the same as the Sudbury mines. It is a nickeliferous pyrites. The Sudbury ores are in a great impregnated bed, not a true fissure vein, and the ore exists in vast quantities. I cannot say whether the operations there will be successful or not; much of the product of the mine is wasted. If the ores were treated by the Vivians in Swansea they would save the iron and the sulphur as well as the copper and the nickel. They mix ores from all parts of the world, and they can then work them to greater advantage. I went to the *Copper Cliff* a couple of years ago; it is a great massive impregnated bed or stockwerk. I saw the Bruce Mines when in operation in 1873, and was there again this summer. The veins there are more regular; they appear to cut through the rocks. There may be a true fissure vein without displacement. I have seen gash veins very continuous for a long distance. What I say in reference to veins generally is, that as you descend they will as a rule be about the same as they are on the surface. The ore in the Bruce Mines did not give out at all: the work stopped on account of a fall in the price of copper. I know of no place where nickel is associated with pyrrhotite in paying quantities except at Sudbury. There they are looking entirely to the nickel and not to the copper to pay them.

The magnetic ores are generally associated with the Laurentian rocks and mostly in the vicinity of crystalline limestone. We find both hematite and magnetite sometimes associated with the Huronian rocks. On the Kaministiquia River a jaspery ore occurs; there is also some hematite. The last place I saw such a deposit is twenty-eight miles east of Port Arthur. The deposits are in the nature of contact deposits at the juncture of two formations. I think the rocks in rear of Port Arthur are a continuation of the Vermilion range of Minnesota, and there is no reason why the deposits should not be as rich on the Canadian as on the American side. As I understand it, iron occurs in both the Huronian and the Animikie formations; the hematite mostly in the Animikie, and the magnetic mostly in the Huronian. There is iron ore on the north shore of Lake Nipigon. I think it is very rich, but as far as I know it has not been analyzed. I have seen specimens of it; it is a slaty hematite. Deposits have been opened up at Goulais Bay and at Gros Cap: they are in the Huronian, I think. I never saw any iron ore in the Sudbury district. On an

island in Lake Nipissing there is what is considered to be a large deposit. I cannot say whether it is in the Laurentian or not. As a general thing iron ore in the Laurentian rocks is associated with crystalline limestone. I think the Huronian rocks are very favourable for iron ores, but some of them carry a good deal of titanium. I have heard of iron ore up the Ottawa, and it is quite likely there are such deposits.

There is plenty of iron ore in Ontario, but many of the ores contain a great deal of sulphur. The ore is chiefly magnetite. There are large deposits of iron ore in the Laurentian formation, but I cannot say anything about the quality of any particular deposit. They vary considerably in this respect. I have not examined the phosphate beds in Ontario; I have in Quebec. They occur on both sides similarly, and in the same rocks on both sides of the river: and I do not see why there should be more on one side than the other, except there is a larger area of the Laurentian rock on the north or Quebec side. I never saw any deposits that I could say were inter-stratified. They are very irregular. I have seen no evidence to lead me to suppose that phosphate-bearing beds are shallow. I believe you can follow them down any depth and be liable to find apatite deposits. I have no personal knowledge of mica in Ontario. The best mica mine now being worked is the Villeneuve Mine, in the Province of Quebec. At Garden River they are opening a quarry of beautiful dark marble, a Huronian limestone or dolomite. The Garden River band extends for many miles: it crosses Echo Lake and has been traced and mapped through that country by Sir William Logan. I do not think it is uniform in character; in one place I think the beds would be better than in others. It seems a very beautiful and good marble, and the openings of Garden River, I consider, look exceedingly promising. Wherever the Laurentian limestones occur we can quarry them for marble, but they are generally coarse in the grain. I have not seen the marble at Bridgewater, but suppose it is the ordinary Laurentian crystalline limestone. I have seen some specimens that were brought from the township of Barrie. The marble there is coarse-grained and has specks of quartz and other minerals in it. I have seen the Arnprior marble and think there should be no difficulty in quarrying it. Some of that marble is very beautiful. It has already been extensively used and its value proved. All limestones capable of taking a polish are marbles.

I have never visited the gypsum beds; they were examined and described years ago. Most of my time has been devoted to areas never visited before by the Survey. The specimens of gypsum from Ontario show it to be as good as any you can get for making plaster. I do not think it occurs in quantity in Ontario, unless it be in the basin of Moose River. I do not know of its being there, but I think it is likely to be found. There is in Ontario an unlimited amount of salt: the quantity that can be obtained is only limited by the demand. I think Dr. Hunt made analyses of it and reported fully on its occurrence. In all probabilitythere is a very large area of petroleum-bearing strata under central Ontario which has never yet been reached, and which corresponds with the Ohio petroleum-bearing strata. I think there is no doubt but that the Province of Ontario has great mineral resources which are awaiting development. Not one-tenth part of the country has been explored. With a thorough exploration many valuable discoveries should be made, though many of them could not be utilized under existing conditions, such as difficulty of access, etc. When these change they will become valuable, and in the meantime the knowledge of their existence will, of course, hasten that change."

Production of Natural Gas. The Province of Ontario is the only portion of the Dominion where either natural gas or petroleum is to be found in large quantities, and so far as is known the supply is limited to two fields. One occupies a small area along the north shore of Lake Erie, chiefly in the township of Gosfield South, in the County of Essex, where the gas-bearing formation is supposed to be either a Clinton or Niagara limestone and is reached at a depth of 1,050 feet. In this field there are eight producing wells, whose capacity is estimated at 60,000,000 cubic feet per day. The gas is supplied to the neighbouring villages of Kingsville, Ruthven and Leamington, but the main outlet and place of consumption is

the city of Detroit, Michigan, to which the gas is piped through the intervening distance of thirty-five miles and across the bed of the Detroit River. The towns of Windsor, Walkerville and Sandwich, on the Canadian side, are also supplied from the same line. The Ontario Natural Gas Company and the Kingsville Natural Gas and Oil Company are the two concerns which operate the wells and control the gas territory in this district. The other gas field is in the Counties of Welland and Haldimand and it is stated to extend from the village of Ridgeway in the former county to Cayuga in the latter, a total length of 35 miles.

The field, however, according to Mr. B. T. A. Bell, in his *Mining Manual* for 1897, is probably not productive for the whole of the length. "The principal gas-bearing rock is in the Medina sandstone at a depth of about 850 feet, but west of the Welland Canal the supply seems to come from the overlying Clinton limestone at a depth of about 700 feet. The owners of wells in Cayuga, Dunnville, Port Colborne and Humberstone supply the needs for their respective localties, but the main producers of gas are the Provincial Natural Gas Company and the Erie Natural Gas Company, which deliver nearly the whole of the output of their wells in the townships of Bertie and Humberstone to the City of Buffalo, N.Y. The length of the former Company's pipe line from the centre of its gas fields is fourteen miles, and in 1894 the delivery of gas to Buffalo was at the rate of 4,600,000 cubic feet per day. The Welland gas field has been in operation for nearly six years and under the continuous demands upon it is giving signs of approaching exhaustion; the rock pressure, which stood originally at about 570 lbs., having fallen to one-fifth of that amount, or less. Gas began to be delivered at Detroit from the Essex Field early in 1895, and is now going into that city in large volume. There are grounds for supposing that notwithstanding the limited area covered by the wells in Essex the field is really of large extent, and perhaps underlies a portion of the bed of Lake Erie. The total output of natural gas in Ontario in 1893 was 2,342,000,000 cubic feet, valued at $238,200; in 1895 it was 3,320,000,000 cubic feet, worth $282,968. A considerable portion of the output in the latter year was from the Essex Field."

Canadian Petroleum Production. The petroleum field of the County of Lambton in Western Ontario has long been the chief developed Canadian source of supply of this important product. Oil was first obtained in this district at Oil Springs in 1861 from surface wells dug to a depth of 40 to 60 feet, in the neighbourhood of peculiar deposits locally known as "gum beds," formed by the evaporation of the petroleum which found its way to the surface. These primitive attempts were quickly followed by wells drilled in the rock, some of which were extraordinarily productive. The oil was reached at a depth varying from 100 to 240 feet, and the first gush in some wells yielded as much as 6,000 barrels per 24 hours. The famous Black & Mathewson well flowed at the rate of 7,500 barrels per day for a short time. This enormous output, owing to the low price of oil and insufficient methods of controlling the wells and storing the product, went almost wholly to waste. It has been calculated that during the spring and summer of 1861 not less than 5,000,000 barrels of oil flowed off on the waters of Black Creek—a quantity equal to five or six times the present annual production.

According to an interesting sketch of the subject—contained in Mr. B. T. A. Bell's Canadian *Mining, Iron and Steel Manual* for 1896—this Petrolia field was opened in 1865, and the period of its greatest production was reached in 1866, when the noted King wells were struck, yielding 400 barrels per day. The Oil Springs and Petrolia fields are situated in the township of Enniskillen, and comprise the main producing district. They are both of small extent. The former has an area of about two and one-half square miles, and the latter of about twenty-six square miles. The area of production is, however, gradually enlarging, and drilling in new ground has been stimulated by the higher prices for crude oil which ruled during the season of 1895. About a dozen wells were then yielding oil in the south-west corner of Plympton township, north-east of Mandaumin, the product of which is pumped into Petrolia through pipe lines. Several new wells were bored in 1894 and 1895 in the fourth concession of Euphemia, about a mile north-east of Shetland. One well sunk there ten years ago

yielded 100 barrels per day for a short time, and another 20 or 30 barrels per day for a year. The average output of these producing wells in this small pool is now half a barrel per day.

At Comber, in Essex County, oil was found some years ago at a depth of 124 feet. The well pumped 100 barrels of oil and flowed half a barrel per day. Pelee Island, in Lake Erie, was the scene of a late discovery. The Pelee Island Gas and Oil Company of Kingsville put down two wells in 1895, in the second of which they struck gas at 705 feet, and oil at 733 feet, the total depth bored being 750 feet. A pump was put in and five to seven barrels of oil raised. The average yield of the wells in the Lambton district has steadily decreased since the field was opened, and, instead of the great gushers which were common at the beginning, wells now opened rarely give more than a barrel or a barrel and a half per day for a month or six weeks, when they sink to a yield of eight or ten barrels per month, which is about the average production of wells in the district. The field, however, shows little sign of exhaustion and its output remains comparatively steady from year to year—the annual return being from 800,000 to 1,000,000 barrels. In 1891 the production was 894,647 barrels, in 1892, 800,000 barrels, in 1893, 973,000 barrels and in 1894, 997,500 barrels. A barrel contains 35 Imperial gallons. Old wells are constantly being abandoned and new ones put down. Forty drilling outfits were at work in 1895, and about 100 wells per month bored. The total number of wells in operation on 30th September, 1895, was 9,963, of which 3,176 were in the Oil Springs, and 6,787 in the Petrolia district. The long life of the wells and their great number to a large extent offset the decrease in their yield. The average price of crude oil on the Petrolia Oil Exchange according to the Dominion Statistician was 88 cents per barrel in 1886, $1.01 in 1894, $1.46 in 1895 and $1.59 in 1896.

It is stated in Mr. Bell's *Manual* that "The oil-bearing rock is the Corniferous limestone, which at Petrolia lies at a depth of about 400 feet below the surface, and in all cases the oil is found in what is known as the 'lower vein,' which occurs at a depth of about sixty-five feet in formation. At Oil Springs the depth of the borings is somewhat less, oil being found at 370 feet from the ground and about sixty feet below the surface of the Corniferous limestone. The Trenton limestone, which is the great oil-bearing formation in Ohio, U.S., underlies the Corniferous in Lambton County, being separated from it by various other members of the Silurian system, and in the opinion of some geologists it is not unlikely that the petroleum originates in the Trenton and finds its way up to the Corniferous. Dr. Selwyn, late Director of the Geological Survey of Canada, has stated that 'in all probability there is a very large area of petroleum-bearing strata under Central Ontario which has as yet never been reached, and which corresponds with the Ohio petroleum-bearing strata.' The deepest boring yet made in the Oil district reached a depth of 1,505 feet, but it probably ended in the Onondaga formation, a long distance above the Trenton, and it has yet to be proven by actual demonstration that the latter is an oil-bearing system in the present petroleum region, or indeed elsewhere in Ontario. Like all petroleum derived from limestone rocks, the Ontario product carries a good deal of sulphur, being in this respect more akin to the Ohio than to the Pennsylvania article. The following analysis shows approximately the comparative composition of the Ontario and Ohio petroleums:

	Ontario.	Ohio.
Carbon	83.94	84.57
Hydrogen	13.37	13.62
Sulphur	1.01	.72
Specific gravity	8.60	3.38

The business of refining is mainly centred in Petrolia, Ontario, where four refineries are in operation with a capacity more than equal to the entire output of the oil-field. The oil is distilled in large sheet-iron retorts. The heat is furnished by a spray of mixed petroleum and steam injected into the fire chamber below the retort, which is lined with fire-brick. The distillate is carried through tubes immersed in long vats of water. As the different distillates make their appearance at various stages of the process, they are led into different troughs and flow into separate tanks. First, the incondensible gases, gasoline and naphtha, come off; then the illuminating oil; following that the intermediate and wool oils; and

lastly the lubricating oils; while an incrustation of carbonaceous matter or coke is left in the retort which makes a good fuel. All the grades of the distillation are divided at will, either by stopping the process at various stages or by subsequent re-distillation and treatment, into an almost endless variety of lighter and highly combustible intermediate illuminating oils, and also into such solids as vaseline, paraffin, etc. To refine the illuminating oil it is agitated with two per cent. sulphuric acid for the purpose of removing the free carbon or tarry materials, which are drawn off below, then after washing it with water, caustic soda and litharge are added. The litharge combines with the sulphur and forms lead sulphide. Flowers of sulphur is then added, which precipitates the lead and other impurities, and the oil is left cleared, but with still a small proportion of sulphur. To overcome this for the higher grade of oils re-distillation is resorted to, after the litharge and caustic soda have been added and before the flowers of sulphur has been put in. The greater part of the remaining sulphur is thus got rid of, being left in the retort in combination with the lead. The result of this process is an excellent quality of illuminating oil."

The Petrolia Oil Company was incorporated in 1881 with a capital of $40,000. The refinery was established in 1872 by Messrs. Cochrane and Williams, the latter of whom was the pioneer of oil refining in the Petrolia region. Its capacity is 10,000 barrels crude per week. The President of the Company is Mr. R. D. Noble. The works of the Imperial Oil Company have a refining capacity of 750,000 barrels of crude per annum. This Company was incorporated in 1880 and has a capital of $500,000. Mr. F. A. Fitzgerald is President. The National Oil Company, John Macdonald, President, was organized in 1892 with a capital of $150,000. Its capacity is 4,000 barrels crude per week. The partnership concern of Messrs. Fairbank, Rogers & Company was formed in 1892, Mr. Fairbank being the largest single producer of crude oil in Canada. The capacity of the works is 2,000 barrels crude per week. The Empire Oil Company of London is also engaged in the refining of Petrolia crude oil. The Canadian Oil Company, whose works were at Sarnia, went into liquidation in September, 1895, and is now extinct. Its refinery was in operation during the months of January, February and March.

The products of the refineries are illuminating and lubricating oils, paraffin wax, benzine, gasoline, naphtha, binding twine oil, etc. Most of the oil is shipped in barrels, but some of the illuminating is put up in square tin cans. The Petrolia Crude Oil and Tanking Company carries on the business of dealing in and storing crude oil in the underground tanks described below. Its capital is $50,000 and the President of the Company is Mr. Charles Jenkins. The crude oil is collected from the individual wells by the wagon tanks and delivered at receiving tanks, whence it is pumped to the refineries. Mr. Bell points out a method of storing the oil which is peculiar to this field. Eighteen or twenty feet below the surface is found an impervious blue clay, and excavations are made in this sixty feet deep and thirty feet in diameter. A wooden lining extends thirty feet down into the tank, and the crude oil is kept in this way without danger of fire or leakage. Another characteristic method of the district is that of raising the oil from the wells. They have all to be pumped, and as the yield is small economy forbids the employment of a separate engine for each well. The "jerker" system of pumping was therefore introduced and is now in universal use. A 12 H.P. engine operating a horizontal wheel, with which a combination of pump rods is connected, so arranged that their weights about balance one another, suffices to raise the oil from a large number of the wells—as many as ninety in some cases.

In the Province of Quebec borings for petroleum have been carried on for a period covering many years in the County of Gaspè. Latterly the work has been done by the Petroleum Oil Trust, Limited, of London, England, chiefly on the left bank of the York River. A light green oil, said to resemble that of Pennsylvania, has been struck in several of the wells at a depth of about 2,000 feet, and a certain number of barrels have been got out as samples, but no regular work of production has yet been begun. A remarkable and extensive series found along the Athabasca River, in the District of Athabasca, N.W.T., and known as the "tar sands," contains

a large proportion of bitumen, and drillings have been undertaken by the Dominion Government to ascertain whether supplies of petroleum exist in the underlying Devonian rocks. Petroleum has also been found on the South Kootenay Pass in British Columbia. According to returns from refiners furnished the Government Year Book for 1896 the total production of Canadian oil refineries in 1893, 1894 and 1895 was as follows:

Articles.	1893 Value.	1894 Value.	1895 Value.
Illuminating oils.....	$1,073,738	$1,003,973	$1,217,426
Benzine and Naphtha...	54,760	54,515	63,026
Paraffine oils	116,233	118,053	140,245
Gas oils	217,740	197,193	218,962
Lubricating oils and tar	92,616	74,309	75,578
Total Gallons.....	1,555,087	1,448,043	1,715,237
Paraffine Wax (lbs)...	120,097	119,091	82,970
Axle Grease	.....	.....	8,300
Total Value.....	$1,675,784	$1,567,134	$1,806,507

The Discovery and Use of Acetylene Gas. This new illuminating substance, practically discovered by a Canadian—Mr. T. L. Willson, of Woodstock, Ontario—and now manufactured largely by Canadians, was the subject of an exhaustive study at the hands of Professor Vivian B. Lewes in the Ontario Bureau of Mines Report for 1894. In the course of this article it is stated that in the phenomena of ordinary combustion, which we employ to provide us with heat and light, there are no compounds of greater interest than the class of organic bodies which, being formed of carbon and hydrogen in various proportions, have been hydrocarbons, and that it is to this class of bodies that all the gases which can be used as ordinary illuminants owe their luminosity. Amongst the hydrocarbons the simplest compound is stated to be acetylene, in which two atoms of carbon are united with two atoms of hydrogen. It had long been known that, if a stream of hydrogen is passed through a globe in which the voltaic arc is produced between carbon points from a sufficiently powerful current, this gas would be produced in minute quantities. It could also be formed in small quantities by the decomposition of carbon tetrachloride in the presence of hydrogen by the induction spark, whilst it was produced during processes of checked combustion in hydrocarbon flames. The direct combination of carbon and hydrogen in the electric arc is a true case of synthesis, and it was known that, if we could form acetylene in this way in sufficiently large quantities, it would be perfectly easy to build up from the acetylene the whole of the other hydrocarbons which can be used for illuminating purposes. But for a long period this process was not discovered. The importance and history of the matter can be best indicated in Professor Lewes' own words as follows:

"Acetylene can without exaggeration be looked upon as one of the great keystones of the organic edifice, and, given a cheap and easy method of preparing it, it is hardly possible to foresee the results which will be ultimately produced. From acetylene we can produce all those bodies which we are accustomed to look upon as the most important ones in our coal-gas, and which up to the present time have never been produced from anything but coal, hydrocarbon oils, or other organic matter undergoing destructive distillation; but it has often occurred to those of us who are interested in the manufacture of illuminating gas that as the supply of gas gets smaller, and as oil in time begins to share the same fate, some new sources for our illuminants and our fuels must be sought; and in my mind, at any rate, the synthetic production of hydrocarbons has long been a day dream, which I, however, never expected to see possible on a commercial scale. Not only was the synthetic production of acetylene in the electric arc well known, but ever since water-gas has been introduced small traces of acetylene and methane have been found in it under conditions which render it impossible that they should have been produced from any compound present in the incandescent fuel. They must therefore have been due to the direct combination of carbon and hydrogen, but these traces only occurred in quantities so small as rarely to amount to one per cent. and it was manifest that the production of the compounds could not take place in large quantities under influences which would immediately tend to decompose them.

In 1836 it was found, that when making potassium by distillation from potassic carbonate and carbon, small quantities of a bye-product consisting of a compound of potassium and carbon were produced, and that this was decomposed by water with liberation of acetylene: whilst Wohler by fusing an alloy of zinc and calcium with carbon made calcic carbide, and used it as a source from which to obtain acetylene by the action of water.

Nothing more was done until 1892, when Macquenne prepared barium carbide by heating at a high temperature a mixture of barium carbonate, powdered magnesium and charcoal, the resulting mass evolving acetylene when treated with water: whilst still later Travers made calcic carbide by heating together chloride, carbon and sodium. None of these processes, however, gave any commercial promise, as the costly nature of the potassium, sodium, magnesium or zinc-calcium alloy, which had to be used, made the acetylene produced from the carbide too expensive.

Whilst working with an electric furnace, and endeavouring by its aid to form an alloy of calcium from some of its compounds, Mr. T. L. Willson noticed that a mixture containing lime and powdered anthracite, under the influence of the temperature of the arc, fused down to a heavy semi-metallic mass, which, having been examined and found not to be the substance sought, was thrown into a bucket containing water, with the result that violent effervescence of the water marked the rapid evolution of a gas, the overwhelming odour of which enforced attention to its presence, and which on the application of a light burnt with a smoky but luminous flame.

Investigation into the cause of this phenomenon soon showed that, in a properly constructed electric furnace, finely ground up chalk or lime, mixed with powdered carbon in any form, whether it were charcoal, anthracite, coal, coke or graphite, can be fused with the formation of the compound known as calcic carbide, containing forty parts by weight of the element calcium, the basis of lime, and twenty-four parts by weight of carbon, and that, on the addition to this of water, a double decomposition takes place, the oxygen of the water combining with the calcium of the calcic carbide to form calcic oxide of lime, whilst the hydrogen unites with the carbon of the calcic carbide to form acetylene, the cost of the gas so produced bringing it not only within the range of commercial possibilities for use *per se*, but also the building up from it of a host of other compounds, whilst the production of the calcic carbide from chalk and from any form of carbon renders us practically independent of coal and oil, and places in our hands the prime factor by which Nature in all probability produces those great underground storehouses of liquid fuel upon which the world is so largely drawing today."

The Report of the Ontario Bureau of Mines for 1898 indicated great progress in the production and use of this important compound. During the preceding year much had been done. "Continued study of the properties of the gas and experiments with it have evolved apparatus of various types for its generation and control, and the result has been that acetylene is now being rapidly introduced as a means of indoor lighting throughout the Province of Ontario. The field which seems specially opened for it is that afforded by the smaller towns and villages, where gas plants are not already in existence and where the electric light is used, if at all, only in the form of the arc lamp for illuminating public streets. Here a system of lighting is welcomed which does not necessitate an expensive central plant or a costly equipment of mains, and which does not require a large number of consumers to ensure a reasonably low cost. The advantage possessed by acetylene in this regard is that it provides an isolated method of lighting, which can be adopted by one person in a town or village, or even by a farmer on his homestead without reference to any one else and without increase of cost. This feature of acetylene lighting has doubtless been the cause of the favourable reception it has had in Ontario during 1897."

There are now eight firms (London, Hamilton, Niagara Falls, Woodstock, Guelph, St. Mary's and Welland) engaged in manufacturing acetylene generators in the Province. One of these firms reports having placed 94 of its machines during 1897-98, mostly in Ontario, but several also in the United States and Mexico. The plants range in size from 15 to 100 lights and are used for the lighting of stores, churches, manufactories, rinks and dwelling houses.

Coal Production of British Columbia. In the course of an elaborate article contained in the Geological Survey Reports for 1887-8, Dr. G. M. Dawson gave a valuable history of coal production in British Columbia. From it the following facts are derived.

The discovery of coal in that Province antedated the finding of gold by more than twenty years but did not at first produce any effect comparable with that of gold upon its history and development. Dr. W. F. Tolmie was the first to make known the existence of this mineral on the coast of the Province, in 1835. He was then stationed at the Hudson's Bay Company's post known as Fort McLaughlin, on Millbank Sound, and specimens of coal were brought to him by Indians from the north-east of Vancouver Island. The steamer

Beaver belonging to the Company arrived on the West Coast in 1836 and thereafter small quantities of coal were obtained for her, as well as for blacksmith's use, from this place—being derived from natural outcrops on the beach. In the year 1849 a coal miner was brought out by the Company from Scotland to more fully test the character of the coal on this part of the coast, and in 1851 a further number of miners and some necessary machinery were imported. Exploratory work by sinking and boring was also prosecuted along the coast of Vancouver Island, between Port McNeill and Beaver Harbour, till 1853, but without resulting in any very notable discoveries. Meanwhile in 1850 the existence of coal at Nanaimo had been ascertained by Mr. J. W. McKay, and in the following year it appears that the most of the miners above referred to were transferred from the northern end of the Island to that place.

Work began in earnest at Nanaimo in 1852, and, before the close of 1853, 2,000 tons are reported to have been shipped, chiefly to San Francisco. The price of coal at Nanaimo was at this time $11, and at San Francisco $28, a ton. The Hudson's Bay Company, under the name of the Nanaimo Coal Company, continued to work the mines thus opened till 1861, when they were sold to the Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Company (Limited). The total shipment from October, 1852, to November, 1859, was returned at 25,398 tons. The Wellington mines, situated a short distance inland from Departure Bay, near Nanaimo, began to produce coal in 1871 and several hundred tons of coal were shipped in that year. At this time mining operations were also in progress at Cowgitz, Queen Charlotte Islands, and several hundred tons of anthracite were shipped, but the work was not continued. In 1874 the Harewood Colliery, near Nanaimo, was opened. It had previously been worked on a small scale in 1864 and 1865. In 1875 the Baynes Sound Colliery, near Comox, was opened out to some extent and preparations for mining and shipping coal were made, but from various causes, chief among which was the low price of coal, both this and the Harewood were closed down in 1877. In 1882 a shaft was sunk at the East Wellington Colliery, about midway between the Vancouver and Wellington mines, and a certain amount of coal steadily produced.

With the exception of the Baynes Sound Mine the collieries above-mentioned were all in the Nanaimo area, and the work done in the Comox area (except in the case of the Baynes Sound Mine) was of the character of prospecting and exploration only. In 1888, however, the serious development of mining work in the Comox area was initiated by the Hon. R. Dunsmuir at points situated between the old Baynes Sound Mine and Comox Harbour, near the edge of the old "Union Claim." A railway, eleven miles in length, was built to a suitable shipping place and all preparations made for a large output of coal. This enterprise was known as the Union Colliery. Mr. Dunsmuir, it may be added, made a large fortune in the Nanaimo district industry and since his time it has gone on steadily developing. The following table of annual production in British Columbia, prepared by Dr. Dawson, up to 1888, and supplemented from the Dominion Statistician's figures after that date, is of value:

	Tons.
Coal mined at Suquash by H. B. Co. at various times between 1836 and 1852 (say)	10,000
Total coal shipped from Nanaimo, October, 1852, to November, 1859	25,398

1859 (2 months)	1,989	1879	241,301
1860	14,247	1880	267,595
1861	13,774	1881	228,357
1862	18,118	1882	282,139
1863	21,345	1883	213,299
1864	28,632	1884	394,070
1865	32,819	1885	365,596
1866	25,115	1886	326,636
1867	31,239	1887	413,360
1868	44,005	1888	489,301
1869	35,802	1889	649,409
1870	29,843	1890	759,517
1871-2-3	169,641	1891	1,152,588
1874	81,547	1892	925,495
1875	110,145	1893	1,095,689
1876	139,192	1894	1,134,507
1877	154,052	1895	1,052,412
1878	170,846	1896	1,002,268

Development of Mining in Ontario. No better evidence can be given of the increasing activity in mining enterprise which characterizes Ontario than is afforded by the grants of mineral lands by the Crown, and the charters issued to mining com-

panies during the year 1897. The total number of locations sold and leased in the year was 1,255, embracing an area of 115,809 acres, whereas for the five years 1892-96 the number sold and leased was 106, with an area of 93,821 acres. The revenue derived by the Crown in 1897 from sales and rentals was $144,299, whereas for the preceding five years it was only $131,518. Adding the rentals of land previously leased, the aggregate revenue of the five years was $146,959, while for 1897 it was $150,540, or, if the revenue from mining licences be included, the aggregate for 1897 was $153,561. According to the Bureau of Mines Report, issued on March 10th, 1898, the following number of mining companies were chartered in the Province, with capital as given, during each year since Confederation:

Year.	No.	Capital.	Year.	No.	Capital.
1868	6	$ 658,500	1885	2	1,600,000
1870	1	100,000	1886	3	1,060,000
1871	1	40,000	1887	2	5,250,000
1873	2	550,000	1888	10	1,368,000
1874	3	1,800,000	1889	5	3,570,000
1875	12	8,290,000	1890	14	2,755,000
1876	1	800,000	1891	12	2,723,000
1879	1	100,000	1892	14	4,025,000
1880	4	480,000	1893	1	300,000
1881	1	250,000	1894	5	2,135,000
1882	8	4,552,880	1895	2	62,000
1883	7	1,710,000	1896	26	15,600,000
1884	3	2,750,000	1897	140	101,531,000

In four years of the thirty no charters were issued to mining companies, and the total number issued down to the end of 1897 has been 286, with an aggregate authorized capital of $164,060,380. To the end of 1896 there were issued 146 charters, with a total capital of $62,529,380, one-fourth of which is held by the twenty-six companies organized in the latter year. In 1897 the number of companies incorporated was only six less than in the preceding twenty-nine years, but in amount of authorized capital they exceeded all companies formed in the twenty-nine years by $48,000,000. Of course every company which has secured a charter is not likely to become a working company, but of so large a number there are no doubt many that will proceed to make investments of their capital both in the acquisition and the development of properties.

Precious Stones in Canada. Although no mining for precious stones is carried on in Canada, and it can scarcely be called a gem-producing country, yet it furnishes a number of stones which are of more than passing interest to the mineralogist, and of some value in jewellery and the arts. In the Report of the Geological Survey for 1887-8 —Volume III.—there is a lengthy and elaborate article upon this subject by Mr. George F. Kunz, which of course bears the authoritative stamp of the Survey. He states that "A number of gem minerals, not of gem quality, are found here in examples of such stupendous size and wonderful perfection that they have found prominent places in the cabinets of the world, and are even more prized as such than cut stones from other localities. Their mineralogical value gives them no small commercial importance. For instance, the magnificent zircon crystals, occurring as individuals up to fifteen pounds in weight, many fine ones weighing nearly a pound, and the beautiful twin crystals of the same mineral; the black titanite in simple and twinned crystals up to seventy pounds each; the vast quantities of amethyst from Lake Superior; the ouvarovite or green chrome garnet from Oxford, and the white garnet crystals from near Wakefield, are some of the most notable of Canadian occurrences. Not the least wonderful are the appatite crystals, one weighing over 500 pounds, which are found of such size and beauty that the rich green variety, especially, would do to work into ornaments similar to those made from fluorite, which it exceeds in hardness. What Canada has produced in precious and ornamental stones was well shown at the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876, and at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at London in 1886. The fine minerals have found their way into the well-arranged collection of the Geological Survey of Canada, at Ottawa, the British Museum, the Mineralogical collection of McGill College, which contains the cabinet of the late John G. Miller, and the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia. The field in Canada is so vast that, although much has been done in the way of prospecting of late years, only a small part of the territory has been thoroughly gone over." The following statement is condensed from the source just quoted:

Diamonds. Have not been found at any locality in British North America.

Sapphire. Corundum in red and blue crystals has been found in limestone near Burgess, also in grains disseminated through a rock made up of felspar, quartz, calcite and titanite, in contact with the crystalline limestone. These grains are of a light rose-red to sapphire-blue colour, and are of no gem value, nor in quantity sufficient for commercial use. Chrysoberyl, alexandrite or Chrysoberyl cat's eye has not been observed in Canada.

Topaz. At the London Exhibition, 1862, there were exhibited two topazes. From Cape Breton came one in the rough, and the other which had been cut at Pictou, N. S., was half an inch in length and of a yellow colour. This is a variety peculiar to Brazil, which leads to the inference that these stones may have been citrine, or artificially decolourized smoky quartz, and not the true mineralogical topaz.

Emeralds. Have not been discovered in Canada, although very fine aquamarines have been found in Maine, adjacent to the Province of Quebec. Little if any beryl of value for gems has been found in Canada. Pale green well-defined crystals, however, have been reported by Dr. Bigsby at Rainy Lake, 230 miles west of Lake Superior. And in Berthier and Saguenay Counties, Quebec, some crystals over an inch in diameter have been found.

Zircon. The zircons of Ontario, especially those from Renfrew County, are the most remarkable known, for beauty, size, perfection and richness of colour. An occasional crystal top or a small fragment will afford a gem of the hyacinth variety, but they rarely exceed a carat in weight. Some of these individual crystals weigh about 15 lbs. and are more than four inches in diameter. One was observed three inches in diameter and nearly a foot in length. On one farm in Renfrew fine crystals have been obtained. The twin zircons from Lake Clear are especially beautiful and interesting, one of them measuring nearly four inches in length, and many thousand dollars' worth have been sold as specimens. Short's claim on the north shore of Lake Clear yields the finest twin zircons. In Burgess and adjoining townships occur some fine crystals, not so large as those from Renfrew, but of exquisite polish and highly modified forms; and near Grenville, Quebec, are found smaller crystals, often cherry red and transparent, which would make small gems. Highly modified crystals associated with wollastonite and graphite are also found there. Zircon is now mined by the ton in the United States and about $150 per ton is paid for it because of the earth it contains (zirconia) which is used in the hoods for the new incandescent gas burners. The zircons are obtained by washing out the soil resulting from the decomposition of felspathic rocks.

Tourmaline. This is found in green crystals in Chatham township, Quebec, and the green and red (rubellite) varieties in Villeneuve township, Quebec. Brown tourmalines are frequently met with in the Laurentian limestones. Fine crystals, rich, yellowish or translucent brown in colour, often occur imbedded in a flesh-red limestone at Calumet Falls, Quebec, and also in the townships of Ross, Ontario, Clarendon and Hunterstown, Quebec. These furnish an occasional gem. Slender crystals in white quartz occur at Fitzroy, Island Portage and Lac des Chats, and of inferior colour at McGregor's Quarry in Lachute, Ontario. Black tourmaline of no gem value is found at a number of localities, principally at Yeo's Island —one of the Thousand Islands. The velvet black, fibrous tourmaline found at Madoc and Elzevir, in Ontario, gives a blue powder and is evidently an indicolite, like the variety from Paris, Maine.

Garnets. Almandite garnets occur plentifully in magnificent crystals in mica shields along the Stickine River in British Columbia. Owing to their perfect form and polish the faces of these crystals are the most beautiful in the world. Although they are not transparent enough to be of value to cut into gems, if obtained in sufficient quantity they would be useful for watch jewels. Beds of nearly pure red garnet rock, from five to twenty-five feet thick, are sometimes met with in the gneiss at St. Jerome, Quebec, and in quartzite in Rawdon and Marmora townships, Ontario, and at Baie St. Paul, Quebec. Some small pieces would afford gems of little value, but the stone is of considerable use in the arts as a grinding material and for sand-paper. The large red garnet, disseminated through a white oligoclase gneiss, at Lake Simon, would not afford gems, but if polished with the rock would afford an ornamen-

tal stone. Essonite or cinnamon-coloured garnet, the so-called hyacinth of the jewellers, is found in small crystals in Grenville, Quebec, but not of gem value, and in fine crystals associated with idocrase, in Wakefield, Quebec. But few of these would furnish even small gems. Crossularite, or white lime alumina garnet, is found in Wakefield and in Hull in considerable quantity, in veins lining the crystalline limestone, and associated with essonite, idocrase, and pyroxene. This is the most remarkable locality for this mineral, superb crystals two inches across having been found there, as well as groups of crystals a foot across. In colour the crystals vary from colourless to light yellow and light brown and some of them are transparent enough to afford colourless gems of from one to two carats in weight. Melanite, or black garnet, is found in Marmora, Ontario, but this variety has no use in jewellery. Ouvarovite, or green chrome garnet, found in Oxford, is one of the most beautiful known occurrences of this rare mineral. The crystals, which are transparent dodecahedrons, rarely over one-eighth of an inch in diameter and of the deepest emerald green colour, are found lining druses in cavities of crystalline limestone, often on the chrome pyroxene and associated with millerite. If it were not for the small size of the crystals this would be a gem of the highest rank. A few crystals of this mineral have been found in Wakefield, some of which rival in size any that have been discovered—the largest measuring nearly one half inch in diameter. They are of a fine green, but opaque, and are sometimes filled with a yellow centre.

Quartz. Rock crystal is found in many localities of Canada, especially in veins with amethyst in the Lake Superior region, but it has not been observed of sufficient size to afford crystal balls or other art objects. The small doubly terminated crystals found in the limestones of the Levis and Hudson River formation, and familiarly called "Quebec diamonds," are sold as souvenirs to tourists, as the Lake George diamonds are in the United States. Fine crystals are found in the soil in Lacolle, Que., and in the cavities of the calciferous formation in many places in beautiful limpid forms. Larger crystals have been found with smoky quartz near Paradise Bay, N.S., also throughout the entire Bay of Fundy district, and on the Musquash River, N.B., and at Cape Blomidon, N.S. Milky quartz is found all through Canada, but it is never of any value in the arts except for porcelain. Rose quartz is also found at many localities, especially at Shelbourne, N.S. It is of little value in the arts, but has been made into various ornaments and charms. Smoky quartz in fine groups occurs in the same veins with amethyst on both Lake Superior and the Bay of Fundy—so uneven in colour, however, as to afford gems of little value. When transparent, smoky quartz has considerable sale for jewellery under the name of cairngorm, Scotch or smoked topaz, and, when partly decolourized to a yellow and yellowish brown, as Spanish or Saxon topaz.

Amethyst. Is found in some form in nearly every vein cutting the cherty and argillaceous slates around Thunder Bay, on the north shore of Lake Superior. At Amethyst Harbour this mineral constitutes almost the entire vein, and numerous openings have been made to obtain it for tourists who visit the spot. Thousands of dollars' worth are annually sold here and as much more is sent to Niagara Falls, Pike's Peak, Hot Springs, and other tourists' resorts, as well as to the mineral dealers. Surfaces several feet across are often covered with crystals from a quarter inch to five inches long, rich in colour, and having a high polish. Sometimes, especially when large, the crystals have a coating of a rusty brown colour, owing to the oxidation of the included geothite. This is one of the most famous occurrences of this mineral, regarded as mineral specimens, but the purple colour is very unevenly distributed, resembling the Siberian, not the Brazilian, in this respect; and, as the crystals are not transparent like those from Siberia, they afford very few gem stones of value. In Nova Scotia, however, fine amethysts occur in bands, veins and geodes at Partridge Island, Cumberland County, N.S.—surfaces a foot square being covered with splendid purple crystals an inch across. Dr. Gesner mentions a geode that would hold about two gallons, found at Cape Sharp, nearly opposite Blomidon, N.S. Another, lining walls of chalcedony with concentric bandings, was found at Sandy Cove, Digby County, N.S., and weighed 40 lbs. De Monts is said to have taken crystals

from Partridge Island to Henry IV. of France; and a crystal from Blomidon was among the French Crown Jewels twenty years ago. A bushel of crystals were obtained by the late Dr. Webster of Kentville, N.S., in digging a single well. Dr. Gesner also states that he had seen a band of amethyst some feet in length and perhaps two inches thick, about a mile east of Hall's Harbour, N.S. Other localities are on the south side of Nichol's Mountain, Cape D'Or, Mink Cove, Scot's Bay, in Nova Scotia, and Little Dipper Harbour and Nerapis, in New Brunswick, and other localities along the Bay of Fundy.

Agate, Chalcedony and Carnelian. Agates are found along the entire coast of Lake Superior in great abundance and often of considerable size and beauty. The finest in this region, however, are derived from the trap of Michipicoten Island, Ontario. They also occur on St. Ignace and Simpson Islands, Ontario. Both chalcedony and agate occur also as veins filling discolourations and cracks which penetrate the trap in several directions. In the Thunder Bay district they are associated with amethysts, occurring also as pebbles. Although these agates are often of rich colour, and are beautifully veined, they are rarely over two inches across. Many are sold to tourists for ornaments, and many others could probably be disposed of if a little more attention were given to cutting and polishing them. As natural agates their colour is exceptionally fine. Nearly all the large agates sold in this region are foreign material as well as of foreign colouring and cutting. Agate pebbles, known to the collectors as Gaspè Pebbles, are found in the conglomerate of the Bonaventure formation on the Baie des Chaleurs, Quebec; and along the shore of Lake Superior, in the vicinity of Goulais Bay; and especially on the St. Mary's River. Handsome agate and chalcedony in nodules and veins are of frequent occurrence on the south shore of the Bay of Fundy, between Digby and Scot's Bay, N.S. Large masses of agate have frequently been found on this coast. Gesner mentions a mass of forty pounds' weight made up of curved layers of white, semi-transparent chalcedony and red carnelian, forming a fine sardonyx. A mass, showing distinct parallel zones of cacholong, white chalcedony and red carnelian, was found a few miles east of Cape Split, N.S. When polished it resembles an aggregation of circular eyes, and hence the name "eye-stone agate" is applied to it. At Scot's Bay, N.S., large surfaces of rocks are studded with these minerals. Fine specimens are also found at Blomidon, and at Partridge Island, N.S. Fine agates, chalcedony and carnelians are also found in New Brunswick. Beautiful moss agates are found at Two Islands, Cumberland County, and near Cape Split, Partridge Island, also at Scot's Bay, King's County, N.S. They are exceptionally fine in the latter locality. Chrysoprase of fair colour has been found in the Hudson's Bay district, on Belanger's Island.

Heliotrope (bloodstone) in good specimens is of rare occurrence in the North Mountain, Bay of Fundy, N.S.

Semi-opal has been found at Partridge Island in fine specimens, at Grand Manan, N.B., and at other localities in that vicinity.

Labradorite. This most beautiful of all the Chatoyant felspars exists in great quantities upon the coasts of Labrador, especially at Nain and on St. Paul's Island, adjacent to it, where the finest known occurs in veins of some size. From there for over a century it has been brought by the ton for use in the arts. It occurs on Lake Huron, Ontario, at Cape Mahul, and in the 10th range of Abercrombie, Quebec, in fine cleavages several inches in diameter and of rich colour showing beautiful blue opalescence.

Fluorite. This mineral is occasionally found in purple crystals measuring several inches on a face associated with and on the Lake Superior amethyst. Green and purple fluor often fills mineral veins in the Lake Superior region, and veins in syenite opposite Pic Island, on the mainland. On an island near Gravelly Point, in a porphyry, it occurs in green octahedral crystals, with barite; in green cubes associated with calcite and quartz, at Prine's Mine, Ontario, and in small beautiful crystals near Hull, Quebec. Fluor spar of a beautiful blue colour is found at Plaster Cove, Richmond County, N. S. Small purple crystals of great beauty are occasionally found on pearl-spar in the geodes at Niagara Falls, Ontario, and elsewhere in the Niagara formation. A green compact variety occurs in white calcite associated with galena, in veins cutting the Pots-

dam sandstone at Baie St. Paul and Murray Bay, Quebec. This would work into an ornamental stone. It is frequently found all through the Laurentian rocks. When transparent, the various colours are called purple (false amethyst), yellow (false topaz) and green (false emerald). It is rarely cut into mineralogical gems, but, when compact, of good colour, or beautifully veined, it is worked into vases, curios and other ornamental objects, known as Blue John, Derbyshire Spar, etc.

Jasper (conglomerate) exists in mountain masses along with the quartzite masses of the Huronian series for miles in the country north of the Bruce Mines; on Lake Superior north of Goulais Bay; on the St. Mary's River about four miles west of Campment d'Our's; and at two places on the east shore of Lake George, and on Lake Huron, Ont. It is a rock consisting of a matrix of white quartzite, in which are pebbles often several inches across, of a rich red, yellow, green or black jasper, or smoky or other coloured chalcedony, which form a remarkably striking contrast with the pure white matrix. It is susceptible of a very high polish, and has been made into a great variety of ornamental objects, such as vases, paper weights, etc. Some very beautiful mosaics have been produced by using the rock and included pebbles. The stone occurs in thick bands which extend for miles, and large boulders of it are scattered along the shores of the lakes and rivers. Within half a mile of the northern extremity of Goulais Bay, Ont., there is a ridge containing several varieties of it. Large quantities of rich red jasper are found in Hull, Que. Yellow and red occur largely in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Jade (nephrite), in the form of archæological implements, has been found from the Straits of Fuca northward along the entire coast of British Columbia and the northern end of Alaska. At the latter place it is closely allied with other minerals, such as the new form of pectolite, and is found with other relics of various kinds about shell heaps and old village sites, and in graves. It is also found as far inland as the second mountain system of the Cordilleran belts, represented by the Gold, Cariboo and other ranges, principally among remains from Indian graves, and along the lower portion of the Fraser and Thompson Rivers, within the territory of the Selish people. It is also reported from the Rae River, and from the Hudson's Bay district by Mr. Rae. This stone is highly esteemed in China and India, where it is carved into fine art objects and sold in large quantities, a single object requiring the work of a lifetime, and selling for thousands of dollars. In New Zealand it is made into charms, trinkets and paper cutters.

Porphyry. The porphyries which cut the Laurentian limestones in the townships of Grenville and Chatham, Quebec, form a dyke running east and west twenty feet in breadth. They have a dark green or brownish black base, homogeneous and compact, containing crystals of red orthoclase, and admitting of a high polish, which strongly recommends them for use as ornamental stones.

Titanite (Sphene). The titanites of Canada have a world-wide reputation, not only for their colour, polish and the perfection of the crystals, but also for their great size. A twin crystal of this mineral has been found on Turner's Island, in Lake Clear, weighing eighty pounds. They are found abundantly in this region, associated with apatite. The crystals are generally of such deep brown colour as to appear black, and it is rare that even a small transparent gem could be cut from them. As crystals, however, they are unexcelled, and many thousand dollars' worth have been sold as specimens. The finest are found in Renfrew County, especially in Sebastopol and Brudenell townships. Yellow crystals have not been observed as yet.

Thomsonite of a red colour, compact and fibrous, often banded with green in a number of concentric rings, is found on the northern shore of Lake Superior, Ontario, and at Cape Split, N. S. The pebbles vary in size from one-eighth of an inch up to one inch across, and are quite extensively sold oa all sides of the lake as an ornamental stone. The pebbles when polished find a ready sale among the tourists who frequent that region. The green which Peckham and Hall described as lintonite, an uncrystalline green variety of thomsonite, often forms the centre or band, making an effective gem stone, and is sold for the same purposes.

Apatite. This mineral, which has added so much to the mining industry of the Dominion, is found in greater quantity and in finer crystals than in any other country. The crystals are often of great size and perfection, one famous crystal from the Emerald Mine, at Buckingham, Quebec, weighing 550 lbs. Magnificent crystals are found throughout Eastern Ontario on the shores of Lake Clear, several feet in length and of fine colour; at Sebastopol and elsewhere throughout Renfrew County, and in Wakefield, Templeton, Portland and Buckingham townships, Ottawa County, Quebec. The crystals are often partly transparent, and are of all shades of red-brown, brick-red and often rich, deep green—in which latter case they ought to have some of the uses of fluor spars as ornamental stones.

Wilsonite is found at Bathurst and Burgess, Ontario, and Ottawa County, Quebec, in masses of some size associated with scapolite. The specimens are beautiful, the minerals often passing into each other. The rich, purplish red colour of this mineral, and the fact that it admits of a good polish, make it one of the most interesting of gem minerals.

General Survey of Canadian Mineral Wealth. Amongst those who have helped to make known the vast mineral resources of the Dominion, credit is due to Mr. Erastus Wiman, of New York. Though advocating views distasteful to the great mass of Canadians his influence was considerable in commercial circles in the United States at the time when the following interesting summary was given to the Boards of Trade at Detroit and Buffalo, respectively, on August 27th and August 30th, 1887: "There is no country in the world which possesses so much iron as Canada. In no land is it so easily mined, and nowhere is it quite so accessible to great manufacturing centres. The impression exists in the ordinary mind that the supplies of iron which the United States produces are abundantly adequate for her needs, but such is not the case as our imports of iron are something enormous. For the present season the amount of rails which have been brought in, reach, in all, 400,000 tons, costing, at $40 a ton, $16,000,000, including a payment to the United States Government of $17 a ton, or $6,800,000. In addition to this the amount of blooms to be rolled into rails will amount to nearly an additional 200,000 tons, while the imported raw ore will amount to over a million tons, which pays a duty of 75 cents for every ton, and which costs laid down here from $7 to $8 a ton. It may seem a little surprising to you that the great new discoveries of iron in the Gogebic Ranges, which you thought were sufficient to swamp all the markets of the United States, are still unable to furnish the demand from its furnaces and that the Island of Elba, which was worked before the Christian era by the Romans, is still furnishing furnaces at Pittsburgh.

How strangely is the past thus linked with the present! The plates for building our warships and our cannons, which are made by the Bethlehem Iron Company, are wholly derived from Spain. Is it not a strange illustration of the necessity that sometimes exists for 'carrying coals to Newcastle,' that iron from the new region of Canada penetrated by the Kingston & Pembroke Railway is absolutely being mined in Canada and carried up the river past your own doors to the furnaces in Joliet, Illinois, because of its excellence and its freedom from phosphorous? In this question of phosphorous, plain, common people like yourself and me had better be informed, because iron of the United States is possessed of that element to such an extent, while the iron of Canada is free from it, that the union of the two is of the greatest possible consequence. The contributions which we are now receiving from Spain, Africa and Cuba should be derived from Canada. No development whatever in the United States will stop the importation of iron. These importations are brought in solely because of the peculiarity of the ore and its freedom from phosphorous. The Canadian ore possesses this freedom.

The growth in the use of iron is greater than that of any other article, while its future increase is beyond estimate. The disappearance of wood, the ingenuity of man, and the adaptability of the material, makes it possible that iron will enter, to a greater degree than can be estimated, into the industrial arts and refinements of life. The day is near at hand when your wooden ships will

be a thing of the past, and only iron ships will be known on your lakes. Already it is considered that railroad bridges made of iron are alone safe. The day is fast coming when wooden sleepers will disappear from your railways and be superseded by iron ties. You can imagine what the consumption will be when you consider that there are 140,000 miles already laid in the United States, and every mile contains 2,650 cross ties. The day is not far distant when cars, as well as locomotives, will be made of iron, and not only locomotives and cars but telegraph poles. Let me draw your attention to the fact that to-day a greater quantity of iron is being used in the matter of fencing than could have been dreamed of years ago. Not only is the wire fence now so common all over the West a revelation of the use to which iron may be put, but the posts on which the fence rests are also of this material. Now, under such circumstances, will it not be an immense boon to this country to have opened up to it resources of supply almost beyond human belief? Do you realize the fact that within six hours of the city of Rochester (N. Y.) there lie buried treasures in iron so great as to exceed the treasures of Lake Superior? Do you realize the fact that American capital and American enterprise have already by the Central Ontario Railway permeated this region up the Valley of the Trent, and for a hundred and fifty miles this road runs through an almost continuous iron belt? That already ore is being mined from these regions, brought to the lake ports and is entering into their daily commerce, notwithstanding the fact that it has to bear a tax of 75 cents a ton?

The percentage of metallic iron in all these Canadian ores is just as great as that of the rich Gogebic regions, the development of which has added so much to the wealth of this country, and which are already capitalized for more than $70,000,000, though they were practically unknown two years ago. Let me give you but one example. At New Glasgow, in Nova Scotia, within a radius of six miles, there are found hundreds of tons of iron ore of the best quality, equal to that of any other portion of the world, side by side with limestone chemically pure, coke in abundant quantities from seams thirty feet thick, all directly on the Intercolonial Railway, and within six miles of the Atlantic Ocean. This ore, manufactured at that point, could be brought to Boston for a dollar and a half per ton, which, to bring from the Gogebic regions where there is no coal, would cost five dollars per ton. In the South, about the development of which we have heard so much, it is true there are inexhaustible quantities of iron ore, side by side with coal and limestone, but this great misfortune occurs, that these ores are not steel ores and are high in phosphorus.

In regard to copper, the great success which has been achieved by the great representative copper company of the world, known as the Calumet Hecla, has been based on the fact that five per cent. of the ore was pure copper, whereas in the Canadian copper development it is found that the percentage of copper runs all the way from six to as high as thirty per cent. The use of copper has increased next only in extent to iron, and its cheapness of recent years has developed uses for it that were never dreamed of. For roofing cars and other such uses it is likely to be introduced very extensively. The Canadian copper deposits are almost beyond human belief, there being ridges miles long at the Sudbury Junction mine on the Canadian Pacific Railway. The present duty on copper is 3½ cents a pound, which has been practically prohibitory of the importation of raw copper from these regions. It is utterly unnecessary and unjustifiable, for we are the largest exporters of copper in the world. It is a fact that you can get on a horse and ride through continuous ridges (in Canada) containing more copper above ground than is to be seen on any iron deposit in the world.

In the matter of nickel the deposits of Canada challenge attention. The results of one deposit in Pennsylvania, in the United States were two, per cent. of nickel, which has supplied the whole United States. There are in Canada millions and millions of tons of nickel ore, which contain, according to a recent analysis, six to ten per cent. of pure nickel. Of course you know its commonest use is in the nickel five-cent piece, but it is used in all the fine grades of manufactures. It is a metal that is stronger than steel, not only very hard, but very malleable and ductile. Its use in the manufacture of guns has hitherto been

impossible because of its high price, but with the development of the mines of Canada all the artillery of the world can be made from it. One of the best illustrations of its availability is the fact that just before the death of the great Krupp, the German gun-maker, negotiations were pending for obtaining supplies from the Canadian nickel mines for the manufacture of his celebrated guns for European warfare. Is it not an illustration of the stupid ignorance of our own people that almost within sight of their shores should be lying metal of such intrinsic value, needing only industry and development, with American capitalists and the American miner, to make it available for the use of the world. The use of nickel in the sheeting of vessels would result in a revolution in all the tropical waters, where one of the chief impediments to speed is the accumulations which copper and other metals gather in, but which in the case of nickel is entirely impossible. In the manufacture of the guns, recently ordered by the Navy Department, the world is being searched by the Bethlehem people for material. The iron must be of such a fine quality, so entirely free from phosphorus, that out of a whole ton if there were present the merest trace of phosphorus, equivalent to two-hundreths of one per cent., the metal would be condemned. In the case of nickel, however, if it could be substituted for iron, no such difficulty would be found, and it could, if allowed to come in free from Canada, be substituted at a less cost than iron costs to-day. Then there would be a gun that would not be equalled on earth.

But it is not alone in iron, copper and nickel that Canada possesses great natural wealth. In gold and silver her productions have already been extensive. In Nova Scotia $8,000,000 has been taken out of the ground, by a very imperfect system of mining, in fifteen years; and in British Columbia immense quantities are believed to exist, from the fact that gold to the value of $50,000,000 has been mined from only a dozen localities, yet hardly fully developed. With regard to silver you will all remember the remarkable story of Silver Islet, at the head of Lake Superior, which yielded such immense returns. Throughout the Port Arthur district, and in the Beaver and Rabbit mountains, silver is now being mined with good success, and there are many indications of its existence in numerous localities in Canada. Of phosphates, however, Canada possesses an enormous quantity, and of the purest character. No country in the world needs fertilizers more than large portions of the United States. The manufacture of this article is one of the most important industries, and its output simply enormous. In Canada there is, in counties of the Ottawa, almost inexhaustible supplies of the highest grade of natural fertilizers. Analysis shows that Canadian phosphates possess phosphoric acid up to 37 and 39 per cent., or equivalent to 80 or 86 per cent. of phosphate of lime. No contribution to the wealth of the continent is of greater value than the development of this important industry, and already American enterprise and American capital are seeking investment in this direction.

In asbestos, also, Canada possesses one of the most valuable of minerals. It is common in Canada, and only elsewhere in the world in Italy. There is some in California but it costs too much to market. It is a fibrous material known for its power to resist fire and acids, and presents the widest field for inventive genius to open up new processes for building purposes, fabrics, and for use in steam boilers, pipes, paints, fire-proof cements and other uses. Salt, antimony, building stones, arsenic, pyrites, oxides of iron, marble, lithographic stones, graphites, plumbago, gypsum, soapstone, white quartz for potter's use, silicious sand-stones for glass-making, emery and numerous other great products lie dormant awaiting the touch of man. In the matter of lead, it is found in almost every Province, and especially in British Columbia, where the opening up of Kootenay shows enormous deposits of lead and silver ores, the lead ore showing as much as fifteen and a half ounces of silver to the ton.

Mica is one of the characteristic minerals of the Laurentian range that dominates Canada. In these ranges are found the white, brown and black varieties, and in the Ottawa Valley are huge store-houses of mica, which has a promise of a great future, its usefulness of late years having been greatly extended in the manufacture of wall paper, in the embellishment of cars, as a lubricator for machinery, and especially as an anti-

friction product. It is unwise to burden you longer with a detail of Canadian riches in the minor minerals; enough will be said if you can be convinced that of all countries in the world Canada not only possesses greater riches but a greater variety than any other country. Allusion was made a little while ago to the wheat-producing power of the North-West, but attention should be drawn to the enormous mineral resources of Manitoba and the North-Western Territories. The whole country with the exception of the Red River Valley, the great wheat belt, is rich in mineral deposits; gold is found in Lake of the Woods in quartz and nuggets; in the Saskatchewan Valley in dust, where even now men with shovel and bucket can make an average of ten dollars a day. The iron deposits of the Britannic Range on Big Island and Lake Winnipeg are of immense value, and, having been recently treated by two of the smelting works in Chicago, their reports are extremely favourable, especially in helping the Lake Superior ores.

In the matter of coal, both in the Territories and throughout Canada, the deposit is something remarkable. Throughout the North-West there is hardly any place more than one hundred miles from a coal bed. The whole coal area of Canada is very extensive, an approximate estimate placing it at no less than 97,000 square miles. The magnitude of the interests involved in this question of supply of coal, its contiguity and economy of handling, are of enormous importance to the United States, and it is a significant testimony to the important position which Canada holds on that question, when it is recalled that away down on the Atlantic the manufacturing coal of Nova Scotia should without doubt supply the manufacturing centres of New England at a minimum of cost, while away out on the Pacific, on the other hand, the great anthracite supplies of British Columbia are an absolute necessity for San Francisco and contiguous cities, and which they are now absorbing at the rate of 300,000 tons a year."

Sir William Edmund Logan, LL.D, F.R.S., F.G.S., the first Director of the Canadian Geological Survey, was born in Montreal on April 20th, 1798. He began his education in the Royal Grammar School there and after finishing his course entered the High School at Edinburgh, and subsequently became a student of the University in that city, taking Logic, Chemistry and Mathematics, and securing first prize in the latter. For some reason not known his University career ended at this point and he entered mercantile life in the office of his uncle in London, England (1818), where he spent about ten years, finally becoming a partner in the business. In 1829 he returned to Canada and became interested in the geological characteristics of the country, but soon re-crossed the Atlantic and settled in Swansea, South Wales, where he managed the copper, smelting and coal-mining operations in which his uncle was interested. He, however, left this position soon after the death of the latter in 1838. During his residence in South Wales he made a diligent study of the coal fields of the region and was thereby enabled to produce such accurate maps of the different sections that they were adopted by the Government, and were highly eulogized by Sir Henry de la Beche, superintendent of the British Geological Survey. Mr. Logan was the first to demonstrate that the stratum of clay which underlies the coal beds was the soil on which the coal vegetation grew.

In 1841 he returned to British North America, and after visiting the coal fields of Nova Scotia and Pennsylvania was able to send to the Geological Society of London some valuable communications on the subject. In the early summer of that year he wrote an able paper "On the Packing of Ice on the River St. Lawrence." This treatise was subsequently acknowledged by Mr. Geo. Stephenson, in high terms, as being the information which guided him in determining the requisite defence for the Victoria Railway Bridge. Before being appointed head, in 1842, of the Geological Survey of Canada, he had made some important discoveries in his examination of the Palæozoic rocks of Canada. After his appointment his investigations resulted in finding at least one of the keys to the geology of north-eastern America. One of his discoveries revealed the fact that the Laurentide mountains, which were regarded as Azoic rocks and the oldest in the world, were nothing more than stratified rocks formed of sedimentary deposits. In 1851 his standing in

the scientific world received a graceful compliment in his appointment as Commissioner to represent Canada at the Industrial Exhibition in London during that year. It is not too much to say that all Europe was astonished at the magnificent display of the rich treasures from Canada which were there so minutely and ably classified. Some four years later he had the privilege of representing Canada in a similar capacity at the Paris Exhibition in France. He there received the Grand Gold Medal of Honour, and the Emperor also decorated him with the Legion of Honour. During the same year he became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in the year following was Knighted, receiving at the same time from the Geological Society the Wollaston Palladium Medal for his eminent services to Geology. He also represented Canada at the London Exhibition of 1862.

In reference to the great scientific work carried on by Sir William Logan the *London Quarterly Review* of October, 1854, made the following observation: "In Canada, especially, there has been proceeding for some years one of the most extensive and important Geological Surveys now going on in the world. The enthusiasm and disinterestedness of a thoroughly qualified and judicious observer, Mr. Logan, whose name will ever stand high in the roll of votaries of that favourite science, have conferred upon this great work a wide-spread fame." His further connection with the various Scientific and Historical Societies of the world may be briefly summarized: Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1861; Fellow of the Geological Society of London, 1837; Member of the Geological Society of France, 1842, and Belgium, 1847; Member of the Imperial Leopoldo-Carolinian Academy of Germany, 1857; Member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 1846; Member of the Maine Historical Society, 1847; the Academy of Sciences, St. Louis, 1857; the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, 1859; the State Historical Societies of Wisconsin and Iowa, 1859; the American Philosophical Society, 1860; the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, 1863. He was made a D. C. L. by the University of Lennoxville in 1855, and LL. D. by McGill University in 1856. Sir William Logan died on June 22, 1875, in Wales.

Alfred Richard Cecil Selwyn, C.M.G., F.R.S., LL.D., for many years Director of the Canadian Geological Survey, was born at Kilmington, Somerset, England, on July 28th, 1824. Instructed at home under private tutors, he was afterwards sent to Switzerland, where he completed his education. His inclination being toward the study of Natural Science, he was allowed every opportunity to gratify his desire. Appointed an assistant geologist on the Geological Survey of Great Britain, he remained in that position until 1852, when he was chosen by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the recommendation of his official chief, to assume the duties of Director of the Geological Survey of the Colony of Victoria, Australia. He remained in Australasia for seventeen years and, before returning to England, undertook in addition to his regular work in Victoria, special examinations of the Tasmanian and South Australian coal and gold fields. He was appointed one of the Victorian Commissioners of Mines, 1856; a Member of the Board of Science and of the Prospecting Board, 1858; a Commissioner for the Victorian International Exhibition, 1861; a Commissioner for the London Exhibition, 1862; a Commissioner for the Dublin Exhibition, 1865; and a Commissioner for the Paris Exhibition, 1866.

In 1869 he resigned his position in Australia and came to Canada, being appointed on the recommendation of Sir William Logan, to be his successor as Director of the Canadian Geological Survey. He remained in the active discharge of his duties as such till January, 1895, when he was retired with a pension. Dr. Selwyn was in charge of the Canadian Minerals at the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, 1876; at Paris, 1878, where he was appointed a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour; at London, 1886, where he was created a C.M.G., and at Chicago, 1896, where he was one of the Judges in the Department of Mines. In Canada he edited and contributed to twenty volumes of Official Reports and papers. Under his direction the offices of Survey were removed from Montreal to Ottawa, in 1881. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the Geological Society, London; a Fellow of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; an Honourary Member of the Natural History Society, Montreal; a Fellow of the Geological

Society, Paris; a member of the Turin Industrial Museum; a corresponding member of the Royal Geographical Society of Vienna; an Honourary member of the Geological Society of America; and an Honourary member of the Zoological Society of London. He was Clarke medallist of the Royal Society of New South Wales and Murchison medallist of the Geological Society of London. On the organization of the Royal Society of Canada, 1882, Dr. Selwyn was chosen one of the Fellows thereof by the Marquess of Lorne and became President of the Society in 1896. He has been also President of the Natural History Society of Montreal. In 1881 he received the Honourary degree of LL.D. from McGill University.

Works of Reference. The following volumes, Reports, etc., may be consulted regarding Canadian Minerals:

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Coal Mine in Cape Breton Island, N.S.

SECTION VI.

HISTORY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL AND BAPTIST CHURCHES

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN CANADA

BY

THE REV. HUGH PEDLEY, B.A.

THE free democratic principles of Church life held by Congregationalists are believed by them to have characterized the churches of the New Testament, but Congregationalism as it now exists is a child of the Reformation. Its strength lies mainly in two countries—England and the United States—and in both it has a firm historical footing. In the old land, after a time of obscurity, contempt and persecution during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, it came to the front in the death-grapple between despotism and liberty which led to the execution of Charles I. A section of the people containing men of the calibre of Cromwell and Milton could not but make its mark on the national life.

From the time of the Commonwealth until now Congregationalism has indeed been one of the great shaping forces in British history. In 1620 it crossed the Atlantic in the Mayflower, became the founder of New England, and then took its place among the formative factors of the new world. The Congregationalism of Canada was related to both these sections—to the one by virtue of political solidarity, and to the other because of geographical contiguity. As a matter of history it has drawn its life from both of these sources. My account of it may come under two periods, the one preceding 1776, the other subsequent to that significant date. The more ancient Congregationalism presents us with several interesting facts. First of all it is worth knowing that there was a Mayflower before the Mayflower. In the reign of Elizabeth permission to go to Canada was given to the Brownists, as Congregationalists were then called, and a number of them set sail for the St. Lawrence on board of two ships, the Hopewell and the Chancewell. It chanced ill with the latter, for she was totally wrecked, and the Hopewell having captured a Spanish ship off Cape Breton, deemed it best to turn back to England with the prize. The enterprise so far as Congregationalism is concerned is, therefore, one of the "might have beens" of history.

Newfoundland is not a part of Canada now, but may be in the future. It is worth noting that about the year 1645 George Downing, the first graduate of Cambridge, Mass., was invited by Congregationalists in Newfoundland to become their pastor, but for some reason declined, and thus the founding of a Church was postponed until 1775. A third significant fact remains to be mentioned. In 1758 Governor Lawrence caused a proclamation to be made in New England inviting settlers to come and make their home in Nova Scotia. The invitation was accepted on condition that full religious liberty should be granted, a condition that was rendered necessary by the fact that the Episcopalian Church was then established by law. As a result of this the charter of Nova Scotia was enacted, a statute characterized by Judge Haliburton as the "Magna Charta of Nova Scotia." The movement of population thus inaugurated, and the movement of Congregationalism that went with it, were of course checked by the separation of the American colonies from the Mother Country, but several of the churches in the Lower Provinces are the lineal descendants of those that sprang up at that time.

Coming to a more recent period, and turning to the Province of Quebec, the first Congregational work of which we have any record is that which was begun in the City of Quebec in 1801. The first pastor was the Rev. Mr. Benton, under

The writer of this article is much indebted for material to articles by the Rev. S. M. Jackson, M.D., and to the Rev. John Wood's "Memoir of Dr. Wilkes."

whom the work went on very prosperously for two or three years, when interruption came from an unexpected quarter. For two years Mr. Benton had exercised without hindrance his full rights as a clergyman, but in the third year, as a result of hostile influences brought to bear upon the authorities, he was refused the legal register. He protested in a pamphlet, was arrested, convicted of libel, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment and a fine of £50—which sentence was actually carried out—and, worse still, the effect of the legal decision then given was to deprive Congregational ministers generally of their ecclesiastical rights; and this injustice was not removed until thirty years afterwards.

Soon after this, and despite difficulties, Congregational work began in the Eastern Townships. The pioneer in that part of the country was the Rev. John Jackson, who came from Massachusetts in 1811 and settled in Brome. Others followed, and, largely as the result of the work of these American preachers, there exists to-day a group of prosperous and influential churches. The work in Montreal was begun by the Rev. Richard Miles, but after 1836 had for its leader the Rev. Henry Wilkes—an Englishman by birth, a Scotchman by education, and a thorough Canadian in his sympathies and labours. Under Dr. Wilkes there grew up a powerful church well known as *Zion* Church, and before he died in 1886, the one church had become three, and to these two others have since been added.

There is an incident in Dr. Wilkes' student experience which deserves a place here, and I give it in the words of his biographer, the Rev. John Wood, premising that Dr. Wilkes had gone from Canada to Glasgow to pursue his theological studies. "A shrewd, intelligent man, residing at that time in Hamilton, near to Glasgow, was walking aimlessly in the street on a Sabbath morning, in deep distress of soul. He knew not what to do, when a friend, directed, doubtless, by the Good Spirit, accosted him, and invited him to the Independent Chapel, where a young man from America was to officiate that day. He accepted the invitation, and the word preached was blessed to his salvation—he found rest through faith in the crucified and risen Saviour, and in due time connected himself with the Church, bringing with him his young family. In that family the world-renowned David Livingstone was then a boy of thirteen, for his father was the man who on the Sabbath day had received the blessing, and Henry Wilkes was the young preacher whom the Lord honoured as the instrument of bringing salvation to that house; and who shall say how far-reaching upon Africa and the world itself, shall be the influence of that humble undergraduate sermon?"

The first Church in Ontario of which we have any record is that founded at Frome, near St. Thomas, by the Rev. Joseph Silcox. It was originally known by the peculiar title of the "Congregational Presbyterian Prince of Peace Society," and continues as a useful Church up to the present day. In the course of time churches sprang up in Toronto, London, Brantford, Hamilton, Cobourg, Kingston. The formation of the Colonial Missionary Society in England about 1836 gave a new impetus to the work, and soon there were a number of good men in the field. Genuine pioneer work was carried on. The early settlers were followed to their little clearings in the forest depths. The log house became a sanctuary, and men and women enduring the hardships of frontier life met there to join in the fellowship of prayer and praise. Many names occur—Hayden, Climie, Clark, Denny, Kribs, Hay and Baker. These and men of like spirit helped to lay the foundation of all that is best in our Canadian life. Other names of a later date are conspicuous for special reasons—that of the Rev. W. H. Heu-de-Bourck, a descendant of an ancient Huguenot family, because of his zeal in church building, and that of the Rev. Joseph Wild, D.D., from the peculiarity of his preaching methods, and his ability to attract an immense congregation and hold it for many years. A typical representative of the English ideal of the Independent preacher in public life was found in the Rev. John Roaf, of *Zion* Church, Toronto, who in the stormy period of Canadian politics between 1837 and 1850 made his mark as a powerful champion of reform measures. In the list of successful city pastors are to be found such men as Marling of Toronto, Fenwick of Kingston, and Piellar and Sanders of Hamilton.

In the far west Congregationalism has made

comparatively little progress. The first movement was in 1859, when the Rev. W. F. Clarke, of the Canadian Provinces, and the Rev. Matthew McPhie, of England, were sent out to British Columbia. An unfortunate disagreement as to the rights of coloured people in the church caused their enterprise to prove abortive. Nothing more was done west of Ontario until 1879, when the Rev. William Ewing, B.A., a graduate of the Congregational College in Montreal, went out to Winnipeg. He began work there, and in the following year was succeeded by the Rev. J. B.

The Rev. W. H. Heu-de Bourck.

Silcox, by whose energy and magnetic eloquence a large and prosperous congregation was gathered. Since that time a second church in Winnipeg has been organized, and also a church in Brandon of which the Rev. H. C. Mason was the founder. There is a Congregational church in Vancouver, B.C., established in 1888 by the Rev. J. W. Pedley, and one of a more recent date in Victoria, B.C. There is also a Scandinavian church in Alberta, some distance north of Calgary. The work in the west is still small in extent, though it may have an important relation to future religious development. Because of the simplicity of its creed, and the comprehensiveness of its spirit, Congregationalism is peculiarly fitted to be in the vanguard of the movement towards a more Catholic presentation of the Christian faith.

Though free in its organization Congregationalism has its organizations. It sustains a College in Montreal which, through affiliation with McGill University, affords to students a very satisfactory literary and theological training. For a long time the work was carried on without a building and with very little endowment, but through the indomitable energy of Dr. Wilkes and the princely liberality of men like Mr. W. C. Smillie and Mr. George Hague of the Merchants' Bank, an endowment of $50,000 was secured and a suitable building, combining College and Principal's residence, was erected on McTavish Street, in the vicinity of McGill University.

The first to hold the Principalship was the Rev. Dr. Tilley, and he was followed in succession by Dr. Wilkes, Dr. J. F. Stevenson, and Dr. Barbour, who has just resigned. For a long time, and until his death, the Rev. George Cornish, D.D., who held the Chair of Classics in McGill, was identified with the College as Professor of Greek Exegetics and Secretary of the Board. The present staff is composed of the Rev. Dr. George, late of St. Louis, U.S.A.—the newly appointed Principal—the Rev. W. H. Warriner, B.D., and the Rev. E. M. Hill. Another important organization is the Canada Congregational Missionary Society, whose work is the founding of new churches and the helping of those which are too weak for entire self-support. The foreign work of the Congregationalist body is of recent origin, but has been wonderfully successful. The Foreign Missionary Society has concentrated its work on the West Central Africa Mission, where, under the leadership of the Rev. Walter Currie, B.A., the first missionary of the Society, a most important evangelistic and educational work is being carried on, about 200 miles inland from Benguela on the west coast.

In addition to the missionaries sent out by this Society, others have gone from the churches under various auspices, the American Board being the chief. In Turkey we find the names of Brooks,

the Macallums, brother and sister, and Ashdown; in Japan those of Allclein and Hilton Pedley. Both Home and Foreign Societies are supplemented in their efforts by an effective Woman's Board of Missions. There is a publishing company under whose direction the Year Book is printed, and a weekly paper—*The Canadian Congregationalist and Independent.* There is also a Provident Fund, with one department for the widows and orphans of deceased pastors, and another for pastors retiring from service. Besides these organizations for special objects there are Associations and Unions for Christian fellowship, the chief of these being the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec. In Canada there are in round numbers 110 Congregationalist churches, 10,000 members, and a total under church care of nearly 30,000. This is not a large number, and seems but an insignificant result of the toil of so many years. It must be remembered, however, that Congregationalism received but few accessions through emigration, and that it is the last Denomination to have its work judged by the mechanical methods of the compiler of figures. Its refusal to be sectarian in its spirit has in some measure been its weakness, but the witness thus given has not been without its effect upon the whole Christian life of Canada.

The Rev. Dr. Wilkes.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES

BY

THE REV. J. W. COX, B.A.

CONGREGATIONALISM has not made such progress in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as its early history and prominence in public affairs might warrant. There are perhaps fewer Congregationalists in Nova Scotia to-day than there were in 1776. The lands vacated by the expatriated Acadians were settled by New England colonists. Preference was given to them on account of the prominent part they had taken in the long-continued conflict with the French, and also on account of their adaptability to the peculiar circumstances of the country. These colonists were drawn from many of the best families of New England and were almost without exception Congregationalists.

They obtained a charter of equal rights for all creeds and religions in the Province of Nova Scotia from the Governor and Council before they would agree to emigrate. But as soon as this demand was granted they seem to have taken possession of the townships allotted to them without delay. The fertile lands around the Basin of Minas and Annapolis were the first to be settled. Then followed Cumberland, Onslow, Falmouth, Liverpool, Chester, Chebogue, etc. There were Congregationalist churches in all these places as early as 1765. They were well organized and at first had educated pastors, graduates of the New England colleges. But great changes soon came over the flocks, and times of trial robbed them of their pastors and of their supplies.

The year 1776 was a specially crucial year to our churches, for it saw them severed entirely from their home churches in New England—from which they had not only been morally sustained by the sympathy of friends and relatives, but also had obtained an educated ministry and missionary aid when it was often sorely needed. That was the year of cruel war when brothers fought with brothers. It saw also what is called the New Light revival under the preaching of the Rev. Henry Alleine. This Henry Alleine was a Congregationalist, the son of a grantee of Falmouth Township, and was a young man of wonderful natural gifts and an intensely nervous temperament. He seems to have had an extraordinary religious experience, and soon became a preacher of marvellous power. He had no special training for his calling. The schooner in which he intended sailing with a view to enter a theological college in New England was seized by the British in the Basin of Minas, and so instead of going abroad to College he began at once to relate his wonderful religious experiences and to exhort the people to turn to God. He became the centre of tremendous excitement wherever he went.

Nothing seemed to daunt him and no hardships to weary him. He travelled incessantly from settlement to settlement preaching to great crowds who would come together upon the shortest possible notice when it was known that he had arrived. As a result, nearly all the old Congregationalist churches became the scenes of a most wonderful revival, and most of the people, the church members as well as outsiders, experienced religion according to what appeared an altogether "new light." There was opposition to it, settled and persistent, by the regular ministers and by some of the more conservative among the people. Divisions and separations took place, and some of the churches became thoroughly disorganized. But the converts of Mr. Alleine, wherever it was possible, were assisted by him to re-organize their churches upon what they considered to be a more Spiritual basis. These were called New Light Churches. From this date we hear no more of that little band of Congregational ministers who had accompanied their flocks

across the Bay to this new field. Doubtless (sympathizing politically with their brethren in the revolting colonies) they, with as many of their people as would also go, left at this time for home to spend the remnant of their days under the flag of "liberty."

Mr. Alleine continued in his almost superhuman labours, keeping the oversight of all the revived societies which he had organized, for about seven years. He died in Newburyport, Mass., in 1784, of consumption. In nearly every society one or more of the young men among his converts had felt called of God to preach the Gospel, and in this feeling and vocation they had been encouraged by Mr. Alleine. These men therefore, without any special training or education, became the shepherds of the flocks. Some of them had travelled with Mr. Alleine, and were known everywhere throughout Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as the New Light preachers or Henry Alleinites.

By a strange process of evolution from holding the most liberal views possible concerning creeds and ordinances (for Henry Alleine had strenuously taught his converts to allow no different views upon water baptism or even diverse creeds to separate the followers of the Lord Jesus) these churches, with a few exceptions, became close communion Baptists and their preachers became the fathers of the close communion Baptist Church in Canada. Their names are honoured by thousands to-day who, perhaps, do not know whence they really came in a religious sense. They were the Mannings, the Hardings, the Harris's, the Payzants, the Chipmans, the Dimocks.

Of the old churches only a remnant remained true to the original Congregationalism. One of these was in King's County, N.S. Another was in Kingsport—the lineal descendant of the church organized by the first New England grantees of Cornwallis township in 1760. It had been reorganized in 1776 by Henry Alleine and was incorporated in the Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1846. One in Liverpool town was the descendant direct of the Old *Zion* Church organized in 1761, and re-organized in 1777 by Henry Alleine. It became the mother of four other Congregational churches in Queen's County, and I might say also of almost all the Baptist and Methodist churches of that section. One was in Chebogue, Yarmouth County. Organized in 1767, through its pastor, the Rev. Jonathan Scott, it was kept steadfast in those times of shaking and never wavered from its first principles. The Tabernacle church in Yarmouth town was organized in 1848 and is the daughter of this old time church.

These are the Churches which to-day represent the old Pilgrim Congregational bodies of Nova Scotia. There are three in New Brunswick. One of these, the Sheffield Church, was organized in 1763, and though it has passed through many severe trials, has never wavered in its allegiance to that form of sound doctrine brought with it from the old Plymouth Colony. One of its charter members was a grandson of one of those who came over in the Mayflower in 1620. The other Churches of the Union are of more recent date, and are all doing good in their various localities. But they are overshadowed by the larger Denominations, and this has a depressing effect upon many of their people. Still, they have this fact to comfort them, that the distinctive principles for which their Denomination has always stood, and for which the Pilgrims suffered the loss of all things, are being adopted by many of the larger Christian bodies, and are especially adopted by those Denominations which have supplanted them in these Provinces. And they have, moreover, the satisfaction of knowing that, as a Union, they are doing good and helping in the cause of righteousness.

The Rev. J. G. Galloway was sent out to St. John, N.B., by the London Colonial Missionary Society in 1846, and it was through his indefatigable efforts that the few smouldering sparks of Pilgrim fire were saved from entire extinction, for he gathered the scattered churches into a Union in that year. Had such a man come upon the ground in 1776, or in 1786, or even twenty-five years later, there would be a different story to tell to-day. Congregationalism almost perished in its infancy in the Maritime Provinces for the want of fellowship amongst its churches. This fellowship is now its safeguard. Co-operation for educational and missionary purposes and close fraternal intercourse are absolutely essential to the growth and well-being of our churches.

HISTORY OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN QUEBEC

BY

THE REV. FRANK J. DAY, B.A., B.D.

THE history of Congregationalism in the Province of Quebec carries us back to the close of the eighteenth century, when, in response to the request of some Christian soldiers stationed at Quebec, the London Missionary Society sent out two missionaries. One of these, the Rev. Mr. Benton, was instrumental in organizing the first Congregational Church in the City of Quebec in 1801. His labours were of a most self-denying character. Being a Doctor of Medicine he derived a large part of his income from the practice of his profession. He had, however, to meet with much opposition from those who were jealous of the success of his work. He was deprived of the right of making official registration of births, marriages and deaths, and, on the publication by him of a pamphlet bearing on the case, was arrested for libel and sentenced to serve six months in prison and pay a fine of £50 sterling. Eventually the church he had founded, after being served in succession by the Reverend Messrs. Dick, Spratt, Purkis and Bourne, owing to the burden of debt and the continued hostility of the authorities, threw in its lot with the Church of Scotland and exists to-day under the name of Chalmers' Presbyterian Church. There were a few, however, who remained true to Congregational principles and these in 1837 founded another church under the pastorate of the Rev. Timothy Atkinson.*

In 1811, the Rev. John Jackson, who had been the first Pastor of the Congregational Church in Gill, Mass., came to Canada and settled in Stukely, removing four years later to Brome. Here his work was, as his grandson, the Rev. Dr. Jackson, now of Barre, Vermont, has said, "chiefly itinerant and evangelistic." Picking his way through the forests on horseback and on foot, and guided by the blazed trees, he carried the bread of life from settlement to settlement in various townships. For his hard pioneer labour he received but little reward aside from the consciousness that he was doing his Master's work. He had, however, the satisfaction of seeing shortly before his death, in 1844, a Congregational Church organized in Brome. Of the churches now in existence the oldest is that which was organized at Stanstead in 1816. Previous to this time a few Congregationalist settlers from New England had met for worship in the log barn of Captain Israel Wood, being supplied at intervals by ministers from the United States. Organization having been effected, the Rev. Thaddeus Osgoode became their pastor in 1817. Mr. Osgoode had previously been an evangelist and organizer of Sabbath Schools, and had travelled extensively throughout both Canada and the United States. During his short pastorate he was successful in gathering a large congregation. For some time after his resignation the church was without a pastor, but the members kept bravely together, services being conducted by the deacons. This church, which has remained so true to the creed and polity of its founders, has to-day the unique distinction of being international in its character. Situated to the south of its first location, on Stanstead Plain, in the municipality of Rock Island, it numbers in its membership both loyal Canadians and subjects of the great American Republic, uniting for worship and service. Among the early Congregational ministers of the Province there was none more

*Many more facts on this subject may be found in "Congregational History," by John Waddington, D.D., and in the "Memoir of Henry Wilkes, D.D., LL.D.," by the Rev. John Wood, to which the writer begs to acknowledge his indebtedness in the preparation of this article, as well as to sundry pamphlets bearing on the subject.

devoted than the Rev. A. J. Parker. He first came to Canada in 1828, on the completion of his preparation for the ministry, and supplied the church at Stanstead for several months. Of his early work he said:

"During the time of my stay in Stanstead I had opportunity of becoming acquainted with the moral and religious state of the Eastern Townships—settled mostly by New Englanders—and comprising a population of more than 20,000 with few regular ministers of the Gospel. Under these circumstances there was an 'open door' and a manifest need of Christian and missionary effort in the field. At that time, I had no knowledge that any Missionary Society in existence would adopt this as missionary ground, but my heart was fixed; and although good and honoured ministers and loving Christian friends did not seem to give me a 'God speed' I resolved to try."

How well he succeeded the churches that he had so much to do with in their organization bear abundant witness. Fired with a keen desire to have a share in the evangelization of the country which promised so well for future development, he at once set about making a "prospecting missionary tour in the Eastern Townships." As he had anticipated he found much need for the work of a minister. In 1829 at the earnest solicitation of the people he was induced to take up his permanent abode in the Township of Shipton at what is now known as Danville, and as he said, "as the world then was it seemed to be the north-east corner of creation." Here, in spite of the absence, when he began, of anything of an evangelical religious element and in the face of opposition in various forms, he laboured earnestly and faithfully and in 1832 had the joy of organizing a church of thirty-five members. But it was not alone in the one section of the country that this faithful messenger of the Gospel prosecuted his work. He soon became known far and wide as "Father Parker." He travelled much, chiefly on horseback, sparing himself no labour that he might be of assistance in the opening out of the work in other places. In 1835 he visited Eaton, where a cause had been started in 1815, but had become disorganized owing to the desertion of the missionary in charge to another religious Denomination. Here he succeeded in organizing a church which received occasional supply until 1838 when the Rev. E. J. Sherrill was installed, who for thirty-seven years was to Eaton and the surrounding country what Father Parker was to Danville and Shipton. In December, 1835, Father Parker assisted at the organization of the Congregational Church of Sherbrooke and Lennoxville. In these and other labours this honoured servant of God passed the forty years of his pastorate, being called to his final reward in October, 1877. The first pastor of the United Church of Sherbrooke and Lennoxville was the Rev. James Robertson, who in 1836 moved from Derby, Vt. For twenty-five years, until his death, he remained the honoured pastor of a prosperous church. Of him the late Rev. Dr. Wilkes wrote:

"This noble servant of God preached the Gospel not only faithfully, but with remarkable Scriptural fulness of teaching, until he was eighty-six years of age, and then fell asleep. . . . He was in all respects an honour to the Denomination to which he belonged. Three of his sons became distinguished lawyers; another has been in the Provincial Parliament many years, and also Treasurer of the Province. Two daughters married ministers, another a lawyer, and one is an authoress of no mean repute, and of much usefulness. What elements of power of the best kind are brought into a country on such a landing as that!"

Of the above-mentioned members of Mr. Robertson's family, one, the Hon. J. G. Robertson, is still an honoured member of the church that his father gave the best years of his life to establish. Equally respected and beloved was the second pastor of Sherbrooke Church, the Rev. Archibald Duff, D.D., who for eighteen years moved among his people as a pre-eminently wise spiritual counsellor. To the names of the pioneers of Congregationalism in the Eastern Townships must be added that of the Rev. Mr. Dunkerly, who, with other missionaries, arrived from England in 1837, and settled shortly afterwards at Melbourne and Durham, where he laboured for many years. It was through the untiring efforts of such men as these that Congregationalism obtained a foothold in the eastern part of the Province and ultimately developed into strong, self-supporting churches. In the City of Montreal, the first effort of Congregationalists to enter the work of evangelization was

made in 1827 when "The Canada Education and Home Missionary Society" was organized, through the medium of which Presbyterians, Baptists and Congregationalists agreed to work together in providing "for destitute places, faithful, evangelical ministers" of any one of the three Denominations. The Secretary was Mr. Henry Wilkes, a young Congregationalist, who had been in Montreal for some six years, and who very shortly after this left for Glasgow to prosecute his studies for the Christian ministry. Before leaving, he was commissioned to act as Agent for the newly-organized Missionary Society both in the way of collecting funds and procuring ministers to labour in Canada. Shortly after his arrival he prevailed upon Rev. Joseph Gibb, of Banff, who was thinking of taking up work in the United States, to look to Canada first, which led to his settlement in Stanstead in 1830. Several other ministers were also persuaded by him to enter the Canadian field. He was equally successful in procuring funds for the work, and among other cheques that he received was one from the venerable Rowland Hill—"Pay Canada five pounds, R. Hill." In 1831 the attention of the Rev. Richard Miles, a returned missionary from South Africa, was directed to Canada by articles that appeared in Congregational and Evangelical Magazines. After obtaining further information from Mr. Wilkes, in August of that year he sailed with his family from Greenock to Montreal. With him went the Rev. John Smith, M.A., of Glasgow, who was commissioned by the London Missionary Society to superintend the educational part of the work in the new country. Mr. Smith afterwards became the pastor of the Union Church at Kingston, Ont., and took two students under his care. The character of the work undertaken in Montreal by Mr. Miles may be judged by his own words concerning it:

"On my arrival at Montreal, I found that Congregationalism was scarcely at all known, and that only one church of our Denomination existed in the Province; and it therefore appeared highly important to raise, if it should please God, a Congregational church in that city. On the following Sabbath, with the countenance of three individuals only, I commenced my ministry in a schoolroom hired for that purpose. Those efforts it pleased God to bless; attention was excited, the congregations became larger, and at length a more commodious place was procured and fitted up for the accommodation of the increased number of attendants. A Sabbath School and church was subsequently formed and a new and suitable chapel was erected."

This was the beginning of what was afterwards known as Zion Church, and which through storm and sunshine has continued its work to the present day. Through the instrumentality of its first pastor Congregational churches were established in Abbotsford, Granby, Waterloo and other places in the Province. In the meantime Mr. Wilkes, in Scotland, had not been unmindful of his mission. In 1832 he visited Canada with the purpose of founding a College which was to work on the same broad lines as the Missionary Society, *i.e.*, on an undenominational basis, but failed in his effort. On the completion of his College course Mr. Wilkes accepted a call to the Albany Street Church, Edinburgh, where he remained for three years, until the organization of the Colonial Missionary Society in 1836, when he was persuaded to become its Agent in Lower Canada. In the meantime he had received an unanimous call to become the successor of Mr. Miles in the church (then known as St. Maurice St. Church) which he had organized in Montreal. After earnest consideration, he considered it to be a call of God, and so accepting the double responsibility returned to labour in the land he loved so well. His first work on landing was to set out on a tour of Upper Canada and to report the same to the Home Society. On the completion of this he at once entered upon his work as the pastor of the growing cause in Montreal, which in the course of two years under his wise and able direction doubled its membership. He had of course to be away from home a great deal as Agent of the Colonial Missionary Society. He spent weeks at a time in tours among the churches, encouraging those who were already occupying fields, and looking for new openings. Deeply interested in the welfare of all the churches he continued this itinerant ministry for many years, abandoning it only when there were others who could carry it on. He was a veritable "Father in Israel," and to his work many of the churches now in existence owe their institution. Extremely broad in his sympathies he took an active interest in all efforts to consolidate religious and educational work. He was one

of the promoters of the first French Canadian Missionary Society; took a prominent part in the organization of the Montreal Ministerial Association, consisting at first of only five members; and was one of the movers towards the establishment of the High School in Montreal.

In 1838 there was organized the Congregational Union of Lower Canada, which, under the capable management of the Rev. R. Miles as secretary, rendered valuable service in bringing the churches of the Province more closely in touch with each other. Subsequently this was amalgamated with a Union of the Upper Province under the name of the "Congregational Union of Canada," but now known as the "Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec." At the same time a union was effected between the two Missionary organizations of Canada West and Canada East, under the name of "The Canada Congregational Missionary Society." Thus the work of the Denomination was consolidated, with after results that proved the wisdom of the step. In 1842 the first attempt was made to organize an Educational institution. This was known as "The Theological Academy." Its staff consisted of Mr. Wilkes, who took the departments of Logic and Mental Philosophy, and the Rev. J. J. Carruthers, who lectured on Theology, Homiletics and kindred subjects. There were four students enrolled. This work received the sanction and support of the Colonial Missionary Society, but at the end of three years it was deemed advisable to unite with a similar institution at Toronto, to be located there and known as "The Congregational Theological Institute," under the Principalship of Dr. Lillie.

The first Congregational paper was issued in 1842, known as *The Harbinger*, under the editorial management of Mr. Carruthers. After publication for some time, the name was changed to the *Christian Observer*, which appeared weekly for about a year, and was then dropped for lack of support. A second church was organized in Montreal in 1841 under the pastorate of the Rev. J. J. Carruthers, on the corner of Gosford and Champ de Mars Streets. After a struggling existence of about eight years, this church was disbanded owing to financial difficulties. After a pastorate of two years, Mr. (now Dr.) Carruthers left the city to become pastor of a Congregational church in Portland, Me. In 1864 the Theological Institute which was now known as the "Congregational College of B.N.A.," was removed from Toronto to Montreal, when Dr. Wilkes became Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology. At this same time there was also added to the staff the Rev. Dr. Cornish, a Professor in McGill University, who gave instructions in Greek Exegesis. Dr. Cornish retained his connection with the College until his death, though not in a professional capacity, and rendered very valuable service. On the death of Principal Lillie in 1869, Dr. Wilkes was chosen as his successor and retained the position until 1881, when, owing to ill-health, he resigned. He continued his duties as acting Principal, however, for two years longer, and lectured on Theology until within a few days of his death, which occurred on Nov. 17th, 1886. He died full of years, revered as the "patriarch and apostle of Congregationalism" and respected as a worthy citizen and a patriotic Christian gentleman.

The successors of Dr. Wilkes as Principal of the Congregational College have been the Reverends J. F. Stevensen, D.D.; W. M. Barbour, D.D.; and J. H. George, D.D. While in the early days of its life in Montreal lectures were delivered to the students in rooms provided for the purpose in Zion Church, at the present time the institution has a comfortable and commodious home on McTavish Street under the shadow of the great University. From its halls have gone forth men who are to-day among the most successful and devoted of Congregational ministers in Canada. With the lapse of years there has been a growth and expansion of Congregationalism in the metropolis of Canada. Under the pastorate of Dr. Wilkes Zion Church had reached a membership of over 400. On the acceptance of the Principalship of the College he was made *pastor emeritus*, and the Rev. Charles Chapman, M.A., of Bath, England, was chosen as his successor in the active work of the pastorate. Mr. Chapman remained until 1875, when he returned to England to enter upon the duties of President of the Western College, Plymouth. On the 11th March of the same year 111 members withdrew from Zion and formed Emmanuel Church under

the pastorate of the Rev. J. F. Stevenson, which has since developed into one of the strongest and most influential churches in the Dominion. Two years later Calvary Church was organized, from which in due time there sprung the two youngest Congregational churches in the city—Point St. Charles organized in 1891, and Bethlehem in the growing suburb of Westmount in 1896.

At the present time the Congregational churches within the bounds of the Province of Quebec, though not so numerous as those in the sister Province of Ontario, hold first place for aggressiveness in service and liberality in support of all Denominational work. This is no doubt owing to the fact that the spirit of the fathers still lives in the children. With the memories of such noble men as those who have passed before us in review as an incentive to the manifestation of an equally heroic spirit, Congregationalism in Quebec is likely to keep well to the front.

The Rev. Dr. George Cornish.

CONGREGATIONALISM: ITS PRINCIPLES AND POLITY

BY

THE REV. W. H. WARRINER, B.D.

THE late Dr. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, in his lecture on "The Ultimate Principle of Protestantism," admirably defined that principle to be not the right of private judgment, nor the sole and sufficient authority of Holy Scripture, nor justification by faith, but "the direct access of the Soul to God and the direct access of God to the Soul." Congregationalism is an endeavour to realize, as far as possible, this ultimate principle of Protestantism in the organized Christian fellowship of the Church of Jesus Christ.

We feel that every man has the privilege of coming to God for himself through the Word and the Spirit in order that he may learn what is God's will and do it without the intervention of any human authority. Congregationalists also believe that any number of Christians may associate themselves together for the maintenance of worship, the promotion of their spiritual growth and fellowship, and for the conversion of men; and that in so doing they constitute a true and complete Church, having all authority under Christ as their Head to formulate their articles of belief and modes of worship, and generally to exercise all the powers and functions of a Church of Christ, free from all external control whether civil or ecclesiastical. The constructive principle of Congregationalism may therefore be briefly stated to be the autonomy under Christ of every local organization of believers.

Those who profess and maintain the Congregational form of Church life believe that it approximates more closely to the Apostolic pattern than any other. They agree with Mosheim that "although all the Churches were, in the first age of Christianity united together in one common bond of faith and love, and were in every respect ready to promote the interests and welfare of each other by a reciprocal interchange of good offices; yet with regard to government and internal economy, every individual Church considered itself as an independent community, none of them ever looking in these respects beyond the circle of its own members for assistance, or recognizing any sort of external influence or authority."* The Church, at Jerusalem did not presume to dictate to the Church in Antioch as to its internal management, nor did the Church in Antioch attempt to exercise authority over the Churches in Lystra or Iconium. In the nature of things we may well suppose that the Mother Churches were always regarded with reverence and affection by those Christian communities which had been founded by their Christian zeal, but we look in vain for any evidence of authoritative oversight. The Church at Antioch sought no external ecclesiastical permission in order to enable it to obey the call of the Spirit and consecrate Paul and Barnabas as missionaries of the Gospel in strange lands. "Each Church was an absolutely independent community."†

Moreover, not only were the Churches originally independent of each other, but within the local gathering of believers all members were equal. "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren" (Matt. 23: 8). The Apostles were an unique class by virtue of their personal association with the Saviour and their commission from him. But they were not "lords over God's heritage." They neither sought nor obtained unquestioning obedience to their authority. They consulted with the body of believers as with brethren. When the first vacancy in their own ranks occurred the whole Church was consulted as to the choice of another Apostle, and it was the entire fellowship which presented two names

*Mosheim: History of Christianity, vol. 1, 196.

†Milman's Latin Christianity, 1, 21.

for the decision of the sacred lot. (Acts 1: 15, 26.) When officers were needed for the distribution of alms the "whole multitude" chose the seven men, and the Apostles simply confirmed the action of the Church. (Acts 6: 5, 6.) "Liberty of prophesying" was not confined to the Apostles, nor to those apostolically ordained. When the Holy Spirit fell upon the believers on the day of Pentecost they "were all filled with the Holy Ghost and began to speak." (Acts 2: 4.) The scattered disciples "went everywhere preaching the word." (Acts 8: 4.) Philip had "four daughters, virgins, which did prophesy." (Acts 21: 9.)

In like manner also the right to administer the sacraments was not restricted to the Apostles. The "breaking of bread" was at first associated with the common meal in the Christian household (Acts 2: 46). Philip, though neither an apostle nor a presbyter, did not hesitate to baptize a convert (Acts 8: 38). The power of discipline also rested in the whole body of believers, not in their officers only. This is shown in St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians (I. Cor. 5: 4, 5). In a word, to quote from Dr. Hatch's Bampton Lectures "The whole body of believers was upon a level."* Such in brief are the Scriptural grounds on which Congregationalists rest their contention that the Apostolic Churches were independent of each other, and the members of each local community of believers essentially equal. And it is along these lines that Congregationalism is organized.

Hence the term Church is never applied by them to a federation of Churches, a denomination as a whole, but only to the local gathering of believers. Each of these local fellowships owns its own property, chooses its own officers and generally manages its own affairs. Ministers are ordained for the special work of preaching the Gospel, but they enjoy no monopoly of power, either temporal or spiritual. The Pastor usually, and as a matter of order, administers the sacraments, but not because of any priestly virtue or authority inherent in his office. The sacraments are in the hands of the Church, which may appoint any of its members to officiate. The Pastor is simply one of the brethren chosen by the Church to be its leader. He is a priest only in the sense in which all believers are priests. He does not, either alone or in association with any other officers of the Church, exercise the power of the "Keys." The Church retains to itself the power to admit and to dismiss its own members, which it does at regularly appointed meetings. At these meetings the Pastor may preside, in fact, usually does, but not by virtue of any clerical or priestly right. The Church may at any time call any one of its members to preside over its deliberations.

It has been often asserted that this equality of membership, while very fine in theory, sometimes works disastrously in practice. Undoubtedly it is so. It needs not only earnest piety, but much common sense for men to co-operate successfully on such lines as these. It is also necessary that every member shall intelligently realize the sovereignty of Christ and honestly submit himself to it. Congregationalism has been called a democracy. It might with more exactitude be called a monarchy, for it recognizes one King, even Jesus, and none other but Him. It is indeed a theocracy. Its stability and usefulness depend on a reverend recognition of the authority of God and the vital, free and constant communion of the individual soul with Him.

Hence Congregationalists insist on regeneration as a necessary qualification for membership. Human judgments, both of oneself and of others, are fallible. The ideal has probably never been absolutely attained. But this is the ideal of the Congregational Churches. They believe it is Scriptural, and they know that it is necessary to their ecclesiastical existence. Thus far we have dealt chiefly with the independence and equality of the individual Churches. We must now turn to their fellowship with each other. When Christ said to His disciples, "All ye are brethren," He not only expressed their equality, but also their unity. Towards Himself they were independent believers, towards one another they were brethren —equal partners in a common love and service. Now, as believers unite in fellowship, so do Congregational Churches. As to their relations with Christ they are independent of each other, but as to their voluntary association as Churches, they

*Hatch: The Organization of the Early Christian Churches, p 121.

are subject to all the obligations of such association. Congregational Churches no more believe in absolute independence and solitariness as Churches than they believe in solitary discipleship. The names by which they were designated in the earlier periods of their history, such as "Independent" and "Separatist," did not express their relation to each other, but the fact that they separated from the State Church and asserted that the Church of Christ should be independent of the secular power.

From the very beginning they cultivated fellowship with each other in many practical ways. Their unity was not less effective because it was vital and not mechanical, voluntary and not compulsory. In England, Robert Browne, as early as the sixteenth century, taught the duty of the local Churches to associate together for mutual help. Indeed, this has characterized them from the beginning. It is not denied that the Congregational polity has made it comparatively easy for individual Churches having a low spiritual life or an inadequate conception of the duties and privileges of fellowship to cast themselves adrift from all association with the neighbouring Churches of their order. But then they have ceased to be regarded as true Congregational Churches. To quote from the lately deceased Dr. Alonzo H. Quint, whose knowledge of Congregationalism, at least in the United States, was recognized on all hands as indisputable: "No Congregational Church is independent. It can become so by withdrawing from its affiliation with other Churches, but in that case it ceases to be part of the Congregational body."

Congregationalism stands for the fellowship of the Churches as distinctly as it does for the independence of those Churches. In all "matters of common concernment," it holds, as Increase Mather taught, that "particular Churches should proceed with the concurrence of neighbouring Churches." The organization of a new Church, the calling or ordaining of a pastor, and the Christian character of any Church, are examples of these matters of "common concernment," for they affect the well-being of the whole fellowship of Churches calling themselves Congregational. This fellowship is made effective by means of formal or informal Councils, by associations of various kinds, and by incorporated societies. For example, if a Church desires to ordain one of its members to the Christian ministry it invites the neighbouring Churches to be represented by pastor or delegate, or both, in a friendly Council. To this Council a few representative men may be also called as individual members. The letter calling the Council is called a "letter missive." It gives the names of the Churches and individuals invited. These cannot be afterwards increased, and a majority must be present to form a quorum. The Council deliberates and gives its advice. It cannot compel the Church to adopt its advice, but it can withdraw its fellowship if it should deem it necessary. Such a Council is usually though not always effective.

For the wider fellowship of the Churches throughout a Province or the Dominion of Canada there are District Associations and Unions, or, as in the United States of America, District Associations or Conferences, State Associations and the National Council, which latter meets triennially. This National Council is the supreme expression of organized Congregationalism in the United States. It is composed of delegates from the lesser Associations and from the recognized incorporated societies, such as the Missionary and Educational Societies. Its Constitution recommends that the "number of delegates be in all cases divided between ministers and laymen as nearly equally as practicable." It also asserts the belief of its members "that the right of government resides in the local Churches or congregations of believers, who are responsible directly to the Lord Jesus Christ, the one head of the Church Universal and of all particular Churches; but that all Churches being in communion one with another as parts of Christ's Catholic Church, have mutual duties subsisting in the obligations of fellowship." The Constitution also adds, "This National Council shall never exercise legislation or judicial authority, nor consent to act as a Council of Reference." (Minutes of the National Council, 1895.)

In Canada the organized fellowship of the Churches finds its chief expression in Annual Unions. There are two of these in the Dominion, viz., the Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Union of Ontario and Que-

bec. As yet the Churches in Manitoba and the Northwest are not organized in any Union. The Union of Ontario and Quebec, being by far the largest, may be taken as our illustration. It is composed of personal members and of Churches. The personal members are either ministers in the pastoral office or engaged in evangelical or educational work recognized by the Union, also those laymen who, being members of Congregational Churches, have at one time officiated as Chairmen of the Union. Thus far only two laymen have ever occupied this position, which is the more surprising when it is remembered that each Church has power to send two lay delegates.

Moreover, although since the year 1884 women delegates have been reported as in attendance they were never appointed to office until the year 1897, when the Executive of the Union was so far enlarged as to include the secretaries of the various denominational Societies, and by this Act the Secretary of the Woman's Board of Missions became ex-officio a member of the Union Committee. How long it will be before women will attain to that equality with men in Congregational Societies to which they are theoretically entitled, we cannot tell. I anticipate, however, that they will continue to exercise increasing powers until they attain to every position for which God has fitted them. More than that is not desirable for man or woman. Membership in the Union is perfectly voluntary on the part of both ministers and Churches. Yet since none like to be left out, the Union practically embraces all ministers and Churches within its geographical area. Like all Congregational Societies it has only power to enforce its own Constitution. Its resolutions are recommendations. Yet, since they are the expressions of the will of the Churches as voiced by their own delegates, they are accepted as practical standards of fellowship. What the Union recommends, the Churches recognize as proper.

For some few years past efforts have been made to still further consolidate the life and activity of Congregational Churches in Canada after the example of the Churches of the same order in Scotland, namely, by making the Union an incorporated Society and amalgamating with it the present denominational Societies, whose annual meetings are held in the same place and during the same week as the Union. The Union of 1897, however, decided definitely against such a scheme. Some were afraid that the change would revolutionize the voluntary character of the fellowship of the Churches, and the majority failed to see that any substantial advantages would accrue from the change.

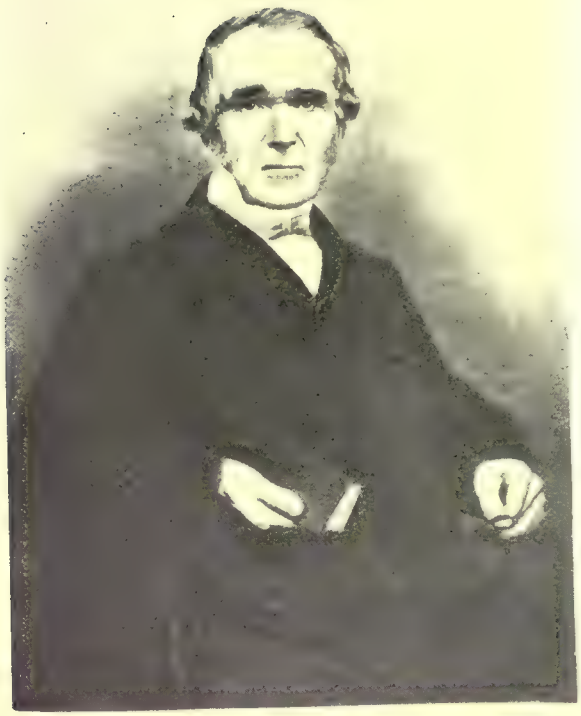
The Principles and Polity of Congregationalism have now been set forth with some degree of fullness. It should, however, be added that although Congregationalists believe that their

The Rev. W. H. Warriner.

form of Church government approximates most nearly to the free life of the Apostolic Churches, yet they do not contend for the mere form of government except in so far as it may be found necessary or beneficial for the maintenance of the true spiritual life of the Church and the prosecution of its mission in the world. They do not find any fixed and stereotyped ecclesiasticism set up in the New Testament. On the contrary they find that as life everywhere organizes itself and adapts its outward form to its changing con-

ditions, so also the spiritual life of the Apostolic Churches manifested itself in the appointment of new officers as occasion required, and in accommodating itself to the different conditions prevailing in Gentile and Jewish communities. They do not assume that the form of the Church was unalterably fixed when the New Testament was closed. They therefore do not contend for a mere form of Church organization, but for the free spiritual life of the believer in the Church of Christ. For this it is not necessary that members of the same Church should all think alike. Hence Congregationalists formulate no creed as a test of ministerial standing or Church membership. They do not believe that any one has authority to impose a form of words upon another. They do, however, formulate creeds as setting forth the truths most surely believed among them and for the information and instruction of such as may desire such aid. But while they do not demand compliance with any form of words, they do require a true spiritual life. They desire that their members shall be "in Christ." And so long as the freedom and individual responsibility to Christ on the part of the believer is maintained they are not very much concerned about forms of Church government, and they are ready to co-operate with all other denominations in all practical ways for the good of the Church Universal.

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Wild.



THE REV CHARLES TUPPER, D.D.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION IN CANADA

BY

J. E. WELLS, M.A., LL.D, Editor of the *Canadian Baptist*.

THE City of Halifax, Nova Scotia, was founded by English settlers, mostly Episcopalians, about A.D. 1749. A few years later, in 1753, Lunenburg was settled, principally by French and Germans. In the same year an Episcopal clergyman, supported by the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel, classified his congregation as follows: Calvinists, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Anabaptists. The latter may have been Germans who had come with the other colonists. If, as is probable, they were virtually identical with the Baptists, this is, so far as we have been able to learn, the first mention of Baptists to be found in Canadian history. The subsequent course of these pioneers we are unable to trace, but there can be little doubt that they soon became identified with other pioneer Baptists, who were of New England origin.

In Newport, N.S., in 1760, Daniel Dimock was immersed by the Rev. John Sutton, an evangelist from New Jersey. The name of Dimock became thereafter closely associated with the progress of the Baptist body in Nova Scotia. Shubael Dimock, the father of Daniel, had lived at Mansfield, Conn. He had become a "Separatist," and had been whipped and imprisoned for holding meetings apart from the standing (Presbyterian) Order. He and his son had come to Falmouth, N.S., in 1760. The following year they removed to Newport, and there settled. There, some years later, the father was baptized by the son. In 1761 the Rev. Ebenezer Moulton, of South Brimfield, Mass., with some companions, settled in Yarmouth, N.S. Mr. Moulton preached there for two years. He afterwards visited and laboured in Horton and its vicinity. Some think that a Baptist Church was organized in Horton at that time, but Dr. Cramp, a very careful authority, says that no Baptist Church was formed till after the appearance of Henry Alline.

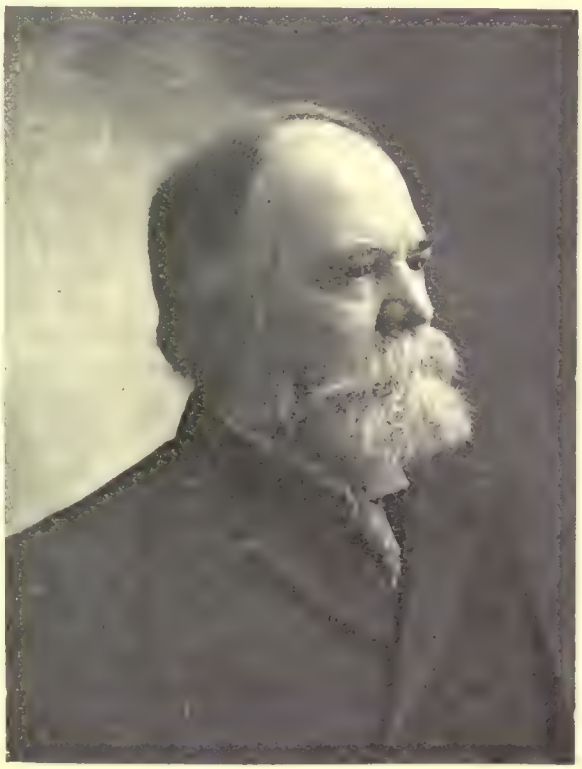
So far as known, the first Baptist Church in British America was an offshoot of the Second Church of Swansea, Mass., and others in that vicinity. In Armitage's "History of the Baptists" (page 919), it is stated that a company of thirteen Baptists formed themselves into a Church, with Nathan Mason as their pastor, and, leaving Swansea, settled in what is now Sackville, N.S., where they continued to reside for nearly eight years, during which time their Church increased to about sixty members. But, owing to some dissatisfaction with their new location, the pastor and the original founders of the Church returned to Massachusetts in 1771, and, so far as appears, the Church at Sackville was scattered. For some years the Nova Scotia Baptists seem to have refrained from further attempts at separate organization. Dr. Cramp says: "While Mr. Sutton remained here he preached and baptized. The Dimocks and Mr. Moulton did the same, but separate action as Baptists was deferred till a more favourable conjunction of circumstances." About the year 1776 there seem to have been two or three Churches in Nova Scotia made up of Baptists and Congregationalists, while a number of unorganized Baptists were to be found in various localities. (Armitage, page 920.)

About this time a remarkable revival movement began in Nova Scotia through the preaching of the famous "Newlight" preacher, Henry Alline. This somewhat remarkable man was born in Newport, R.I. He removed to Falmouth, N.S., in 1760, being then about twelve years of age. When about twenty-seven, he commenced a series of evangelistic tours, and for nearly eight years continued to travel from place to place in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, preaching and exhorting. Though he had failed in his efforts to obtain an education, he spoke with great power and effect, and many people in the two Provinces

were greatly moved by his homely but pungent eloquence. He was not a Baptist, but a Congregationalist, and seems to have laid little stress on questions of Baptism or church order. But of the large numbers who were roused to religious activity through his preaching and influence, many became Baptists, and a number of strong Baptist Churches were afterwards organized as a consequence of the Alline movement. Mr. Alline died in Northampton at the early age of thirty-six.

From this time onward the growth of the Baptists in the three Maritime Provinces was steady and rapid. In 1800 the first Baptist Association was formed at Granville, N.S. In 1821 this Association resolved itself into two, one for Nova Scotia and one for New Brunswick. In 1847 the New Brunswick Association was subdivided into two, the Eastern and the Western; and in 1850 the one Nova Scotia Association had become so enlarged that it voluntarily resolved itself into three—the Eastern, the Central, and the Western. Then the Baptists of Prince Edward Island, who had hitherto formed a part of the N. S. Eastern, organized a separate Association, as did the Baptists of Southern New Brunswick a few years later. The result has been that, within a little more than a century, from the small beginnings above noted, the Baptists of the three Eastern Provinces of the Dominion had grown until in 1896, the date of the last statistics available, they numbered over four hundred churches, with an aggregate of nearly forty-nine thousand members. These are comprised in seven Associations, and all are represented in one Convention which meets annually.

Coming westward to the Province of Quebec (formerly Lower Canada) the first Baptist body of which we find any trace was the Church formed at Caldwell's Manor, near the Vermont border, in 1794. This church was composed mainly of Loyalist refugees from Connecticut and other parts of the neighbouring States. In or about the year named, the Rev. John Hubbard and Ariel Kendrick, missionaries of the Baptist Association of Woodstock, Vermont, came and preached as evangelists in this neighbourhood. Many were aroused by their preaching, and professed conversion, and, shortly after, about thirty of these converts were baptized and formed into a church. Some of these removed about two years afterward to a new settlement named Eaton, south of the St. Lawrence, and with others formed there another church. Several other churches were organized in St. Armand, Stanbridge, Dunham, and other places in this region within a few years, through the agency of missionaries of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society. In 1795 a Baptist Church was organized in Hallowell, in what is now the County of Prince Edward in Ontario (then Upper Canada) by



Dr. J. E. Wells.

Reuben Crandall. Thomas Finch formed another, several years later, at Haldimand, which became very fruitful, having become the mother of eight other churches in that neighbourhood within a few years. About 1803 the first Baptist Association in this district was formed, known at first as the Thurlow, but later as the Haldimand Association.

From this beginning the work spread rapidly in this part of Canada, until the Baptist churches in the surrounding settlements had become numer-

ous enough to be grouped into several Associations. Meanwhile, the spread of the Denomination had been still more rapid in the more western part of Upper Canada. The fertile regions bordering on the Upper St. Lawrence, and on Lakes Ontario and Erie, including the Niagara peninsula (first occupied by bands of Loyalists whose hardships and heroism are now matters of history), became rapidly settled by energetic and enterprising settlers. Those primeval forests were very soon threaded by the pioneers of Baptist evangelism, who went from one little settlement to another, making their way by means of bridle paths through the woods, fording streams, and enduring the severest toils and hardships that they might carry the Gospel to the new settlers. Their words met with so much acceptance that, so early as 1819, the Upper Canada Association was formed, embracing the churches in the neighbourhood of Toronto and Brantford, while those in the vicinity of London adhered to the Haldimand Association.

"Thus it is seen," says Armitage, "that the pioneer churches of Quebec and Ontario, as well as those of the Maritime Provinces, were planted by missionaries from the United States, excepting the older churches in what is now the Ottawa Association." These last-named churches, which had much to do in giving complexion to the Baptist body, especially in the earlier stages of its growth, were originally shepherded by pastors, and composed of members of Scotch origin. The first formed, Breadalbane, was organized in 1817, with thirteen members, all Scotch. Duncan Campbell and Donald McLaurin were their first elders. John Edwards, their chief founder, had been converted in Edinburgh, under the preaching of the Haldanes. The churches at Dalesville, Osgoode, and other places in the Ottawa Valley were of somewhat similar origin. The first Baptist Church in Montreal was not organized until 1830. The Rev. John Gilmour, its first pastor, was a man of great power as well as of deep piety and burning zeal. He and others of these Scottish Baptist leaders left their impress deep upon the churches among which they laboured during the second and third decades of the century. From these small beginnings in the different sections the Baptists of Canada have grown with more or less rapidity until, according to the latest statistics available at the date of this writing (June, 1897), their numbers are approximately as follows:

	Churches.	Members.
The Maritime Provinces.....	405	48,830
Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and North-west Territories.....	496	43,502

Making a total in the Dominion of over nine hundred churches, with an actual membership which, at the present date must fall little, if at all, short of 100,000, and which, including members of families and other adherents, as is usually done in Church statistics, would approximate half a million. The rate of increase is probably greater at the present time than at any previous period.

For the firm and broad foundations which have been one of the chief factors in producing so encouraging a result, the Baptists of Canada are indebted, in a very large measure, to the exceptional ability, zeal, and fidelity of a considerable number of worthy men to whom they now look back with gratitude and reverence as the fathers of the Denomination in the Canadian Provinces. Reference has already been made to Henry Alline and his work. Though he was not a Baptist many of his converts, as already stated, embraced Baptist views and practices, and some of these afterwards became energetic and successful members of Baptist Churches. In Bill's "Fifty Years with the Baptist Ministers and Churches of the Maritime Provinces" (Barnes & Co., St. John, New Brunswick, 1880) a very interesting account is given of the work of David George, a former Virginian slave, who endured many hardships and much suffering in an attempt to escape. In the course of his adventures he found refuge for some time with a band of the Creek Indians near the Savannah River, and afterwards with the Natchez Indians, to whom he fled from the Creeks, in order to escape recapture. He was pursued, discovered, and finally compelled to return to his master on the Savannah River. A few years later this poor man was converted. By dint of extraordinary effort and perseverance, he learned to read and write. He became a forcible preacher, and during the whole time of the Revolutionary war he preached in

various places with good success. On the advice of the English, when they were about to evacuate Charlestown, he accompanied them to Halifax. The record of his labours and adventures from this period, during several years of travel and preaching in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is very interesting, and reads strangely in these days. For some time he endured much persecution from soldiers and other whites who thought it presumption for a coloured man to attempt to preach the Gospel. He, however, persevered in the midst of great hardships until through the influence of an English officer he obtained a license to preach from the Lieut.-Governor of New Brunswick; and his preaching was attended with great success in Shelburne, Liverpool, St. John, Fredericton, and other places in the two Provinces. He grew in popular confidence and favour insomuch that when, at a later date, he left Halifax for the Colony of Sierra Leone, it was against the wishes and entreaties of many, both white and coloured, who had been greatly blessed through his ministry.

Such names as those of Edward and James Manning, Theodore and Harris Harding, Thomas Ansley, Joseph Crandall, among the early Fathers in the Maritime Provinces, and those of Hubbard, Kendrick, Edwards, and Gilmour in what are now the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, will be held in honoured remembrance as long as the Baptist body exists in Canada. These and many others of the early preachers and pastors—and the names of many consecrated laymen merit a place in the same category—were, many of them, uneducated, or, more correctly speaking, self-educated men. Destitute, in a large measure, of the training of the schools, they were men of powerful minds, developed by much exercise and independent thinking, and especially by study of that book which has wrought wonders in all ages in developing not only that strength of conviction which is the soul of eloquence, but also that clear intellectual vision which is imparted by high purpose and an absorbing love of truth for its own sake. A typical instance, if we may, without being thought invidious, select a single name as first among equals, is that of the Rev. Edward Manning above-mentioned. He was a man of commanding stature, physically and mentally. Standing six feet four inches in height, his figure, when he was in his prime, erect and well proportioned, with massive head, broad and lofty brow, eyes dark and piercing, and majestic mien and tread, he was, as described by Dr. Bill and others who knew him personally, a born leader of men. His mind was keenly logical, his reasoning profound, his preaching weighty, solemn, and convincing. He travelled by day and by night, over mountain and valley, to every nook and corner of Cornwallis, where most of his pastoral labour was done, until, says Dr. Bill, the whole township became thoroughly leavened with the doctrines he proclaimed and the precepts he enforced.

Allusion has been made to the unusually high appreciation of the advantages of education shown by many of the pioneer Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, though they themselves had personally done a large and successful work in spite of the scantiness or entire want of such advantages in their own cases. It is thought that the first suggestion for a Baptist school of learning for Nova Scotia came from Edward Manning. He, at any rate, took a deep and practical interest in its establishment. The Nova Scotia Baptist Education Society was projected in 1828, at a time when twenty-nine churches, containing in all 1,772 members, constituted the full strength of the Baptists of the Province. The movement was greatly aided by the founding of the Granville Street Church, of Halifax, which took place about that time. This church had in its membership a number of educated men, and greatly aided the establishment of Horton Academy, with the Rev. William Pryor (afterwards D.D.) as Principal. A few years later (in 1834) the Baptist Seminary of New Brunswick was established at Fredericton, N.B., by the 2,000 Baptists of that Province. This institution was for twenty-five years (from 1834) under the principalship of Rev. Charles Spurden (afterwards D.D.), an English gentleman of lovable character and fine scholarship.

Under him and subsequent Principals the Seminary did good work for many years; but it was never financially successful, and ultimately the school was closed and the building sold in 1873. Subsequently a Baptist Academy was opened in St. John, and at a still later date a building was

erected in St. Martin's and a vigourous effort was made to establish a school of high class in that pretty town. But the impossibility of raising funds compelled the closing of this school also, a few years ago, and at the date of this writing the Baptists of New Brunswick are without an institution of their own for the education of their sons and daughters. It is impossible to believe that this state of things will long continue, for the principle of Christian schools for high education, under Denominational control, seems to have been pretty well accepted by the Baptists of Canada. The movement in behalf of secondary education has been much more successful in Nova Scotia. Not only has Horton Academy, the founding of which was mentioned above, lived and performed an excellent and growing work until now, but a Ladies' Seminary, which was opened in 1861, is still in successful operation and is doing a grand work in educating the daughters of Nova Scotia Baptists.

But the Baptists of Nova Scotia almost from the first aimed at something higher than mere secondary schools. When the Education Society was founded its future policy was largely tentative, the intention being, evidently, to advance as rapidly as needs should be felt and circumstances permit. It is quite unlikely that, few as they were in numbers and poor in resources, they would have thought of attempting anything so ambitious as an Arts College, for many years, had not unexpected circumstances aroused them to the necessity of taking prompt action. Their policy in regard to higher education seems to have been at first that of a single strong Provincial University, undenominational in character and administration. Such an institution they were supposed to have in Dalhousie College, which had been founded in 1820, with public funds. But when at its opening an appointment to a vacant chair in the institution was refused to Rev. E. A. Crawley, for the sole reason that he was not connected with the Kirk of Scotland, the spirit of the Baptists was aroused. From that moment they were determined to be content with nothing less than a college of their own. The decision was a brave one, but the educational ambition of the body had recently been much strengthened and confirmed by the accession to their number of the Granville Street Church, of Halifax, a Church founded by and largely composed of a number of learned and influential members who had seceded from the Church of England.

Immediate steps were taken for the founding of the Baptist College at Horton. "Queen's" was the ambitious name first selected; but when, for reasons unexplained but easily guessed, the Queen's sanction was withheld for the use of this title, the more appropriate name "Acadia" was substituted. The first rebuff came in the shape of a refusal of the Legislature to grant the necessary charter. A popular agitation had been aroused against the multiplication of small colleges. Anticipating trouble the Committee of the Education Society had gone to Halifax in a body. Mr. Crawley, their spokesman, had, with characteristic force and eloquence, pleaded their cause at the Bar of the House. The charter was refused by a majority of one. The battle was then transferred to the public platforms and the newspapers, with such effect that at the next session the House was flooded with petitions for the charter, which was now granted, the minority of one having been changed into a majority of twelve. In the struggle which terminated thus favourably, the Baptists had a powerful champion in the person of the Hon. J. W. Johnston, who had been a member of the Legislative Council, but now resigned at the request of his admirers and ran as a candidate for the Lower House. With the enthusiastic aid of the Baptists he was triumphantly elected. Mr. Johnston was a gentleman of thorough culture, splendid abilities, and unblemished reputation. He soon rose to be Premier and Attorney-General of the Province, a position which he held with distinction for many years. He afterwards became Chief Justice of the Province, and was appointed to the Lieut.-Governorship a short time before his death; but was obliged, in consequence of failing health, to resign before he had entered upon the duties of the office.

The College, thus founded amidst stress and storm, soon became an accomplished fact; and, though its history has been, and still is, one long struggle with financial difficulties, its progress has been steady, and its work in promoting the intel-

ligence, and the moral and spiritual power of the Denomination throughout the Province has been most marked and salutary. In 1849 it was accepted by mutual consent as the College of the Baptists of the three Maritime Provinces. Many of its graduates have taken high rank in the ministry, and in other professions in Western Canada and in the United States, as well as in their own Province. In 1863 another attempt was made to bring about a fusion of the various universities of Nova Scotia, with a view to establishing Dalhousie as the one central state University to which all others should become affiliated. But the supporters and alumni of Acadia rejected the proposal as being now too late, and it fell to the ground, or, at least failed of more than a very partial success.

About the same time that the strenuous efforts were being made for the foundation of a Baptist educational institution in the sea-side provinces, the Baptists in what was then known as Canada (now Ontario and Quebec), began to feel deeply that they could never do effective work as a Denomination in this great country, without a native educated ministry. There were, at the time the first movement was made in the direction of an educational institution of their own (1836) not more than 5,000 Baptist communicants in Ontario and Quebec. They were poor in purse and widely scattered in location. Nor were they by any means united in opinion or spirit, especially in regard to their views of communion and church order. Their means of inter-communication were meagre and uncertain in the extreme.

Under these circumstances, the Rev. John Gilmour, an able and devoted Scotch minister, who had just closed a pastorate in Montreal, was deputed to visit England in order to raise funds: (1) To aid in organizing a college to train native Canadians and others for the ministry among the Baptists in Canada. (2) To aid in carrying on home mission work in Ontario and Quebec. Mr. Gilmour succeeded, 1836-7, in raising £1,250 sterling for the purposes named. A college was opened in Montreal in 1836, with two students and the Rev. Benjamin Davies, D.D., as Principal, his salary being paid by the Colonial Society of England. The work of the College, as well as the Home Mission work, which was also aided by the Colonial Society, was carried on under the direction of the Canada Baptist Home Missionary Society, which had been organized for the purpose. Two obstacles greatly hindered the progress of this early educational effort of the Baptists of the west from the first. The location in Montreal was four hundred miles east of the centres of Baptist population, an insuperable difficulty of itself. Then the larger body in the west, to quote the words of one well acquainted with the whole history, the late Dr. Fyfe, "did not then care very much for an educated ministry, and least of all, for a ministry educated under the auspices of sympathizers with open communion."

The point of difficulty indicated by the last clause became not only a formidable stumbling-block in the way of the College, but was, for many years, a constant source of distrust and division between the Baptists of the east (Montreal and vicinity), and those of the west. The Montreal Committee, the officers of the College, and the leading members of the Society, being English in their antecedents and sympathies, were naturally disposed to favour the open-communion views and practices of the English Baptists, or, at least, were unable to free themselves from the suspicion of having such leanings in the minds of their brethren in the west. The churches in the latter region had been formed largely under the ministry and influence of American Baptists, and most of them held firmly to the strict, or close-communion tenets of their American brethren. This unfortunate difference gave rise to misunderstandings and jealousies which tended to render cordial co-operation in either educational or missionary work difficult, if not impossible.

It may be added, in passing, that this cause of division has, happily, long since ceased to operate. In course of time, the churches, east and west, came to understand each other better, and to see the folly of allowing their comparatively feeble numbers and resources to be still further weakened by differences of opinion in regard to what proved in experience to be oftener a theoretical than a practical question. The result has been that a kind of *modus vivendi* has been tacitly accepted, whereby the so-called close-communion views of the great majority have become the

practice of the Denomination generally—the considerable number of individuals connected with some of the churches who still retain personally their open-communion views, holding them in abeyance as of little practical importance.

To return to the educational question. The career of the Montreal Baptist College was unfortunately brief, though some good work was done, the benefits of which have ever since been felt, especially in connection with the labours of a number of students—men of character and ability—whom it sent forth, and who have laboured zealously and successfully in pulpit and pastorate and other callings, for many fruitful years. A very few of these still remain. The attendance of students at the College was, however, never large. On the retirement of Dr. Davies from the presidency, the Rev. R. A. Fyfe was put in charge for a year, at the expiration of which time the Rev. J. M. Cramp (afterwards President of Acadia) was made President. In an unwise hour, however, the Montreal Committee erected an expensive building on a fine site in Montreal, and for a time the venture bid fair to prosper. But the western brethren never rallied to the support of the institution; the heavy debt incurred in building became an incubus which, after a time, became too heavy to be borne by so feeble a constituency, and finally the College had to be given up. The property was sold to pay the debt, and this first educational effort of the Canadian Baptists of the west had failed.

Meanwhile, as early as 1849, even before the final collapse of the Montreal College, the Regular Baptist Union in Canada West had appointed a Committee to consider the subject of Ministerial Education. This Committee reported at the Annual Convention, in June of that year, submitting a plan for the founding of a Theological School in Toronto. This plan afforded a subject of thought and debate for some time, but no practical success followed. Meanwhile the formation of "The Regular Baptist Missionary Society of Canada," in 1852, led to a second and much more ambitious project. This was the projected Maclay College. Dr. Maclay, of New York, an enthusiastic friend of education, and a very successful collector, generously consented to give his services, gratuitously, in an attempt to raise a fund of ten thousand dollars for the endowment of a Theological College in Toronto. He succeeded in obtaining subscriptions to the amount of about six thousand dollars. But unforeseen difficulties arose, the work of organization was never completed, and the project was finally abandoned. The question of founding a Baptist educational institution was not, however, long left in abeyance. In 1856 Dr. Fyfe, who was at that time Pastor of the Bond Street (now Jarvis Street) Baptist Church, in Toronto, projected an institution on an entirely new plan. Instead of a full-fledged Theological College, he proposed, and in conjunction with two or three other friends of education drew up a plan for organizing a school with two departments, a Literary and a Theological. Young women were to be admitted into the Literary Department, which naturally took first place in order of time and organization. In short, he projected the institution which, by dint of arduous and persevering effort, and in the face of great difficulties, was opened in Woodstock, in the year 1860, as the Canadian Literary Institute (now Woodstock College). This building was burned down on the eighth of January, 1861, the very day appointed for the assembling of students for the second term. The situation then was, in brief, that, after paying out all the money received from insurance, the Board of Management found themselves not only without a building, but $6,000 in debt. This was sufficiently discouraging.

But Dr. Fyfe and his coadjutors were not dismayed. The citizens of the town, at a public meeting, offered the Trustees the use of the Woodstock Hotel for one year, to enable them to carry on the work. It is worthy of remark, in passing, as a testimony of the faithfulness of the Baptists, as represented by the Trustees of the Institute, to their cherished principle of voluntaryism, that, when the amount raised for the payment of the rent of the hotel by the voluntary subscriptions of citizens of the town fell short of the amount required, and the Town Council resolved, in fulfilment of the promise made at the public meeting, to raise the $600 balance by levying a special tax for the amount, the Trustees declined to receive anything except the amount of the voluntary subscriptions, though they had themselves to become

personally responsible for the balance. Suffice it to say that within a day or two the work of the College was in progress, and that the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec, stimulated by a generous subscription of $4,000 from Mr. William McMaster, who had given liberally to the first building, within a very few months placed at the disposal of the Trustees a sum of over twenty-one thousand dollars, in notes and pledges, for the erection of the new building. This building still stands on the beautiful grounds in Woodstock, surrounded by other fine buildings which have since been

The Rev. Dr. Fyfe.

erected from time to time, as the enlarging requirements demanded. The Theological Department was removed to Toronto, in 1879, and the Ladies' Department, a few years' later. Nevertheless, the work of secondary education has always been vigourously carried on at the Woodstock institution, known now for many years as Woodstock College. Its Manual Training Department was one of the first, probably the first, established in the two Provinces, and is still one of the most complete of its kind. In its present capacity as an independent school for the secondary education of boys, as well as an academical department of McMaster University, Woodstock College is probably second to no institution in Canada.

Allusion has been made to the removal, first, of the Theological Department of the Woodstock College, and, subsequently, of the Ladies' Department, to Toronto. These changes were made possible by the munificence of Mr. McMaster. The Baptist Convention, held at St. Catharines in 1879, having recommended the removal of the Theological School, Mr. McMaster at once purchased from Toronto University the site, and proceeded to erect the handsome and well-equipped building on Bloor Street, known as McMaster Hall, and at present the seat of both the Arts and Theological Departments of the University. In 1880 Mr. McMaster vested this property in a Board of Trustees, to be held in trust for the Baptist denomination. In 1887 an Act of the Legislature was procured which had the effect of abolishing the separate corporations of "Woodstock College" and "Toronto Baptist College," under the latter of which names the Theological school had been at first incorporated, and of vesting in the new corporation of "McMaster University" all the "real and personal property, rights, franchises, and privileges" which had belonged to them. The University was placed under the "management and administration of a Board of Governors," the members of which were to be chosen by the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. The decease of Mr. McMaster in September of the same year (1887) placed the corporation of the University in the possession of an endowment of about $900,000, in addition to an amount which had been previously raised by the Denomination towards the endowment of Woodstock College. The Arts Department of the University was opened in the autumn of 1890 and has been in vigourous and successful operation since that date. In 1888, through the generosity of Mrs. William McMaster, who gave the McMaster residence, on Bloor Street, Toronto, and other gifts aggregating about $26,000 in cash value, for the purpose, the transfer of the Ladies' Department from Woodstock was effected, and Moulton Ladies' College, Toronto, was opened.

THE DOCTRINES AND POLITY OF THE BAPTIST CHURCHES

BY

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THE name Baptist was not a self-chosen one. In the early Reformation time those who withdrew from the dominant churches because of the failure of those churches to discriminate between the church and the world, between the regenerate and the unregenerate, and who sought to organize churches of believers only, laid much stress on the lack of Scriptural warrant for the baptism of infants and on the incompatibility of infant baptism with regenerate membership. Following what they believed to be Apostolic precept and example they made baptism on a profession of faith a condition of church fellowship. This rejection of infant baptism and this insistence on believer's baptism were so distinctive of these Christians that they were stigmatized as "Anabaptists," "Catabaptists," and sometimes as simply "Baptists"; that is to say, they were declared to be "rebaptizers," "perverters of baptism," or, as unduly magnifying baptism and making it the occasion of schism, simply "Baptizers." These party names they earnestly repudiated, preferring to call themselves Brethren, Christians, Disciples of Christ, Believers, etc. The following enumeration of the distinctive principles of the Baptist creed may be given here:

1. Baptists of all parties have from the beginning persistently and consistently maintained the absolute supremacy of the canonical Scriptures as a basis of faith and practice. They have insisted on applying the Scripture test positively and negatively to every detail of doctrine and practice. It has never seemed to them sufficient to show that a doctrine of practice, made a matter of faith, is not contradictory of Scripture; it must be distinctly a matter of Scripture precept or example to command their allegiance or secure from them a recognition of its right to exist.

2. The application of this principle has done more than any other to put Baptists at variance with other evangelical Christians as regards the matter of infant baptism. Baptists have failed to find Scriptural authorization, whether by precept or example, for the administration of baptism to infants. They have persistently maintained that this practice is not only non-Scriptural, but that it is distinctly contra-Scriptural; that it is not merely the introduction of a rite not authorized by Scripture, yet innocent and useful, but a complete perversion of one of the two ordinances that our Lord gave to His Church for the symbolical setting forth of the great truths of redemption. Believing that baptism merely symbolizes but does not bestow or condition regeneration, they have regarded it as preposterous that the symbol should antedate by years the thing symbolized; nay, that the symbolical rite should be bestowed without any assurance that the thing symbolized would ever occur. But not only have Baptists agreed in regarding infant baptism as without Scriptural warrant and as a perversion of an ordinance established by Christ, but they have always insisted that it is in a very high degree destructive of the true conception of the Church as composed exclusively of regenerate persons. If baptism in unconscious infancy entitles a person to church-membership, in any sense, and does not actually work regeneration, and if those who have been thus baptized are admitted to all the privileges of church-membership after a period of somewhat formal instruction, without evidence of change of heart, a large proportion of the members of such communions are sure to be unregenerate persons. Moreover, Baptists have regarded infant baptism as the almost necessary concomitant of a State Church. If there be an established form of Christianity in any particular State, it must, according to the mediæval conception, be co-extensive in its

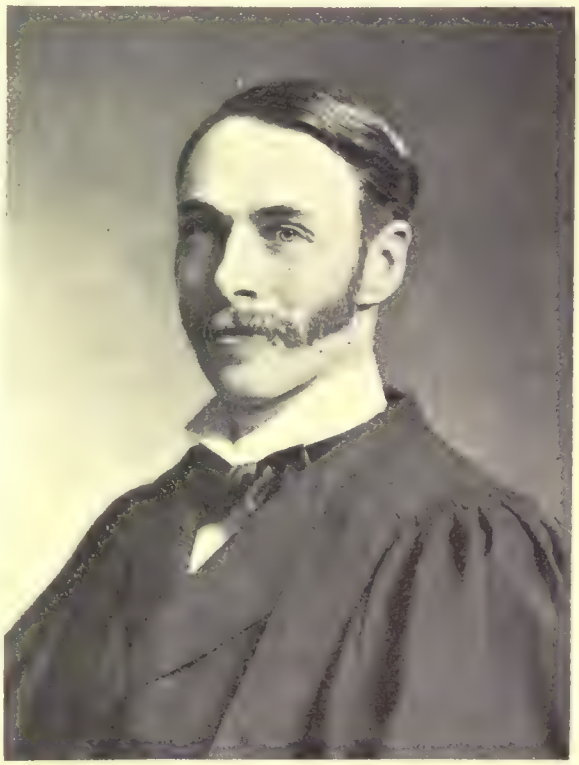
membership with the population of the State. If membership in the Church depended upon the conversion, and the baptism on a profession of faith of each individual, such a coincidence of Church membership with population would be out of the question. Hence, apparently, the determination that the friends of Church establishments have always shown to maintain infant baptism at whatever cost.

3. No less prominent has been the contention of Baptists for regenerate membership. They have persistently maintained that the New Testament conception of the Church Universal is that of the entire body of those that have become personally partakers of the salvation of Christ; that the New Testament idea of a local church is that of a body of believers who have been regenerated and sanctified. This principle, far more than the rejection of infant baptism, or insistence on believer's baptism, or contention for the precise New Testament form of baptism, has always been fundamental with Baptists. The baptism of infants has been rejected not simply because it is non-Scriptural, but even more because of its incompatibility with regenerate membership.

4. Believing that faith is a matter between the individual man and God, Baptists have, from the beginning of their Denominational history, regarded as an enormity any attempt to force the conscience, or to constrain men by outward penalties to this or that form of religious belief. Persecution may make men hypocrites, but true Christians—never. The advocacy of absolute liberty of conscience has not been due to the fact that they have been suffering parties, but is rather a logical result of their fundamental principles.

5. Insistence on immersion as the only allowable form of baptism should not be omitted from an enumeration of Baptist principles; neither should it have the prominent place that many opponents are wont to give it. The uncompromising position that Baptists have long held on this matter is a corollary of their maintenance of the authority and the sufficiency of Scripture as a basis of faith and practice, and their firm conviction that the outward act commanded by Christ and exemplified by Christ and His immediate followers was the immersion of believers in water. Anything short of complete immersion, they have long been unanimous in regarding as an impertinent substitute for that which Christ appointed, and as voiding the ordinance of its true symbolical significance.

While on the points of doctrine and practice already considered, taken as a whole, Baptists believe that they have occupied a position that has advantageously differentiated them from all other bodies of Christians, they rejoice to see that many of the principles for which they have



Professor A. H. Newman.

stood in the past have become the common possessions of evangelical Christendom. The doctrine of the supremacy and sufficiency of Scripture as a norm of faith and practice was professed by the great Protestant leaders of the sixteenth century; but these good men were driven by observation of what seemed to them the ruinous consequences of the practical carrying out of this principle, essentially to modify their statements of the doctrine. Most evangelical Denominations of the present time profess to make the Scriptures

supreme, yet, on grounds that seem to Baptists wholly inadmissable many of them refuse to accept the findings of the best evangelical scholarship of the age as to the subjects and mode of New Testament baptism.

Baptists have, for the most part, been at one with the Roman Catholics, the Greek Catholics, and most Protestant communions in accepting the substance of the so-called Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian creeds, not, however, because they are venerable or because of the decisions of ecclesiastical councils, but because, and only in so far as they have appeared to them to be in accord with Scripture. Yet some Baptist parties have not merely repudiated all extra-Scriptural definitions of doctrine, but have interpreted the Scriptures in such a manner as to put themselves at variance with these ancient formulæ. Their utter rejection of sacerdotalism, ritualism and all forms of ceremonialism has put them out of harmony with all religious parties which stand for sacerdotal and ritualistic practices.

As regards the set of doctrines on which Augustine differed from his theological predecessors, and modern Calvinists from Arminians, Baptists, (Anti-pædobaptists) have always been divided. The mediæval evangelical sects were all apparently anti-Augustinian, and the Anti-pædobaptist parties of the sixteenth century followed in the footsteps of their mediæval spiritual ancestors in this and other important particulars. Those Baptist parties of modern times whose historical relations with the mediæval evangelical parties and the Anti-pædobaptist parties of the sixteenth century are most intimate, have rejected the Calvinistic system; while those that owe their origin to English Puritanism, with Wicklifism and Lollardism behind it, and with the deeply-rooted Calvinism of the English Elizabethan age as its leading characteristic, have been noted for their staunch adherence to Calvinistic principles, not, of course, because of any supposed authority of Calvin or of the English Puritan leaders, but because they have seemed to them to be Scriptural. Calvinistic and Arminian Baptists have both had periods of extreme development, the former sometimes scarcely escaping fatalism and antinomianism, the latter sometimes falling into Socinian denial of the deity of Christ and Pelagian denial of original sin. The great majority of the Baptists of to-day hold to what may be called moderate Calvinism, or Calvinism tempered with the evangelical anti-Augustinianism which came through the Moravian Brethren to Wesley and by him was brought powerfully to bear on all bodies of evangelical Christians.

Baptists are at one with the great Congregational body and with those of the minor Denominations as regards church government. Holding firmly to the universal priesthood of believers, they insist upon the equality of rights and privileges of all church members, but follow the New Testament precept and example in so far differentiating the functions of the members as to bring into effectiveness the gifts and graces of each and to provide for the care and edification of the entire body and for the extension of the Kingdom of Christ through properly directed effort. The officers of the congregation not only owe their appointment to the vote of the entire church, but hold their positions only so long as seems good to the church. Some of the Anti-pædobaptist parties of the sixteenth century, following in the footsteps of their spiritual ancestors of the mediæval time (Waldenses, Bohemian Brethren, etc.), adopted a system of general superintendency, as did the Moravian Brethren and the Methodists in more recent times, under similar influences. Regarding themselves as essentially a missionary church, and being under the stress of almost continuous persecution, they felt the need of strong administrative heads for the direction of missionary effort, for administering the resources of the connection in times of persecution and distress, and for guarding the body from the inroads of error. But English and American Baptists have been from the first, with trifling exceptions, ardent advocates of independency, and this principle has at times been so over-emphasized as to interfere seriously with concerted action of any kind and with the growth of Denominational spirit. It is only within the last hundred years that Baptists have come to realize the power there is in associated effort in home and foreign missionary work, in education, in publication, etc. Baptists believe that through their conventions, associations, advisory councils, missionary, publication, and educational boards, with their effici-

ent administrative officers, they have secured (without in any way interfering with the autonomy of the individual congregations) most of the advantages of prelatical and presbyterial organization.

The attitude of Baptists toward Christian union is often misconceived and adversely judged by their brethren of other Denominations. Baptists earnestly desire Christian union, and believe that it will come in due time; but they insist that efforts for union, to be permanently effective, must be along the line of a better understanding of the work of God and more complete loyalty thereto, rather than along the line of compromise. They are themselves anxious to be instructed in the word of God more perfectly, and are ready to abandon any position that can be shown to be out of harmony with Apostolic precept or example. That the scholars of all Denominations, including Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran and Reformed, are so nearly in agreement as regards the leading features of the Apostolic Church, including the nature of church organization, the character and functions of church officers, the number and character of the ordinances, etc., and that the consensus of scholarship is so nearly in accord with the traditional Baptist interpretation of Scripture, is highly gratifying to Baptists, and encourages them to believe that the development of Christian life and practice will be in the direction of greater uniformity, and that the Church of the future will more and more approximate to the Baptist position. This they desire only so far as the Baptist position shall be proved by the best Christian scholarship to be the Scriptural basis. I append to this statement of the Baptist position some extracts from an article by the late Principal Daniel Arthur McGregor, entitled, "What Constitutes a Regular Baptist Church":

"A Regular Baptist Church is a society of converted persons. Regeneration is not only a doctrinal belief, but an indispensable qualification for church fellowship. By this we do not mean that a church exercises an omniscience which guards it from all deception, but that none are received into its fellowship without first having given satisfactory evidence, so far as the church can judge, of personal salvation through faith in the Son of God. A Regular Baptist Church is not composed of believing parents and their children, but of believers, and believers only. Christian parentage gives no title to, and no fitness for, its fellowship. The question is not one of youth or age, of Christian or un-Christian birth, but of a personal quickening from a state of spiritual death to life in Christ. The sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty are not so by mere natural birth. There is no sonship in God's family, and no true membership in His Church, apart from the reception of Christ. To as many as received Him, to them He gave power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name, which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. Believing, therefore, that the Church of God is a spiritual body, a spiritual birth and a spiritual life are, in a Regular Baptist Church, made a condition and a characteristic of membership. This, and this alone, can satisfy the Apostolic description of the Churches of God. Ye are all children of God by faith in Jesus Christ, for as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. No body of Christians can, therefore, be acknowledged as a Regular Baptist Church if it has not made a regenerated life a test question of membership.

But further. A Regular Baptist Church is composed not simply of those who are regenerated, but of those regenerate persons who have submitted themselves to Christian baptism, upon a profession of faith. By Christian baptism we mean the immersion of a believer in water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. If the act be any other than immersion, then it is not that which Christ instituted. If the person be any other than a believer, then he is not the person Christ designates. If the person be a believer, and the act be immersion, yet, if the baptism be not in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, it is not Christian baptism. It is not what Christ commanded to be done. The formula of Christian baptism is not less important than the act enjoined or the subject specified; and that is not Christian baptism which, in any way, either by change or omission, interferes with the Divine institution. Therefore no persons are Scripturally baptized but those who, on a profession of

faith, have been immersed in water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. This is not only Regular Baptist Church belief, but as Christ has placed baptism at the threshold of church relations, so none are received into Regular Baptist Churches but those who have thus submitted to His ordinances. Any Church which administers any other rite in the name of baptism, or receives into its membership any others than those who are thus baptized, is not a Regular Baptist Church.

But more than this. Regeneration and baptism, although indispensable pre-requisites to church membership, do not in themselves constitute their subjects a Regular Baptist Church. Men may be regenerated and baptized, and yet be members of no visible church whatever. They thus have fitness for membership, but there can be no membership without organization. A Regular Baptist Church is, therefore, an organized body. It is not only an organized body, but a local organization. The expressions, 'Regular Baptist Church' and 'Regular Baptist Denomination,' are by no means synonymous. Though the words are often used interchangeably, such usage embodies an un-Scriptural assumption. The Regular Baptist Denomination is not a Church; nor is any denomination a church. Denomination is nothing but a term which distinguishes or designates various churches of the same faith and order. A church of Christ on earth in no sense comprises all those who hold similar views of Gospel truth. The churches of Christ were many in Apostolic times, when there was a perfect unity of belief. The churches of Christ are still many, as distinct local assemblies, and they can blend their identities in no other unity than that of the church invisible. A Regular Baptist Church is, therefore, a local organization of baptized believers, associated by mutual consent in the faith, and love, and labour of the Gospel—for the maintenance of the pure worship of God, for the spread of His truth, and for the proper observance of His ordinances. Thus far, we have found the essential elements which enter into the constitution of a Regular Baptist Church to be regenerated life and a Scriptural baptism, without which there cannot be proper subjects for church membership; and these subjects united in local organization, without which there cannot be church existence.

The second essential element, which we would mention as entering into the constitution of a Regular Baptist Church, is the doctrinal basis of its unity. That a definite form of doctrinal belief is requisite to Regular Baptist Church existence is seen from the simple fact that there are church organizations which are one with us in their beliefs concerning the ordinances, and who differ from us only on doctrinal grounds—and yet with them we have no church fellowship. If there were no doctrinal differences the Denominations would be one. If doctrinal belief were not a test question with Regular Baptist Churches, these differing Denominations would still be one. The fact that they are not one while doctrinal belief is the only difference, proves mainly that in Regular Baptist Churches doctrinal belief is regarded as an indispensable basis for church unity. The faith of Regular Baptist Churches concerning God is that there is one, and only one, living and true God; the infinite, intelligent, external, self-existent Spirit; the first cause of all things; glorious in His perfections, tri-personal in His existence, and yet, at the same time, essentially and eternally one.

Their beliefs concerning man are, that he is the creation of God. By the will of his Maker he is to remain a living, conscious being forever. His eternal blessedness, not his eternal existence, was conditioned upon his obedience. By sin he involved himself and all his race in hopeless ruin, under the curse of law and the reign of death. They believe that the Holy Scriptures, as originally given, are God's revelation to man, and are the infallible guide and supreme standard of all creeds and of all conduct. The faith of a Regular Baptist Church, in reference to the law of God, is, that it is that system of moral government under which man was placed in his creation, and under which he still lives. That same law, the unchanged standard of perfect life, was afterwards given to man in written record by the pen of inspiration. The law is holy, just, and good, and is incumbent upon all mankind. All its claims had to be satisfied before salvation could be offered to any of the human family; therefore, all men must be by nature under its condemning

power. Its penalties still rest on all who are not redeemed from its curse. Nor has Christ in His vicarious work, in any way abrogated that law. It is by His fulfilment of law that He has brought His people out from under its condemnation. And He has brought them out from under its condemnation, and that it might be no longer their rule of life, but that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. But the righteousness of the law could not be fulfilled in us if it were not our rule of life. It is, therefore, in its unchanged perfection of holiness, justice and goodness, the glorious standard of all moral excellence, the abiding rule of all Christian life. Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid, yea, we establish the law.

In reference to the doctrine of last things, the faith of Regular Baptist Churches is that, at the last day, Christ, the appointed Judge of men, shall descend from heaven. The dead that are in their graves shall hear His voice, and come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation. Christ will then give to all their final awards. The righteous will be adjudged to endless blessedness, and the wicked to equally endless misery. These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal. Another characteristic of a Regular Baptist Church is the nature and number of its permanent offices. Its distinctly official positions are two—the pastoral and the diaconal. The Church has power to elect persons to, or depose them from, these official positions, but has no power to change the offices themselves. It may exist as a Church, under such circumstances that for a time it may be without fit persons to fill the vacant offices, and yet, so long as the offices themselves are recognized, the Church is, in this respect, Regular. But the moment it interferes with these Divine appointments by discarding any of the offices as unnecessary, or by substituting for them any other system of management, that moment it ceases to be a Regular Baptist Church. It has violated God's institution.

Another factor essential to Regular Baptist Church existence is its form of government, which is that of congregational independency. Free from State aid and State legislation, it leans not on the arm of political power. Within itself it submits to no hierarchal or episcopal supremacy. It is under the legislative authority of no organized body on earth, whether Conference, Presbytery, Association or Union, but believes the laws of Christ to be all-sufficient for its guidance apart from all human interference. Each church is thus in itself an independent democracy, or rather, it has no supremacy exercised over it but the supremacy of Christ. It acknowledges no authority under Christ to be higher than itself in reference to its own duties. Prelatic orders and Legislative assemblies are alike repudiated, on the ground that Christ has established no such vicarship over His heritage. Associations and Unions may meet for conference upon Christian work, but they can exercise no governmental functions. Individual churches are the highest executives of Christ on earth. If an offending brother hear not the Church, there is no higher court of appeal. An aggregation of churches can have no dominion over the faith of an individual church. If a church do err from the faith, sister churches may labour for its reclamation, but can exercise over it no coercive power. Their only course, in case of persistent error, is simply a withdrawal of church fellowship. Yet, while Regular Baptist Churches are mutually independent, they may consistently seek counsel, one from another, in times of difficulty. Nor does their independency absolve them from the claim of common honesty that each do consider the interests and opinions of sister churches as well as its own in all matters which may in any way affect the general well-being. Nor does this independency in any way hinder sister churches from uniting, by mutual consent, on a basis of common faith for the advancement of all Christian enterprise which requires co-operative labour; and in so far as they unite for mutual co-operation, in so far must there be mutual inter-dependency. Thus, Regular Baptist Churches, in their independency, possess all the advantages of individual freedom and united strength.

Another essential and distinctive principle which characterizes an organized body of Christians, as a Regular Baptist Church, is absolute

non-interference with Divine institutions. This holds true in reference to the laws which Christ has instituted for the government of His Kingdom. Regular Baptist Churches maintain that Church legislation is not only unnecessary, but that any attempt in this direction is a daring assumption of the prerogatives of the King of Zion. Christ is sole Legislator. The laws of His Kingdom are already established by Himself. His churches are called upon not to enact laws for self-government, but simply to observe all things whatsoever He has commanded. The authority with which His churches are invested is simply executive. So emphatically does Christ forbid any interference with the laws which He has instituted that He declares the person who presumes to make even the slightest alteration, if he be Christian at all, to be the lowest subject in His realm. Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven. In the light of such a declaration, every Christian must acknowledge that Divine institutions may not be changed by man. No one who believes the Bible can acknowledge less. But he who makes this acknowledgment thereby surrenders that for which Regular Baptist Churches contend, and must also accept what this acknowledgment involves, and in so doing, must abandon every position on which open communion rests.

If Christ has established an order in the observance of Gospel ordinances, man may no more violate that order than he may violate any other of the institutions of God. That Christ has established order in the Gospel system is seen from the fact that regeneration, by His command, precedes baptism, and baptism, by His command, precedes church fellowship. It must also precede the Lord's Supper, which is observed only within the fellowship of the Church. A Regular Baptist Church, therefore, believes in common with other bodies of Christians, that in the order of observance baptism precedes the Lord's Supper. This is the order in which they were instituted by Christ. This is the order in which they stand enjoined in the great commission. This is the order in which they were observed in the Apostolic practice. Here, then, is the real question at issue between Regular Baptist Churches and open communionists: 'Shall we keep the ordinances as they were delivered?' But, if it be true, as we have already shown, that there must be absolutely no interference with Divine institutions how can we, in God's name, invite to a course which is subversive of Divinely established order? Examine the statute book of the King of Zion, and if you can find one instance in which He has, either by precept or example, reversed the order which He instituted in the observance of the ordinances, then take that single exception and argue from it against the general law. But if there be not, as there is not, in the Word of God, a single recorded example where the Lord's Supper preceded baptism, then those who fight against this order are simply at war with the Almighty. The man who hurls his censures against the observance of this rule must remember that he implicates thereby, not the subject whose duty is obedience, but the great Lawgiver Himself, and thus, with imputations of unchristian narrowness, assails the character of the Most High. The test of the communion question, as of every other article of Christian faith and practice, is not personal feeling, but the Word of God. So far as personal feelings are concerned, Regular Baptist Churches cherish Christian love toward every Christian denomination, but they do not believe that they are called upon to give expression to that love by breaking the laws of Christ, nor do they think him fit for communion who would seek it by such a means. They believe that the truest love to God and man is that which, even amid misrepresentations and censure, preserves inviolate so divine a gift as Gospel truth. They therefore accept and assert, as an indispensable principle in the constitution of a truly Scriptural church, absolute non-interference with Divine institutions."

HISTORY OF THE CONGREGATIONAL AND BAPTIST CHURCHES—EDITOR'S NOTES

Congregationalist Doctrines and Church Councils. The document which is given below was adopted by the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec at its Annual Meeting in Ottawa, 8th June, 1886, but with the distinct understanding that it was merely a statement of what the Union considered Congregationalists to actually believe—"not as a creed to be subscribed to nor as a scientific doctrine by which the belief of the churches is to be declared":

"1. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who is one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made; and in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who is sent from the Father and Son, and who, together with the Father and Son, is worshipped and glorified.

2. We believe that the Providence of God, by which He executes His eternal purposes in the government of the world, is in and over all events; yet so that the freedom and responsibility of man are not impaired, and sin is the act of the creature alone.

3. We believe that man was made in the image of God that he might know, love and obey God, and enjoy Him forever; that our first parents by disobedience fell under the righteous condemnation of God; and that all men are so alienated from God that there is no salvation from the guilt and power of sin except through God's redeeming grace.

4. We believe that God would have all men return to Him; that to this end He has made Himself known, not only through the works of nature, the course of His providence, and the conscience of men, but also through supernatural revelations made especially to a chosen people, and above all, when the fulness of time was come, through Jesus Christ, His Son.

5. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the record of God's revelation of Himself in the work of redemption; that they were written by men under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit; that they are able to make wise unto salvation; and that they constitute the authoritative standard by which teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

6. We believe that the love of God to sinful men has found its highest expression in the redemptive work of His Son; who became man, uniting His divine nature with our human nature in one person; who was tempted like other men, yet without sin: who, by His humiliation, His holy obedience, His sufferings, His death on the cross, and His resurrection, became a perfect Redeemer; whose sacrifice of Himself for the sins of the world declares the righteousness of God and is the sole and sufficient ground of forgiveness and of reconciliation with Him.

7. We believe that Jesus Christ, after He had risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, where, as the one Mediator between God and man, He carries forward His work of saving men; that He sends the Holy Spirit to convict them of sin, and to lead them to repentance and faith; and that those who, through renewing grace turn to righteousness and trust to Jesus Christ as their Redeemer, receive for His sake the forgiveness of their sins, and are made the children of God.

8. We believe that those who are thus regenerated and justified, grow in sanctified character through the fellowship with Christ, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and obedience to the truth; that a holy life is the fruit and evidence of saving faith; and that the believer's hope of continuance in such a life is in the preserving grace of God.

9. We believe that Jesus Christ came to establish among men the kingdom of God, the reign of truth and love, righteousness and peace; that to Jesus Christ, the Head of this kingdom, Christians are directly responsible in faith and conduct; and that to Him all have immediate access without mediatorial or priestly intervention.

10. We believe that the Church of Christ, invisible and spiritual, comprises all true believers, whose duty it is to associate themselves in churches, for the maintenance of worship, for the

promotion of spiritual growth and fellowship, and for the conversion of men; that these churches, under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures, and in fellowship with one another, may determine—each for itself—their organization, statements of belief, and forms of worship; may appoint aud set apart their own ministers, and should co-operate in the work which Christ has committed to them for the furtherance of the Gospel throughout the world.

11. We believe in the observance of the Lord's Day, as a day of holy rest and worship; in the Ministry of the Word; and in the two sacraments which Christ has appointed for His Church—Baptism, to be administered to believers and children as the sign of cleansing from sin, of union to Christ, and of the impartation of the Holy Spirit; and the Lord's Supper, as a symbol of His atoning death, a seal of its efficacy, and a means whereby He confirms and strengthens the spiritual union and communion of believers with Himself.

12. We believe in the ultimate prevalence of the kingdom of Christ over all the earth; in the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour, Jesus Christ; in the resurrection of the dead; and in a final Judgment the issues of which are everlasting life.

The following Resolutions in reference to Church Councils were adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Union in Montreal in 1876, and re-affirmed in 1880 and 1882:

"1. That, previous to the formation of a new church of our order, a Council of pastors and delegates of sister churches should be called by the parties desiring to be so formed into such a church, and that statements and documents relating to the proposed organization should be presented to the Council thus formed, and its advice in the matter sought.

2. That in the ordination, recognition or installation of pastors, and in the setting apart of evangelists in or among our churches, the church over whom the pastor is to be placed or of which the evangelist is a member, should call a Council, before whom shall be laid the call of the church, and the credentials of the pastor-elect, or of the evangelist, as the case may be, and the advice of the Council sought in relation thereto.

3. That a Council consists of the representatives of churches, not individuals, and it is expedient that each church consulted should be represented by its pastor and a delegate, and should embrace, though not exclusively, the sister Congregational churches contiguous to the church or people seeking advice."

Chairmen of the Union of the Canadas. The Chairmen of the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec from 1854 to 1898 have been as follows:

Rev. William Clarke 1854
" William F. Clarke 1855
" E. J. Sherrill 1856
" Edward Ebbs 1857
" Francis H. Marling 1858
" Henry Wilkes, D.D. 1859
" Adam Lillie, D.D. 1860
" Joseph Elliot 1861
" A. J. Parker 1862
" William Hay 1863
" Thomas M. Reekie 1864
" Archibald Duff, D.D. 1865
" William H. Allworth 1866
" John Climie 1867
" Robert Robinson 1868
" Henry Powis 1869
" John Wood 1870
" George Cornish, LL.D. 1871
" Kenneth M. Fenwick 1872
" Enoch Barker 1873
" John Unsworth 1874
" Charles Chapman, M.A. 1875
" Daniel Macallum 1876
" J. A. R. Dickson, B.D. 1877
" Robert K. Black 1878
" John F. Stevenson, D.D. 1879
" " " " 1880
" Samuel N. Jackson, M.D. 1881
George Hague 1882
Rev. Charles Duff, M.A. 1883
" John G. Sanderson 1884
" John Burton, B.D. 1885
" D. McGregor, M.A. 1886
" H. D. Hunter, M.A. 1887
" John Morton 1888
" Joseph Wild, D.D. 1889
" William Cuthbertson, B.A. 1890

Rev. Hugh Pedley, B.A. 1891
" A. F. McGregor, B.A.....1892
" Edward Hill, M.A.....1893
" W. Henry Warriner, B.D. 1894
" James R. Black, B.A. 1895
Seth P. Leet 1896
Rev. John I. Hindley, Ph.D.....1897
" William McIntosh.....1898

Historic Congregationalism and its Lessons. The following able summary of the leading features which are claimed to have manifested themselves in the history of Congregationalism during several centuries of the Christian era, was written by the Rev. Dr. Samuel N. Jackson, Chairman of the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec in 1881, and appeared in the Denominational Year Book of that year:

"1. The adaptability of Congregationalism to surrounding circumstances has been attested. With its simplicity and completeness of organization, now as in the days of the Apostles, it is suited to all outward exigencies. By it we see churches organized and complete, in prison and on ship-board, in exile and in the unbroken wilderness, while the fruits of Foreign Missions are readily gathered into its churches in all climes and amongst all classes. It is the only polity which can form and conduct a church regularly without outside authority and help, and create out of itself an authorized ministry.

2. While its creed conserves it does not fetter Congregationalism. The Bible, which Chillingworth called the creed of Protestantism, is our creed. Although in generations past and present, Congregationalists have openly declared to the world the leading truths which their churches held, these have never been put forth as standards requiring subscription. One result of this is that we have never been bound by the human opinions and phraseology peculiar to any age, and the grip of the dead man's hand is not felt; while we have ever been at liberty to bring forth, from the treasury of God's Word, things new and old. John Robinson, in his farewell to the Pilgrim Fathers, said, 'God hath more light to break forth out of His Word, and our attitude has ever been that of standing ready to receive such light.' Another attested result is that throughout three centuries Congregationalism has been true to the evangelical faith and has stood as Protestant of Protestants.

3. It has been a chief characteristic of Congregationalism that it has contended for the spirituality of Christ's Church. Its existence began in this vital principle, and its natural antagonism to a State Church is for the same reason. The fathers and founders of our faith were men of deep and fervent piety, and it was through this that they relinquished place, position, outward peace and temporal ease; embracing a system opposed to pride, ambition and all that is human. Throughout all its history Congregationalism has made it an essential claim that its ministry should be godly, and its membership should be converted. That this is a vital principle is declared by the fact that, when for a time a church has been negligent in this, dire disaster has been the invariable result. A vivid illustration is given by the experiment of 'the half-way covenant,' adopted in New England in 1662, ultimately leading to the results of Unitarianism, which the churches were compelled to cut off and cast out. If Uzziah's hands might not steady the Ark of God, no more may the unregenerated be recognized in this system either as ministers or members, for if Congregationalism is not spiritual it is nothing.

4. Congregationalism from the first has possessed a fervent missionary spirit. A leading purpose of the Pilgrim Fathers in coming to this continent was the conversion of the native inhabitants; and John Elliott, famous as the 'Apostle of the Indians,' was the first of Protestant missionaries to the heathen, in whose steps that host should follow with courage, devotion and success like David Brainerd, John Williams, Ellis, Morrison, Moffat and Livingston. The Charter of Massachusetts made missionary work a duty resting upon all the settlers, and as a result we find that when in 1696 there were only 130 Congregational churches in New England there were thirty Indian churches with thousands of 'praying Indians.' It was their missionary enterprise which called into existence the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the oldest Missionary Board in Great Britain. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was organized; and

in 1810 the American Board, followed in 1846 by the American Missionary Association; which Societies have gone into all the world preaching the Gospel and planting the nations with Christian churches. Together they annually employ more than six thousand and fifty European and native missionary agents and expend about one and a half million dollars in the work. Who can question the fact that, when that 'great multitude which no man can number' shall be gathered 'of all nations and kindred and people and tongues' before the throne of God, thousands upon thousands shall bless the missionary enterprises of Congregationalists. In the Home Missionary work Congregational churches in every land are banded together, the strong to help the weak, the favoured to preach the Gospel to the destitute, while in all Catholic evangelical missionary work, domestic or foreign, our churches, considering their number and means, have stood in the front. Without this fervent missionary spirit Congregationalism would not be true to itself, for is not its essence 'sanctified individualism'; and does it not emphasize the duty and power of the individual believers as a good steward of the manifold blessings of God, to propagate the Gospel?

5. Congregationalism professes and exemplifies the broadest Christian catholicism. In relation to other Christian ecclesiastical systems it stands as a rival to none and an ally to all. To these systems it is liberally giving its cardinal principles, and persists in bestowing them, even when declined with thanks. Dr. Baird, in the History of New School Presbyterians, honours us by saying of that secession: 'All our trouble came from Congregationalism.' With a generosity not to be commended, and in a catholicism too catholic by far for our own interests, we have given ministers and members without stint to other Denominations, where they have been received with open arms and held in high honour. Congregationalists alone organized and sustain their great foreign missionary societies on a catholic basis, while the American Home Missionary Society with the same too generous spirit contributed the chief part of ministers, members and means for at least four hundred Presbyterian churches outside of New England. That our system is catholic, as well as apostolic, is further illustrated by the facts that by its ordinances, doctrines and practices it does not debar any true Christian from membership within its churches, but accords him the freest, fullest fellowship; and that its policy furnishes the only system whereby all other Churches may be united in one catholic and apostolic Church.

6. Congregationalism has ever been the symbol of civil and religious freedom. It was born in travail and agony for liberty in an intolerant age, as the persecutions, imprisonments and exile of our fathers testifies, and it was baptized by the blood of martyrs. The proud pre-eminence is given to Robert Brown as having been the first writer in the English tongue to state and define the doctrine of toleration. The few Congregationalists, forming so small a part of the Westminster Assembly, were, according to Baillie, habitually pestering that august body with plans for liberty of conscience, 'not only for themselves, but, without any exception, for every man never so erroneous so long as he troubled not the public comfort.' Again, he says, 'the great shot of Cromwell and Vane is to have a liberty for all religions, without any exception.' In that age it must be remembered Presbyterians looked upon toleration as the very 'man of sin.' To trace this contest for full civil and religious liberty would be to write the history of the Denomination and repeat facts which the leading historians have told, Lord Brougham makes the following declaration: 'They are a body of men to be held in lasting veneration for the unshaken fortitude with which in all times they have maintained their attachment to civil liberty; for I freely confess it, they, with the zeal of martyrs, with the purity of early Christians, the skill and courage of renowned warriors, achieved for England the free constitution she now enjoys.' Hume says: 'Of all Christian sects in Great Britain, this (the Congregational) was the first which, during its prosperity as well as adversity, always adopted the principles of toleration.'

7. Earnest promotion of Education has always been a leading characteristic of Congregationalism. Its first founders were all educated men who had been trained in England's honoured universities, and who, at great sacrifice, went forth to plant their principles in the sancti-

fied thought and intelligence of the age. As a system it cannot long exist in ignorance, and has but few attractions for the thoughtless. Shut out from England's national universities for more than two centuries and a half, theological colleges were established for the education of the ministry, and free universities were founded. Owing to the oppressive acts in the reign of Charles II. it was with the greatest difficulty these schools were maintained. One of these academies was under the charge of Theophilus Gale, another under Samuel Cradoc, another under Thomas Doolittle, and another under Richard Frankland and others of the ejected ministers; these were only preserved by the most frequent change of place so as to elude the vigilance of the authorities. Under toleration these schools could do better work, as the history of one under the Rev. Samuel Jones, first situated at Gloucester and then at Tewkesbury, testifies—for there were educated Archbishop Secker, Bishop Butler, Samuel Chandler and Jeremiah Jones. For more than a hundred years the struggle to abolish University ecclesiastical tests has been carried on, and in 1854 a great victory was achieved by the passage of the Oxford University Reform Bill. This was followed in 1871 by the Ecclesiastical Test Act, which has done all that was desired, with the exception of abolishing the ecclesiastical headship and fellowship in England's renowned universities. Since then many Congregationalists have been attending the national universities, and in the space of twenty-one years fourteen senior wranglers at Cambridge have been Nonconformists.

Of the first settlers of New England one out of every two hundred planters was a graduate of Cambridge or Oxford. One of their own number tells us, 'After God had carried us safely to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust.' No sooner, therefore, did the Pilgrim Fathers plant their principles upon this continent than they opened the common schools, establishing that principle which has been wrought out in the common school system; for in 1653 it was enacted that there should be a school-master in every town in the Colony. As early as 1636 Harvard College was founded; in 1700, Yale; and in 1769, Dartmouth; to be followed by that host of colleges planted in the various States of the Union, in which there are now one hundred and fifty Congregational professors, besides thirty-six in theological seminaries. Of this Joseph Cook says: 'Congregationalists have founded more colleges than any other Denomination in New England.' Moreover, by its Foreign Missionary Societies, schools and colleges, as well as churches, have been planted in many of the dark places of the earth, the number now being not less than fifty. This has been the record; one which must be progressively maintained would we hold our place and wield a true spiritual power in generations to come. The golden fruit of literature which this tree of knowledge has born would make a bibliography of many volumes.

8. The numerical increase of Congregationalism has been gradual but encouraging. At the beginning of the conflict between Charles I. and the Parliament it was, as a Denomination, so feeble and obscure as to be hardly taken into account; but in the end, by the victory of Naseby, it was master of the situation. From the time when Congregationalism was chiefly within the limits of the Fleet Prison and the ship *Mayflower* until now, only three life-times have passed away, and the churches number to-day about four thousand each in England and America, the rate of progress having been singularly even in both countries.

In the United States at the beginning of this century the Denomination was scarcely known outside of New England. Then, for fifty years the fatal 'Plan of Union' for the prosecution of Home Missions was formed with the Presbyterians, and by it the lion and the lamb lay down together, but, unfortunately for our brethren, the innocent lamb of Congregationalism was within the maw of the ravenous Presbyterian lion. During the last quarter of a century, however, their progress has been about 100 per cent. The fact that our numerical advancement

has not been in proportion to that of some other Denominations is not altogether to our discredit; for it must be borne in mind that our strict terms of communion, our emphatic testimony against oppression, and our spirit of catholicity have not facilitated a rapid progress. However, were we to include those Denominations like the Baptist, whose form of Government is Congregational, we should have among those speaking the English tongue a grand total of about forty thousand churches. In addition to this the fact remains that, outside of the Church of Rome, the doctrine of Congregational freedom is now almost universally acknowledged.

9. This question is raised: Does not the history of the past three hundred years declare the weakness as well as the strength of Congregationalism? We frankly answer in the affirmative. That there is weakness in it is assured from the fact that it must be administered by fallible men. Because imperfections come out of a system we may not conclude that therefore the system is weak, for then nature and every earthly affair would be so, there being imperfections found in them all. There have been those who have flippantly spoken of Congregationalism as a 'rope of sand.' There is truth in this. It is a rope of sand, every grain of which should be magnetized by Divine grace and thus by its own inherent property adhere to every other. It is a rope of sand which, when fused by the love of God, is made stronger and more enduring than bands of steel. Without that love and grace, is it not infinitely better that any Church system should be like the simple innocuous grains of common sand. We calmly face our difficulties and meet cavils by asking if other systems of Church government are as free from weakness as is ours. And who can, or shall, exercise the franchise in Christ's Church unless it be the men and women whom Christ has enlightened, regenerated and sanctified by the Holy Ghost!"

The Rev. Henry Wilkes, D.D., LL.D., was born in Birmingham in the year 1805. In 1820 he emigrated with the other members of his family to Canada. When he was seventeen years of age be entered into business in Montreal, first as a clerk, and then as a partner in the firm which employed him. During the years of this active occupation in business there had, however, sprung up in his heart a desire to become a Minister of the Gospel; and in the summer of 1828 he returned to Great Britain with the intention of preparing himself by Collegiate training for this purpose. He entered himself as a student in the University of Glasgow, and in the Theological Academy, where, under the care of the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, the students who contemplated entering the Congregational ministry in Scotland, received special training for their ministerial work. In 1832 Mr. Wilkes took his degree of M.A., and, after spending a summer vacation in Canada, accepted a call to the Congregational church, meeting in Albany Street, Edinburgh, and entered upon his first pastoral charge. There he worked with considerable success for three years and at the end of that time accepted a call addressed to him by the Colonial Missionary Society to proceed to Canada in order to preach the Gospel there, and to further the extension of Congregational Church organization.

He was deeply interested in the welfare of the Colony where his home had been for a brief season; and, though the church in Edinburgh urgently desired him to remain its pastor, he made definite choice of Canada as his sphere of labour, and there he spent the rest of a long and honoured life. In October, 1836, he settled in Montreal as pastor of the church known for many years as Zion Church. Of this he continued to be the sole minister until the year 1871 and retained a nominal and honourary relation to the pastorate for some years after that. In addition to the labours of his pastorate, Mr. Wilkes acted as representative and agent of the Colonial Missionary Society connected with the Congregational Churches of England and Wales. It was indeed in counsel with him, and at the instance of the Reverends Dr. Reid and Dr. Mathieson, that that Society had been constituted—its formal organization for a time depending upon his consent to remove from Edinburgh to Canada as Agent. In that capacity he continued to serve the Church with great energy and wisdom to the end, and much of the after extension of Congregationalism in Canada was due to his initiative work.

In 1870, Dr. Wilkes (The University of Vermont, U.S.A., conferred upon him the honourary degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1850, and McGill University that of LL.D.) was appointed, in succession to Dr. Lillie, as Principal of the Congregational College of British North America. This office he held to the end of his life, lecturing to the students on Systematic Theology, Old Testament Introduction, and Church History. A large number of ministers who now hold the pastoral office in Canada and elsewhere, owe to Dr. Wilkes much of their equipment for their work. For the space of nearly two generations this eminent divine exercised the ministry to which he had consecrated his life. The Congregationalist Year Book of England thus summarized, in 1887, the life and labours of Dr. Wilkes:

"He had in a marked degree the qualities and habits of mind which usually lead to success in business; clearness and rapidity of apprehension, promptitude in determining the course to be followed, and unswerving firmness in following it out; and also a large and all but insatiable appetite for work. Few men can ever have brought more personal energy to the chosen work of their lives, or have faced the difficulties with which they had to contend with greater courage. With the higher order of qualifications for Christian ministration he was liberally and graciously endowed. He held the great truths of Christianity in the grasp of a firm and masculine faith. He profoundly felt that in the preaching of Christ to men, by men who had felt Christ's saving power, and who could thus be, 'witnesses' to Christ, lay the secret of the force by which men were to be saved and the Kingdom of God brought in, in fullness and power. His preaching was largely didactic and expository; but it was not seldom lit up by illustrations drawn from nature, history, and the literature of the imagination; and it was always suffused with love to men and sympathy to Christ in His effort to redeem men. It was no marvel that, thus inspired and equipped, he was the means of turning many to righteousness, of building up a strong church, and of preparing many for efficient leadership in the churches and in general society."

Dr. Wilkes spent several months in England in the course of 1886. He had many warm and life-long friends there whom he wished once more to see, and who warmly welcomed him home. After his return to Canada, however, a re-action from the over-expenditure of vital energy which had taken place set in; and the result showed that he had not the power to rally. It is said that these who saw him at the meetings of the Congregational Union and elsewhere in England, were touched as they heard the Christian testimony of the old man—eighty-one years of age; his declaration of the fixed and unspeakable peace which his faith in Christ gave him in the prospect of an early ending of his earthly career; and his exhortations to his ministerial brethren to stand fast in the same service. He spoke on these occasions with a fervour and energy which surprised all who heard him. On the 17th of November, 1886, he passed quietly away, leaving a reputation as perhaps the most eminent divine of his Denomination in the history of Canada.

The Rev. William Harvey Heu-de-Bourck, one of the most eloquent, energetic and earnest of Congregational ministers in Canadian history, was of Huguenot descent, and was born in London in 1805. While pursuing his studies at Homerton College, under the eminent Dr. Pye Smith, he founded a Congregationalist church in Epping Forest and there for some time ministered in true missionary spirit to a large and miscellaneous gathering. In 1830 he was ordained pastor of the Congregational church at Tiverton, Devonshire, and there laboured with great success for a period of fifteen years. A beautiful pile of buildings was erected as a result of his zeal and partly of his personal generosity, at a cost of £5,000. This was during a period when the congregation was very limited in both numbers and resources. But no such difficulties, either there or in his after life of missionary labour abroad, were ever allowed to stand in the way of successful work. Mr. Heu-de-Bourck was especially remarkable for his interest in the young, and wherever he went soon had large Sunday Schools prospering under his care. At one time in Tiverton the number was 700.

In 1845 he came out to Nova Scotia and for some years laboured at Halifax and Yarmouth. From there he went to Quebec and succeeded in doing much for its church and congregation. The former he completely renovated at a considerable cost. During the period covering the American Civil War he was in the United States, where he built up a flourishing church in Dyers-

ville, Iowa. A few years later he returned to Canada, and amongst more congenial British surroundings, continued his energetic labours at Cornwall, Stratford, Bowmanville and Brockville, in Ontario and finally, once more, in the city of Quebec. Everywhere he built or restored churches and created or strengthened congregations. The churches at Bowmanville and Stratford in particular owed much to his exertion. In 1883 he died suddenly at Quebec, leaving a name and memory which the *Toronto Globe* described as "one of the brightest ornaments" of Canadian Congregationalism. Of him a Tiverton newspaper also said at the time of his death: "Many will learn to bless the memory of his name for the great benefits they have reaped under his ministry and instruction. He was distinguished for great oratorical power, eloquence, fervour, and pathos in his preaching, throwing his whole soul into his discourses and boldly proclaiming the truths of the Gospel in all their purity and telling effect." Mr. Heu-de-Bourck was signally lacking in all wordly ambition and never held even the Chairmanship of the Congregational Union, but the result of his work lives in the history of the Denomination to which he was so unselfishly devoted.

The Chairmen of the Congregational Union of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick from the organization in 1846, to 1897, were as follows:

Rev. James G. Galloway	Rev. Joseph Elliott
Rev. James Porter	Rev. S. G. Dodd
Rev. Sidney S. Murkland	Rev. William Williams
Rev. Frederick Tomkins	Rev. Alex. McGregor
Mr. Thomas Hilton	Rev. Duncan McGregor
Rev. Charles McKay	Rev. C. Woodcock
Rev. Joseph Peart	Rev. James Shipperly
Rev. Jacob Whitman	Rev. Joseph Barker
Rev. Robert Wilson	Rev. Jacob W. Cox
Rev. George Cornish	Rev. Irving L. Beman
Rev. George Stirling	Rev. D. W. Cameron
Rev. Henry Lancashire	Rev. William McIntosh
Rev. James Howell	Rev. John B. Saer
Rev. George Ritchie	Rev. J. B. Haines
Rev. T. B. Smith	Rev. Thomas Hall
Rev. John Russell Kean	Rev. W. Henry Watson
Rev. Archibald Burpee	Rev. David Howie
Rev. Robert K. Black	Mr. A. K. Moore
Rev. Enoch Barker	Rev. John Wood
Rev. Fred Hastings	Rev. D. W. Purdon
Rev. Simeon Sykes	Rev. W. Byron Forbush
Rev. Charles Duff	Mr. James D. Dennis

These comprise all the names of the gentlemen who have held the office of Chairman in the Maritime Provinces Union. Some of them, however, have held the office twice. Amongst these were the Reverends F. Tomkins, Alexander McGregor, James Shipperly, and J. W. Cox, while the Rev. S. Sykes has filled the post three times.

Present Condition of the Baptist Churches. Of the 164 pastors, who were settled over Baptist churches early in 1897, 66 had been with their churches less than two years, 98 less than three years, 125 less than four, 135 less than five, and only 21 more than five years. The five longest pastorates were those of the Rev. George Mason, over 20 years; Dr. B. D. Thomas, over 14 years; Rev. S. S. Bates and Rev. D. Hutchinson, over 11 years, and the Rev. W. Holbein, over 10 years. This illustrates a condition of affairs which made a Committee of the Baptist Church report as follows in the Denominational Year Book for 1897-98: "No true man can get the fullest place in the esteem and confidence of his people and exert his best power to edify and mould them to the highest ideals in so short a period. No church can be deeply impressed with the life and teaching of pastors if they are succeeding each other every one or two years, each with his own peculiarities of teaching and leadership, which thus demand continual re-adjustments. Our young men especially ought to guard themselves against a restlessness, often a want of courage, which leads to frequent changes. It is long pastorates which require the diligence and study which make strong men as well as strong churches, all else being equal. We fear, also, that some of our churches are to blame for the short settlements of their pastors. If pastors and churches could but make the best of each other, believing that the relationship has been of Divine ordering, and be mutually patient and considerate until they have become adjusted to each other, we cannot but believe that the work of the Lord in our churches would be much advanced."

The Committee sent nine questions to all the pastors of Baptist churches in Canada. About one-half responded and from some hundred of these replies the following average results were obtained:

About one-eleventh of the churches report but one-fifth of their membership males.

About one-seventh of the churches report but one-fourth of their membership males.

About one-half of the churches report but one-third of their membership males.

About one-fourth of the churches report but one-half of their membership males.

In all the churches, therefore, there was only a proportion of seven men to thirteen women members, or a little more than one-half as many. In general, it may be said that the relative proportion of men to women was greater in the country churches than in those in cities. It was also found that of those who were regular attendants at prayer-meetings:

About one-third of the churches report one-fifth to be males.

About one-half of the churches report one-third to be males.

About one-sixth of the churches report one-half to be males.

In two churches of the ninety-one reporting three-quarters were stated to be males. The general average of males in regular attendance upon prayer meetings was thus a fraction less than one-third. It appeared therefore that while the women constituted nearly two-thirds of the total Church membership they also furnished a little over two-thirds of the regular attendants at the devotional services of the churches. The Report also gave the total membership of churches heard from as being 22,581 at the beginning of 1897. It may be added that the total Baptist population of Canada according to the census of 1891 was 303,839. In 1881 it was 296,525.

Organization of the Baptist Convention. On March 20th, 1889, an Act of the Dominion Parliament was assented to and the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec thereby created. Under its terms the following arrangement and regulations were made:

"1. Each regular Baptist church within the limits of the said Provinces shall be entitled to send two or more delegates to an Assembly to be called 'The Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec.'

2. Until the said Convention otherwise provides by a resolution, passed by a vote of two-thirds of the delegates present, after a year's notice of the proposed change, the delegates shall be elected as follows:

(*a*) Each church having a membership of one hundred or under shall be entitled to send two delegates.

(*b*) Each church having a membership of over one hundred shall be entitled to send an additional delegate for each additional hundred of membership, or fraction of a hundred, provided such fraction of a hundred exceeds fifty.

(*c*) Each delegate must be a member of a Regular Baptist church situate within the territorial limits of the Convention, and appointed at a meeting of the church, and duly certified by the clerk of the church as having been so appointed. The church clerk shall also certify to the Convention the number of members composing the church of which he is clerk.

3. The objects of the Convention shall be the promotion and prosecution of such work and enterprise as are deemed in the interests of the Denomination and particularly those specified in section five.

4. The Convention shall have a President and any other officers that it deems necessary. It shall meet annually, or oftener, at such times and places as it appoints. The first meeting shall be held at the City of Ottawa on the third Thursday of October next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon. The annual meeting need not be held at absolute intervals of twelve months and a period not exceeding fifteen months may intervene between two annual meetings.

5. The Convention shall, at its annual meetings, appoint members of Boards for the following purposes:

(*a*) A Board for the prosecution of mission work within the Dominion of Canada, including the aiding of weak churches, to be called 'The Home Mission Board of the Baptist Convention.'

(*b*) A Board for the prosecution of mission

work outside of Canada, to be called 'The Foreign Board of the Baptist Convention.'

(*c*) A Board for the purpose of assisting and supporting aged ministers of the Denomination and the widows and orphans of deceased ministers, to be called 'The Ministerial Superannuation Board of the Baptist Convention.'

(*d*) A Board for the purposes hereinbefore set out as the purposes of the Standard Publishing Company, to be called 'The Publication Board of the Baptist Convention.'

(*e*) A Board for assisting churches by loan or gift in the acquisition, erection and maintenance of church edifices, and the acquiring lands as sites therefor, to be called 'The Church Edifice Board of the Baptist Convention.' The Board, when it deems it expedient may itself acquire and hold the land, and erect and maintain the buildings.

6. Each of the said Boards, and its successors, shall be a corporate body, and shall be capable of taking by devise, gift or purchase any real or personal property, land or tenements, and of alienating the same at pleasure: provided, however, that the corporation shall, within ten years after the acquisition of any such real estate, sell or otherwise dispose of and alienate so much of such real estate as is not required for the use and occupation or other like purposes of the corporation: and provided also that such devise of real estate shall be subject to the laws respecting devises of real estate to religious corporations in force at the time of such devise in the Province in which such real estate is situated, so far as same apply to the said corporation.

7. Each of the said Boards shall consist of as many members as the Convention from time to time determines. The members of the Board shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meetings of the Convention: provided that the Manitoba and North-West Convention may appoint a member of the Publication Board aforesaid.

8. The Convention may direct that the members of any Board, or a certain proportion of them, shall hold office for one, two, or three years, or otherwise, as it deems expedient, and may determine how many shall constitute a quorum of any Board, and may define the scope of the work of the several Boards.

9. Each of the said Boards shall appoint such standing committees and such officers and employés, whether salaried or not, as it considers expedient, and may pass by-laws for regulating the conduct of its affairs: provided that the Convention may, by a standing rule, assume the appointment of the officers or employés of the said Board.

10. Each Board shall render to the Convention annually, or oftener if required, a report of its proceedings for the information and approval of the Convention, and containing such particulars as are required by the Convention.

11. A Board shall not be dissolved by the failure of the Convention in any year to appoint members of such Boards, but the persons theretofore appointed shall continue to constitute the Board until their successors are appointed; and in case, for any reason, the annual meeting of the Convention is not held the person last elected President of the Convention, or any six members of any Board or Boards, may, by public notice, publish for at least three weeks in the *Canadian Baptist*, or other Denominational publication previously named by the Convention for that purpose, call a meeting of the Convention: and such meeting shall have the same authority as a regular meeting.

12. Upon an order of the Governor-in-Council being passed, declaring that it has been shown to his satisfaction that 'The Foreign Missionary Board of the Baptist Convention' has been appointed, all the rights, property and liabilities of 'The Regular Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of Ontario and Quebec' shall be and become vested in the said Board, and the said Society shall cease to exist.

13. Upon an order of the Governor-in-Council being passed, declaring that it has been shown to his satisfaction that, 'The Publication Board of the Baptist Convention' has been appointed, the shares of the said 'Standard Publishing Company, Limited,' other than the said eight hundred paid-up shares, shall be extinguished, the said letters-patent shall cease to have any force or effect, and all the rights, property and liabilities of the said 'Standard Publishing Company, Limited,' shall be and become vested in the said Publication Board, and the members of such Board shall

possess all the powers and authority theretofore possessed by the shareholders of the said Company, under the said letters-patent."

The Denomination in the Maritime Provinces. The following is a summary of the churches, membership, contributions, Sunday-schools, etc., of the Baptist body in the Maritime Provinces for the year ending May 31st, 1897, and including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island:

Associations.	No. of Churches.	Church Membership.	No. of Baptisms.
N.S. Western	72	11,955	540
" Central	55	10,550	673
" Eastern	68	6,151	290
" African	16	624	11
Totals for N.S.	211	29,280	1,514
N. B. Western	79	6,172	155
" Southern	45	5,298	136
" Eastern	52	7,402	399
Totals for N.B.	176	18,872	690
P. E. Island	27	2,322	120
Totals for 1897	414	50,474	2,324

Associations.	Expended for Ch. Support.	Contributions to Den'l Work.
N.S. Western	31,942.75	4,139.68
" Central	32,512.98	5,026.71
" Eastern	26,369.65	2,805.65
" African	1,108.00	15.30
Totals for N.S.	$91,933.38	$11,987.34
N.B. Western	10,245.12	1,394.74
" Southern	38,144.00	1,721.70
" Eastern	16,266.79	1,459.25
Total for N.B.	$64,655.91	$4,575.69
P.E. Island	$ 8,413.00	$ 561.09
Totals for 1897	$165,002.29	$17,124.12

Summary of Statistics of the Sunday-Schools:

Associations.	Scholars Enrolled.
N.S. Western	6,895
" Central	6,197
" Eastern	3,637
" African	430
Totals	17,159
N.B. Western	3,016
" Southern	3,951
" Eastern	3,458
Totals	10,425
P.E. Island	1,330
Totals for 1897	28,914

Associations.	Average Attendance.	No. Teachers.	Adults Enrolled.
N.S. Western	4,995	882	1,737
" Central	4,110	600	1,428
" Eastern	2,456	388	927
" African	283	37	65
Totals	11,844	1,907	4,157

The Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., was one of the Fathers of his Denomination in the Maritime Provinces, and a man of the most noble religious principle and the highest intellectual character. His whole life was permeated with the missionary spirit, which he seems, indeed, to have come by naturally, as well as from deep religious sentiment. According to the Rev. Frederick Freeman's "History of Cape Cod," his first known ancestor in America was Thomas Tupper, who came to Massachusetts in 1637, and long acted as a missionary amongst the Indians. Mr. Tupper's descendants in several generations acted in a similar capacity. Dr. Tupper was the twelfth child of Charles Tupper, and grandson of Eliakim Tupper, who left Massachusetts and came to Nova Scotia in 1763. At Cornwallis, in the latter Province, the future minister was born on August 6th, 1794.

From boyhood he was fond of study and willing to work. But education in those pioneer days was hard to obtain, and much of what he did learn was self-taught in the intervals of hard, manual labour on his father's farm. Through many ups and downs of toil and effort he fought his way until, at nineteen, he had mastered the elements of education, including Latin, and was able to start teaching school on his own account —an employment in which he learned still more rapidly. An extract from his Journal, which long afterwards appeared in the *Christian Messenger*, is interesting in this connection:

"I now resumed the study of Latin almost exclusively. The work of translating was peculiarly interesting to me. During the long days of summer I was so constantly employed in manual labour that I could scarcely find any time for translating. I, therefore, commenced a practice to which I had not been accustomed, namely, that of sitting up late at night that I might enjoy the luxury of devoting time to my favourite exercise."

Naturally, this told on his health, and had to be abandoned after a time. But the incident illustrates the young man's character. In 1815 he was converted after a prolonged mental struggle, which his Diary describes with affecting simplicity and earnestness. On May 14th he was baptized by the Rev. Edward Manning—one of the most eminent of the Baptist pioneers in the Maritime Provinces—and, at the expiration of his school-teaching term, commenced to preach. His first sermon was delivered in Cornwallis on March 24th, 1816, and, in July of the following year, he was duly ordained as an evangelist. His field of labour soon broadened out, and, in time, covered nearly every part of the Maritime Provinces. He served at Parrsborough and Amherst, N.S., and at various places in New Brunswick prior to 1825, when he went on a missionary tour through Prince Edward Island. Upon his return he accepted a call to St. John, N.B. About this time (1826) Mr. Tupper became editor of a new Denominational magazine, in which position he did much valuable service to his Church. In 1827 he commenced the study of French, and, three years later, was able to write as follows in his Diary:

"On the 7th of June I completed the perusal of the Bible in Latin. I had now read the whole Bible through in five languages, namely: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English. On the 11th I finished the second perusal of the Old Testament in Hebrew. The 23rd of the same month I providentially met with an opportunity to obtain a copy of Luther's Translation of the Bible in German, also a dictionary of the language with the definitions in French, and a grammar. Having purchased these books, I presently commenced the study of German. It soon became evident to me that this language might be easily learned."

Meanwhile he had performed further missionary tours of P.E.I. and New Brunswick, as well as his usual work; but in 1833 he settled down in the Island Province at Tryon and Bedeque, resigning at the same time his office of Editor of the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*. In 1834 he returned to the church at Amherst, N.S., and also took charge of the local Grammar School for a year. For over a year following 1838 he managed the Baptist Seminary and Church at Fredericton. During the years, 1840-44, Mr. Tupper traversed the length and breadth of the Provinces, preaching and labouring, and in the latter year published an able work entitled *Baptist Principles Vindicated*. In his Diary in 1850 he recorded the fact of having just finished reading the Bible in Italian—making the ninth language in which he had read it—and of studying several important volumes in Hebrew and Syriac. He also wrote in the *Christian Messenger*, which had succeeded the Magazine in 1837, a proposal for an undenominational revision of the Scriptures. In 1857 he was made an honourary D.D. by Acadia College, and in 1862 published a valuable series of "Letters to Young Preachers."

Meantime his labours continued in every direction, although from 1851 to 1872 he maintained a pastoral connection with the church at Aylesford, N.S. In 1867 Dr. Tupper celebrated the jubilee of his ordination and some very interesting personal statistics were made public. While a licentiate—from March 24th, 1816, to July 17th, 1817—he had travelled 4,000 miles, preached 350 sermons, attended 70 other religious or benevolent meetings, made 750 family visits—usually reading the Scriptures and admonishing the families and praying with them. Since his ordination, from extensive memoranda carefully noted, he had travelled 146,000 miles, nearly all on horseback or in a common carriage, preached 6,750 sermons, attended 3,430 other meetings (almost invariably taking an active part in each), and made 11,250 family visits. He had also, in the fifty years of his ministry, married 238 couples, delivered funeral discourses at the burial of 542 persons, and administered baptism to 552 others.

Meanwhile his second son, afterwards Prime Minister of Canada and a Baronet of the United Kingdom, had been distinguishing himself and was already Provincial Secretary and a political

leader of great promise. At the close of 1878 the venerable divine was able to say that during his ministerial career he had travelled 12,467 miles to preach 8,191 sermons and attend 7,482 other meetings. On January 19th, 1881, he passed away. Of him the Rev. Dr. Bill, in his History of the Baptist Denomination in Canada, writes as follows:

"The life and ministry of Charles Tupper, from the baptism by Father Manning in 1815 to his death, has been a subject of deep and earnest study by the author. That life unfolds, as it seems to him, elements of character which, when combined in the same person, constitute the very highest and purest type of humanity. Such are an innate love of knowledge, with an intense application to obtain it; early consecration to the noblest service that can engage human thought or life; perseverance in the right course, that never falters; a determination that surmounts all obstacles; an endurance that never wearies; a thirst for progress that is constantly pressing on to higher attainments; a patience that glories in tribulation; an industry that conquers the love of ease; self-denial that towers above all forms of selfishness; a sympathy as wide and deep as the sufferings of humanity; a conscience as true as the needle to the pole; a charity as broad as the necessities of the race; a faith that smiles at impossibilities; caution that never speaks unadvisedly; a humility that would wash a brother's feet; a peacefulness that hushes the voice of discord; a forbearance that quietly suffers personal insult and wrong; a love that 'many waters can not quench'; a passion for soul-saving that burns with ever-increasing desire for the redemption of the world; and a holiness that eschews all evil. After studying this good man for more than sixty years the author has to say that in no one individual of Adam's race has he ever seen these best qualities of man's regenerated nature more thoroughly combined or more thoroughly manifest. Like Enoch, Charles Tupper 'walked with God,' and was not, for God took him."

The Rev. Robert Alexander Fyfe, D.D., was born in the Parish of Ste. Philippe, Que., Oct. 20, 1816. His parents were Scotch people who came from Dundee to Canada in 1809. His primary education was such as the country schools of the Lower Province afforded in the early days of the nineteenth century, while his summers were mainly spent in toiling on a farm. During these boyhood days he also managed to learn the trade of shoe-making, which served his purpose well at times during his after missionary studies and life. When verging on manhood he spent at least some of his winters in the lumber camps of the Canadian forest. For a time he was employed as a clerk in the store of a relative in the village of Laprairie and rendered most conscientious and effective service. At this time he was the embodiment of vigourous health and rejoiced in his ability to perform startling athletic feats. Subsequently in a railway accident his nervous system received a shock from which he never fully recovered. About this time he became the subject of strong religious influence and decided to unite with the Baptist Church which he did on April 27th, 1835.

He appears to have at once identified himself with active Christian work, for in less than three months after his union with the Church he began preparations to attend the Madison University at Hamilton, New York State, earnestly believing that he was called upon to preach the Gospel. He was in his nineteenth year when he entered the University and began a course which contained for him many changes, dark days and bitter trials. Just how and where he spent the next year, 1836-7, is not clear, but presumably in study and work in the neighbourhood of his home. During 1837-8 he attended the Worcester (Mass.) High School, where he spent part of his time in manual labour in order to assist in defraying his expenses. After a year of preparatory work at Worcester he entered for the full theological course at Newton Seminary in October, 1839. Here he spent three years completing a highly creditable course. His school and college life appears to have been a very trying ordeal, as his circumstances required much rigid economy and frequent cessation of study for purposes of work in order to replenish his empty purse. He is also stated to have been subject to seasons of severe mental and spiritual conflict which greatly depressed his spirits and tried his faith. It was a memorable day for the young man of twenty-six years when on August 25th, 1842, he was ordained at Brooklin, Mass., and set apart to the work of an evangelist. Almost immediately after this he returned to Canada and very soon organized a church at Perth, Ont., of which he became the first pastor. He had not remained there

longer than one year when he was constrained, much against his inclination, to succeed Dr. Davies as temporary Principal of the Baptist College at Montreal, in which position he continued for a year, and at the same time performed much active and prominent service in general Denominational work.

In September, 1844, Mr. Fyfe accepted a call from the March Street Church, Toronto, and successfully occupied that pastorate for four years, when he resigned and returned to his old congregation at Perth, where he again did successful work and was held in the highest esteem. After a comparatively short term in this, his first Canadian pastorate, he decided to leave the Canadian work, mainly, it appears, on account of his constrained relations with his western brethren on the question of Baptist union, and of his inability to reform the constitution of the society. His failure to secure any cordial co-operation between the existing divisions of the Baptist Denomination led him to seek a more congenial field of labour. In harmony with this desire he accepted a call to Warren, Rhode Island, where he had a most prosperous career for three years and a half, when in response to an unanimous request he went to Milwaukee in 1853, remaining until 1855. For some years, however, there had been a very strong desire on the part of his Canadian brethren to secure his return to Canada—the more prophetic among them forseeing that the future of the Church required a man of his energy and breadth of character to assist in forming the plans and moulding the policy of its people. In the year last mentioned he deemed it proper to return to his native country and accepted the pulpit of the Bond Street Church, Toronto. In this charge he remained until he became Principal of the Canadian Literary Institute at Woodstock, Ont., in 1860.

He edited periodicals, wrote much for the press, and by sermon, address and pen did perhaps more than any other man in the two Canadas for the progress of his Church. His really heroic labour in connection with the Woodstock College, as it was later called, for nearly twenty years, will never be fully known or appreciated. Those who were aware of the good work done by that institution did not perhaps fully appreciate the almost continuous strain Dr. Fyfe underwent. His care was not confined to a reasonable number of daily classes and a correspondence within easy compass. The idea of the Institute originated with him, the tedious work of organization depended largely on his energy and skill, and the herculean task of putting the scheme in documentary form, in a living way, fell to his lot. In order to form even a faint idea of the labours heaped upon him it must be remembered that the College had not been more than fairly started when it was totally consumed by fire, leaving the Denomination many thousands of dollars in debt after the insurance was received. Those were dark days for the Institution and would have entirely discouraged a man of less stalwart faith and courage. However, Dr. Fyfe set himself to repair the disaster, and, within six months of the opening of the subscription list for the new second building, over $20,000 had been pledged, and by midsummer of 1862 the new building, in some respects an improvement on the first, was ready. Although the Baptist people throughout the Province were most prompt and liberal in their response to this second appeal, the thought and time of the Principal was most heavily taxed in looking after the financial side of the undertaking. He was forced to be almost incessantly appealing for aid and looking after subscriptions. Concurrent with all this he had a heavy general correspondence from all over the Province, letters appealing for advice on individual as well as Church matters. His pen was constrained to oppose an aggressive Church movement, or encourage it as the case might be. His wisdom and experience appeared to be the property of the Church at large and most fully was it drawn upon. The multiplicity of these official cares and the demands of the Church from without naturally injured his health and compelled Dr. Fyfe to abandon his post many years before old age would have caused the same result. During 1878 his health had become so shattered and feeble that he could not fully attend to his accustomed work and a little later he practically gave it up. But it was too late. Towards the end of August he faded rapidly, and on September 4th, 1878, quietly passed away at his home in

Woodstock at the age of 62 years. It is not too much to say that Dr. Fyfe was one of the ablest and best beloved leaders whom the Baptist Denomination has yet produced.

Canadian Baptist Missions. The Baptist churches in Canada have done splendid work for Foreign Missions, and the following record, written by the Rev. A. C. Chute, B.D., of Halifax, in the *Herald* of that place, March 7th, 1896, is worthy of preservation and historical consideration:

"After the expulsion of the Acadians there began an influx from the New England Colonies to Nova Soctia. From Newport, Rhode Island, there came the Rev. John Sutton, a Baptist minister, along with a band of emigrants, in 1760, to a place in our Province, which received the name of the community from which they had come. In 1778 a Baptist church was formed at Horton and then another in this city, in 1795. In 1814 there was held an associational gathering with the church at Chester, there being by that time twenty-five churches, with a reported membership of 1,494. This gathering is of especial interest, because then, as the Minutes state, 'a contribution was made for the poor heathen, to be sent to the Treasurer of the Auxiliary Bible Society of Halifax.' The amount was eight pounds, thirteen shillings. Edward Manning wrote in the circular letter of that year: 'When one considers the present situation of the great bulk of mankind, whose heart does not burn within him to contribute something towards evangelizing the nations?'

In the years that follow, the missionary spirit was greatly fostered by reports of the work done and the suffering endured by the Judson's in Burmah, and offerings began to flow in for that mission. We would expect, of course, that this increasing concern among the Baptist churches of these Provinces about the matter of taking the Gospel to far off, sin-bound nations would soon result in some organized effort of a general character for the carrying out of so glorious a purpose. And that is the next fact we have to note. Twenty-four years after the afore-mentioned collection the Association again met at Chester and formed a 'United Society for the maintenance of Foreign Missions.' A suitable man for a missionary was then sought, and ere long R. E. Burpee was before the Committee. Up to this time the moneys raised had been devoted chiefly to the Burman mission through the American Baptist Missionary Union. In 1845, after completing his studies at Acadia College, which, by the way, was established the same year that this Society was formed at Chester, the Rev. R. E. Burpee and wife left for Farther India, a decidedly great event for that time. He was stationed among the Karens of Mergul. 'Let us suppose,' he says in one of his early letters:

'That in all Nova Scotia there is only one minister of the Gospel, Commence with Halifax. Among its people here is only one minister, one Sabbath school, and a few Christians; now look eastward, and as you pass through Truro, Pictou, Amherst, and the many populous districts in that direction, there is not one minister to be found; look west and let your eye pass through Windsor, Horton, Cornwallis, Aylesford, Nictaux, Wilmot, Bridgetown, Digby, Yarmouth, and all around to Liverpool, and there is not one minister.'

By this and similar communications the churches were much stirred. The awakening of a common interest in a common cause had a unifying effect, so that in the year after Burpee's departure the Baptists of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island became united in what is now known as the Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces. The next name to be mentioned is that of Arthur Crawley, of Sydney, C.B., who went to Burmah in 1853, under direction of the Board at Boston, Mass., though supported in part by the Baptists here. In addition, however, to what was done in a financial way for Mr. Crawley, much was done by Provincial Baptists for the support of Burmese preachers and teachers under the direction of this missionary from Nova Scotia. Separate congregations at home assumed the support of native workers. The Granville Street, now the First Baptist Church of Halifax, for instance, undertook in 1861 the support of a native preacher, and the year succeeding the church in Truro did the same. As evidence that considerable was in this way done for Burmah, we have but to recall that, in 1869, forty-seven native preachers and teachers and one Bible-woman

were supported. Not long was Burpee engaged in the work, for he was soon removed by death.

In 1867 Miss Minnie B. DeWolfe, a member of the First Baptist Church of this city, was sent out as a Bible-reader to heathen women, the first unmarried female missionary, it is said, ever sent to the foreign field; and two years later the Rev. William George and his wife were located at Zeegong, Burmah. Up to this time the Baptists had leaned considerably, as has been noticed already, upon the American Baptist Missionary Union, but their period of independence was now inaugurated (1871). Towards this change the up-springing of women's missionary aid societies, under the leadership of Miss Norris, of Canso, N.S., who was herself long associated with Miss De Wolf in Burmah, contributed much. And the question now confronting the independent organization was this: Where shall the new mission be established? Towards the eastern Karens in the Kingdom of Siam attention was turned. At once there went forth Rev. Rufus Sanford and wife, Rev. William F. Armstrong and wife, Rev. George Churchill, Miss M. F. Faulkner, (afterwards Mrs. Churchill) Rev. W. B. Boggs, Miss Flora Eaton (afterwards Mrs. Boggs) and Miss Maria Armstrong. The tour of exploration by the male missionaries resulted in abandoning thought of labour amongst the Karens; and, in accordance with a proposal which came from the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec, these missionaries were ordered to cross the Bay of Bengal to the west, and commence work among the Telugu people (1875). In November of 1894 the Baptists of Halifax, along with some others connected with other religious bodies, had the pleasure of listening to Dr. Boggs, the widely known missionary to the Telugus, in the Brunswick Street Methodist church. During recent years he has been in the employ of the Missionary Union and has shared in the marvellous success attending the labours of missionaries of that Society in the southern part of the Telugu field, where, for instance, in the space of twenty years the church at Ougole grew from a membership of merely eight persons to the immense size of 15,000.

In 1878 Miss Carrie Hammond (afterwards Mrs. I. C. Archibald) joined the mission; in 1881, the Rev. J. R. Hutchinson and wife; in 1883, the Rev. I. C. Archibald; in 1884, Misses A. C. Gray and H. H. Wright; in 1889, the Rev. W. V. Higgins and wife and Miss Fitch; in 1890, the Rev. M. B. Shaw and wife; in 1891 and 1892, Rev. L. D. Morse and wife, and Miss Kate McNeill; and in 1894, the Rev. H. Y. Corey and wife and Miss Clarke. The mission stations where these have been employed have become very familiar names to the present generation of Baptists in these parts, viz., Bimlipitam, Chicacole, Bobbili, Vizian, Agram, Parla-Kimedy, and Palcondah. There have in this mission been the usual reverses, from sickness and other causes, which attend the establishment of Christianity amongst heathen peoples; and there have not been lacking those who have continued to speak of small results from large outlay. But, when it is remembered how many and mighty are the forces in operation to keep Christianity from getting firm foothold among pagans, courage is revived and zeal quickened. And as to the gain accruing to those who have had to do with sending forth these heralds of the cross, that cannot be easily estimated. These Baptists found, as do all followers of Christ who are similarly employed, that a foreign mission resembles a good foreign trade in that it increaseth riches at home. The sending of light afar makes it the brightest at the issuing point. The 1,500 Baptists of 1814 have grown to nearly 50,000; and the $35 at Chester to $17,000.

Besides the foregoing missionaries, mention should also be made of other Nova Scotia Baptists who have gone under other Boards to bear the gospel to foreign parts. In Japan are the two Harrington brothers and their wives. Rev. F. G. Harrington, of Yokohama, has done much work as a translator. Last year he spent a few days in Halifax. For years, Miss Emily H. Payne, of Halifax County, laboured in Bassim, British Burmah, but more recently she has been in Pegu. From Truro went Miss Hamilton as a missionary of the Baptists of the United States, to a station on the River Congo, in Africa. Yet other names might be mentioned, but, let this suffice. What an honour it is not only to be permitted to go forth as foreign missionaries, but to have a part in sending out such persons for the evangelization of heathendom!"

The Rev. Charles Spurden, D.D., was born in London, England, in 1812. While he was a child the family attended a Baptist church although his father had been an Episcopalian. In 1832 he was baptized, and soon after became Superintendent of a Sabbath School in Camberwell, where his father was deacon. In 1837 he entered the Bristol College, studied Theology, and in 1841 was ordained pastor of the Baptist church in Hereford. In 1842 he was sent out by the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society to take charge of the Seminary in Fredericton, New Brunswick. Nineteen years of earnest labour followed and in 1861 he received a diploma with the degree of Doctor in Divinity from the Governors of Acadia College, N.S. Dr. Spurden was taken ill in 1866, and resigned his charge of the Seminary in the following year. He was one of the Examiners of the University of New Brunswick, and also one of the Provincial Examiners of Teachers up to the time of his death. In 1874 he again became ill, but after a visit to England was able to take charge of the Baptist church at Fredericton. A year later, however, he broke down completely and in 1876 died. Dr. Spurden was a man of high literary attainments and of fine sensibilities, and his work and teachings had a most salutary influence in the educational life of the Maritime Provinces and in the history of his Denomination. The Rev. Dr. Bill in the "History of the Baptists" summarizes the life and work of this leader in the Church as follows:

"1. He had a model intellect—evenly balanced in all its attributes; understanding, judgment, will, affections and conscience, all well proportioned, and trained to act in concert.

2. His Christianity was of the model type—not impulsive, fragmentary or periodical, but embodying in fine proportions and in harmonious action, faith, hope, charity; so that his path was like that of the just, which 'shineth more and more unto the perfect day.'

3. He was a model husband—dignified, but loving, indulgent and tender.

4. He was a model father—placing before his household continually an example of chaste conversation, purity of thought, and holiness of life, and training them in the 'nurture and admonition of the Lord.'

5. He was a model teacher—filling the minds of his pupils with love and respect for himself, and inspiring them with a thirst for mental culture. He despised the superficial, and laboured to give to his pupils solid and thorough training.

6. He was a model minister of our holy religion—well instructed in the doctrines, precepts and promises of the Bible, and prepared to preach them in all their fulness and in such variety as to meet the demands of intelligent minds. Like Paul, he could say to his congregation, 'I call you to record this day that I am free from the blood of all men: for I have not shunned to declare unto you the whole counsel of God.' Then his spotless life was a constant testimony to the purifying power of the Gospel which he so joyfully proclaimed as 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.'

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